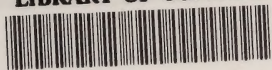


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THE
DEALINGS OF
GOD, MAN, AND THE DEVIL,

AS EXEMPLIFIED

IN THE LIFE, EXPERIENCE, AND TRAVELS

OF

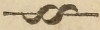
LORENZO DOW,

IN A PERIOD OF MORE THAN A HALF CENTURY;

WITH REFLECTIONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS,
RELIGIOUS, MORAL, POLITICAL
AND PROPHETIC.

Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.—*Daniel.*

FOURTH EDITION, REVISED, CORRECTED AND IMPROVED.


NORWICH:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY WM. FAULKNER,
AND THE BOOKSELLERS GENERALLY.

Where may be had the "Journey of Life," by Peggy Dow, being as
an appendix to this work.

1833.

BX8495
J57A3
1833

District of Connecticut to wit:

~~~~~  
{ L.S. } BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the eighteenth day of December,  
~~~~~ Anno Domini 1832, *Lorenzo Dow*, of the said district, hath deposited in  
this office, the title of a book, the title of which is in the words following, to wit:

"The Dealings of God, Man and the Devil, as exemplified in the life, experience and travels of Lorenzo Dow, in a period of more than a half century; with reflections on various subjects, religious, moral, political and prophetic. 'Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.—*Daniel*.' Fourth Edition, revised, corrected and improved."

The right whereof he claims as Author, in conformity with an act of Congress entitled "An Act to amend the several acts respecting copy rights."

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL.

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

STATE OF NEW YORK, SS.

* THE *
* NOTARY'S *
* SEAL. *

"BY this public instrument, be it known to all to whom the same may or doth concern, that I, CADWALLADER D. COLDEN, a *Public Notary*, in and for the State of New York, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the said State, duly commissioned and sworn, and in and by the said Letters Patent, invested, "with full powers and authority to attest deeds, wills, testaments, codicils, agreements, and other instruments in writing, and to administer any oath or oaths to any person or persons," do hereby certify, that on the day of the date hereof, personally appeared before me the said Notary, the *Reverend Lorenzo Dow*, whose person being by me particularly examined, appears to me to be of the age of twenty-eight years, or thereabouts; of the height of five feet ten inches; rather light complexioned, and much marked with the small-pox; having small light eyes, dark brown hair and eye-brows, small features, and a short visage, a scrophulous mark on his neck, under the chin, on the right side: and the said *Lorenzo Dow* being by me duly sworn on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that he was born in the town of Coventry, in the State of Connecticut, in the United States of America, of Humphrey B. Dow, and Tabitha his wife, who was Tabitha Parker; that his said parents were also born in the said town: that his mother is dead, but his father is yet living, and resides in the same place. And the said deponent further saith, that he is the person named, intended and described as *Lorenzo Dow*, in all and each of the several documents hereunto annexed which are respectively lettered A. B. C. D. and which are now produced to me, the said Notary, and lettered as aforesaid by me, the said Notary, and my notarial firm thereon written.

"And I the said Notary, do further certify, that on the same day and year last aforesaid; also appeared before me, the *Reverend Nicholas Snethen*, of New York, and *James Quackenbush*, of the State of New York, gentlemen, who being by me also sworn on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, depose and say, and first the said *Nicholas Snethen* saith, that he is well acquainted with the said *Lorenzo Dow*, and known him from his youth to this time; and this deponent has been also well acquainted with the *Parents* of the said *Lorenzo Dow*; that the said *Lorenzo Dow* is a native of the United States of America, and a *Minister of the Holy Gospel* and the said deponent doth *verily believe* that all the facts herein stated and set forth by the said *Lorenzo Dow*, are true.

And the said *James Quackenbush* saith, that he hath known the said *Lorenzo Dow*, for four years last past, and upwards—that he hath always understood, and doth believe, him to be a native citizen of the United States of America, and doth believe that all the facts to which the said *Lorenzo Dow* hath above deposed, are true. And the said *Lorenzo Dow* being such native citizen as aforesaid, of the United States of America, is entitled to all the *advantages and privileges* thereof, and to the friendly aid and protection of all persons *Potentates* and *States* with whom the said United States are in peace and friendship.

Whereof an attestation being required, I have granted this under my notarial firm and seal.

Done at the City of New York, in the United States of America, the said deponents having first countersigned the same, this fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five.

CADWALLADER D. COLDEN.

Not. Pub.

LORENZO DOW.

NICHOLAS SNETHEN.

JAMES QUACKENBUSH.

A

Cadwallader D. Colden, Not. Pub.

To all to whom these presents shall concern, *Greeting.*

THE BEARER HEREOF, LORENZO DOW,

A Citizen of the United States of America, having occasion to pass into foreign countries, about his lawful affairs, these are to pray all whom it may concern, to permit the same Lorenzo Dow, (he demeaning himself well and peaceably,) to pass wheresoever his lawful pursuits may call him, freely without let or molestation in going, staying, or returning, and to give him all friendly aid and protection, as these United States would do in the like case.

IN FAITH WHEREOF,

OF STATE'S
SECRETARY
OFFICE
SEAL.
[GRATIS.]

I have caused the seal of the Department of State for the said United States, to be hereunto affixed.—Done at Washington, this 23d day of October, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Five, and of the independence of these States the thirtieth.

JAMES MADISON, *Secretary of State.*

B

Cadwallader D. Colden, Not. Pub.

VIRGINIA, to wit.

BE it known to all whom it may concern, that the *Reverend Lorenzo Dow*, who declares himself a native of Connecticut, one of the United States of America, has for two or three years past occasionally travelled through this commonwealth, as an itinerant Preacher of the Gospel; that his appointments to preach have, according to report, been attended by considerable numbers of the inhabitants of this state; that on all occasions his conduct has been inoffensive, and his manners impressive: it is believed that his views are confined to the promotion of human happiness, by diffusing, to the utmost of his abilities, a knowledge of the Christian Religion, and

by a conviction, on his part, of its tendency to that desirable object. This certificate is granted to the said *Reverend Lorenzo Dow*, at the request of his friends, in consequence of a meditated voyage to Europe for the restoration of his impaired health.



Given under my hand as Governor, with the Seal of the Commonwealth annexed—at Richmond, this 19th day of October, 1805.

JOHN PAGE.

C

Cadwallader D. Colden, Not. Pub.

"HUMPHREY B. DOW and Tabitha Parker were joined in marriage, October 8th, A. D. 1767."

"Lorenzo Dow, son of Humphrey B. Dow and Tabitha his wife, was born in Coventry, October 16th, A. D. 1777."

(A true copy of record examined by)

Nathan Howard, Town Clerk.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT SS.
COVENTRY.

October 11th, A. D. 1805.

"I, The subscriber, do hereby certify that by the law of the State aforesaid, all marriages, births and deaths are to be recorded in the records of their respective towns; and Nathan Howard, Esq. who hath attested the aforesaid from the town records, is the clerk of said town, July appointed and sworn, and that the above signature is in his own proper hand writing, and that faith and credit is to be given to his attestation in court and country."

"In testimony hereof I have subscribed my hand and seal."



JESSE ROOT,
Chief Justice of the Superior Court.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT, SS.
TOLLAND COUNTY, COVENTRY.

October 15th, 1805.

"This certifies that the above Lorenzo Dow was born in Coventry, as above stated, of a *reputable family*, and he the said Lorenzo is by profession a *Methodist Preacher*, he is a man of *decent morals* and of *peaceable behaviour*, so far as our knowledge of him extends. And that the abovesaid Jesse Root is the Chief Justice of the Superior Court in the State of Connecticut, and that full credit is to be given to his certificate in Court and Country.

"JEREMIAH RIPLEY, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas County of Tolland.

"ELEAZER POMEROY, Justice of Peace."



**HIS EXCELLENCY JONATHAN TRUMBULL,
GOVERNOR IN AND OVER THE STATE
OF CONNECTICUT.**

"TO ALL who may see these presents—maketh known,

"That *Jesse Root*, Esq. the person whose signature is set to the within *Certificate*, is *Chief Judge* of the *Superior Court* within said *State*.—That *Jeremiah Ripley*, Esq. signer of the within *Certificate*, is one of the *Judges* of the *Court of Common Pleas*, for the county of *Tolland* in said *State*.—That *Eleazer Pomeroy*, Esq. also one of the within signers is a *Justice of Peace*, within and for the mentioned *County*.

"That each of the above named gentlemen have been legally qualified and duly appointed to do and perform all and singular the duties appertaining to their several offices. And that full faith and credit is to be given to their several acts and signatures in their respective capacities. In faith and testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal of office, at the *City of New Haven*, in said *State*, this 15th day of *October*, in the year of our Lord 1805.

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL"

D

Cadwalader D. Colden, Not. Pub.

GEORGIA.

By his Excellency JOHN MILLEDGE, *Governor and Commander in Chief* of the *Army and Navy* of this *State*, and of the *Militia* thereof.—To all whom these presents shall come. *Greeting:*

KNOW YE, that *Abraham Jackson*, *Risden Moore*, *Bolling Anthony*, *Zachariah Lamar*, *James Lerrell*, *John Clark*, *David Dickson*, *Solomon Slatter*, *Walter Drane*, *Jared Irwin*, *Thompson Bird*, *Robert Hughes*, *Drury Jones*, *George Moore*, *Wormly Rose*, *Joel Barnet*, *William H. Crawford*, *Samuel Alexander*, *Geo. Phillips*, *John Hampton*, *Elijah Clark*, *William W. Bibb*, *David Bates*, *Buckner Harris*, *Allen Daniel*, *William Fitzpatrick*, *James H. Little*, *John Davis*, and *James Jones*, Esquires, who have severally subscribed their names to the annexed recommendation in favour of the *Reverend Lorenzo Dow*, are Members of the *Legislature* of this *State*, and now in *Session*.

THEREFORE all due Faith, Credit and authority, are and ought to be had and given to their Signatures as such.

IN TESTIMONY whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Great Seal of the said State to be put and affixed, at the *State House* in *Louisville*, this third day of *December*, in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and three, and in the twenty-eighth year of *American Independence*.

JOHN * MILLEDGE.

By the Governor.

HOR. MARBURY,

Secretary of the State.

STATE OF GEORGIA.

To all whom these presents shall come or concern :

BE it known, that the *Reverend Lorenzo Dow*, [an Itinerant Preacher of the Gospel, hath travelled through this State several times, in the course of two years, and has maintained the *character* of a *useful* and *acceptable Gospel Preacher* ; and now being about to leave the State, We, in testimony of our high regard for him, *recommend* him to all *Christians* and *lovers of Virtue*, as a man whose sole aim appears to be the propagating useful principles through the Christian Religion.

Given under our Hands at Louisville, this 3d December, 1803.

Abraham Jackson.

Risden Moore.

Bolling Anthony.

Z. Lamar.

James Terrell.

John Clarke.

David Dickson.

Solomon Slatter.

W. Drane.

Jared Irwin.

Thompson Bird.

Robert Hughes.

Drury Jones.

George Moore.

W'y. Rose.

Joel Barnet.

W. H. Crawford.

Samuel Alexander.

George Phillips.

John Hampton.

Elijah Clarke.

William W. Bibb.

David Bates.

Buckner Harris.

Allen Daniel.

William Fitzpatrick.

James H. Little.

John Davis.

James Jones.

DR. COKE said he saw, at Br. Harper's, a "CREDENTIAL" also, from the GOVERNOR, &c. of *South Carolina*, but it never was *suffered* to fall into my hands.

Some Rev. *Gentlemen*, having access to my trunk at the Mississippi, after *Asbury* sent his *bull* after me—the foregoing Credentials could afterwards *never* be found!!!

EXEMPLIFIED EXPERIENCE, &c.



1. I WAS born, October 16, 1777, in Coventry (Tolland County) State of Connecticut, North-America. My parents were born in the same town and descended from English ancestors. They had a son, and then three daughters, older than myself, and one daughter younger; they were very tender towards their children, and endeavoured to educate them well, both in religion and common learning.

2. When I was two years old, I was taken sick, and my parents having been a long journey and returning homewards, heard of my dangerous illness, and that I was dead, and expected to meet the people returning from my funeral. But to their joy I was living, and beyond the expectation of all, I recovered.

3. When I was between three and four years old, one day, whilst I was at play with my companion, I suddenly fell into a muse about God and those places called heaven and hell, which I heard people converse about, so that I forgot my play, which my companion observing, desired to know the cause; I asked him if he ever said his prayers, morning or night; to which he replied, no—then said I, you are wicked and I will not play with you, so I quit his company and went into the house.

4. My mind, frequently on observing the works of creation desired to know the cause of things, and I asked my parents many questions which they scarcely knew how to answer.

5. Being for a few weeks in another neighbourhood, I associated with one who would both swear and lie, which proved some harm to me: but these serious impressions did not leave me until in my eighth year, when my parents removed to another vicinity, the youth of which were very corrupt; and on joining their company, I too soon learned their ways, grieved the tender feelings of my mind; and began to promise myself felicity, when I should arrive to manhood.

6. One day I was the means of killing a bird, and upon seeing it gasp, I was struck with horror; and upon seeing any beast struggle in death it made my heart beat hard, as it would cause the thoughts of my death to come into my mind.

And death appeared such a terror to me, I sometimes wished that I might be translated as Enoch and Elijah were; and at other times I wished I had never been born.

7. About this time a query arose in my mind, whether God would answer prayer now as in primitive times, and there being a small lottery in the neighborhood, and I wishing for the greatest prize, promised within myself, that if it was my luck to obtain the prize, I would take it as an answer to prayer and afterwards would serve God. No sooner had I got the prize, which was nine shillings, than I broke my promise; my conscience condemned me, and I was very uneasy for some weeks.

8. After I had arrived at the age of twelve years, my hopes of worldly pleasure were greatly blasted by a sudden illness, occasioned by overheating myself with hard labor, and drinking a quantity of cold milk and water. I then murmured and complained, thinking my lot to be harder than my companions; for they enjoyed health, whilst I was troubled with an asthmatic disorder or stoppage of breath. Oh! the pain I endured!

9. Sometimes I could lie for several nights together and sleep sound; and at other times would be necessitated to sit up part or all the night—and sometimes I could not lie down at all for six or seven days together.—But as yet did not consider that the hand of God was in all this. About this time, I DREAMED THAT I SAW THE PROPHET NATHAN, in a large assembly of people, prophecying many things; I got an opportunity to ask him how long I should live? SAID HE, UNTIL YOU ARE TWO-AND-TWENTY; this dream was so imprinted in my mind, that it caused me many serious and painful hours at intervals.

10. When past the age of thirteen years, and about the time that JOHN WESLEY died, (1791) it pleased God to awaken my mind by a dream of the night, which was, that an old man came to me at mid-day, having a staff in his hand, and said to me, Do you ever pray? I told him, no—said he, you must, and then went away—he had not been long gone before he returned; and said again, Do you pray? I again said, no; and after his departure I went out of doors, and was taken up by a whirlwind and carried above the skies: at length I discovered, across a gulph as it were through a mist of darkness, a glorious place, in which was a throne of ivory overlaid with gold, and God sitting upon it, and Jesus Christ at his right hand, and angels, and glorified spirits, celebrating praise—Oh! the joyful music! I thought the angel Gabriel came to the edge of heaven, holding a golden trumpet in his right hand, and cried to me

with a mighty voice to know if I desired to come there, I told him I did—Said he, You must go back to yonder world, and if you will be faithful to God, you shall come here in the end.

11. With reluctance I left the beautiful sight and came back to the earth again ; and then I thought the old man came to me the third time and asked me if I had prayed ? I told him I had ; then said he, BE FAITHFUL, AND I WILL COME AND LET YOU KNOW AGAIN. I thought that was to be when I should be blest ; and when I awaked behold it was a dream. But it was strongly impressed on my mind, that this singular dream must be from God—and the way that I should know it, I should let my father know of it at such time and in such a place, viz. as he would be feeding the cattle in the morning, which I accordingly did ; and no sooner had I done than keen conviction seized my heart—I knew I was unprepared to die ; tears began to run down plentifully, and I again resolved to seek the salvation of my soul ; I began that day to pray in secret, but how to pray or what to pray for, I scarcely knew.

12. I at once broke off from my old companions and evil practices, which some call innocent mirth, which I had never been told was wrong ; and betook to the bible, *kneeling* in private, which example I had never seen. Soon I became like a speckled bird, among the birds of the forest, in the eyes of my friends :—I frequently felt for a few seconds, *cords of sweet love* to draw me on ; but from whence it flowed, I could not tell : which I since believe was for an encouragement to hope in the mercy of God.

13. If now I had had any one to have instructed me in the way and plan of salvation, I doubt not but I should have found salvation : But, alas, I felt like one wandering and benighted in an unknown wilderness, who wants both light and a guide. The bible was like a sealed book ; so mysterious I could not understand it, and in order to hear it explained, I applied to this person and that book ; but got no satisfactory instruction. I frequently wished I had lived in the days of the prophets or apostles, that I could have had sure guides ; for by the misconduct of professors, I thought there were no bible saints in the land : thus with sorrow, many months heavily rolled away.

14. But at length, not finding what my soul desired, I began to examine the cause more closely, if possible to find it out : and immediately the doctrine of unconditional *reprobation* and particular *election*, was exhibited to my view ; that the state of all was unalterably fixed by God's "*eternal decrees.*" Here discouragements arose, and I began to slacken my hand by degrees, until I entirely left off secret prayer, and could not bear to read (or hear) the scriptures, saying, if God has fore-

ordained whatever comes to pass, then all our labors are vain.

15. Feeling still condemnation in my breast, I concluded myself reprobated : despair of mercy arose, hope was fled : and I was resolved to end my wretched life ; concluding the longer I live, the more sin I shall commit, and the greater my punishment will be ; but the shorter my life, the less sin, and of course the less punishment, and the sooner I shall know the worst of my case ; accordingly I loaded a gun, and withdrew to a wilderness.

16. As I was about to put my intention into execution, a sudden solemn thought darted into my mind, “ stop and consider what you are about, if you end your life, you are undone for ever ; but if you omit it a few days longer, it may be that something will turn up in your favor ; ” this was attended with a small degree of hope, that if I waited a little while, it should not be altogether in vain : and I thought I felt thankful that God prevented me from sending my soul to everlasting misery.

17. About this time, there was much talk about the people called *Methodists*, who were lately come into the western part of New England. There were various reports and opinions concerning them, some saying they were the deceivers that were to come in the last times ; that such a delusive spirit attended them, that it was dangerous to hear them preach, lest they should lead people out of the good old way, which they had been brought up in : that they would deceive if possible the very elect ; some on the other hand said they were a good sort of people.

18. A certain man invited *Hope Hull* to come to his own town, who appointed a time when he would endeavor, if possible, to comply with his request. The day arrived, and the people flocked out from every quarter to hear, as they supposed, a new gospel : and I went to the door and looked in to see a Methodist ; but to my surprise, he appeared like other men. I heard him preach from—“ this is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.” And I thought he told me all that ever I did.

19. The next day he preached from these words : “ Is there no balm in Gilead ? Is there no Physician there ? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered ? Jer. viii. 22.”

20. As he drew the analogy between a person sick of a consumption and a sin-sick soul, he endeavored also to show how the real balm of Gilead would heal the consumption ; and to spiritualize it, in the blood of Christ healing the soul ; in which he described the way to heaven, and pointed out the way marks ; which I had never heard described so clearly before. By which

means I was convinced that this man enjoyed something that I was destitute of, consequently that he was a servant of God.

21. He then got upon the application, and pointing his finger towards me, made this expression: "Sinner, there is a frowning providence above your head, and a burning hell beneath your feet; and nothing but the brittle thread of life prevents your soul from falling into endless perdition. But, says the sinner, What must I do? You must pray: But I can't pray: If you don't pray then you'll be damn'd;" and (as he brought out the last expression) he either stamped with his foot on the box on which he stood, or smote with his hand upon the bible, which both together came home like a dagger to my heart. I had like to have fallen backwards from my seat, but saved myself by catching hold of my cousin who sat by my side, and I durst not stir for some time for fear lest I should tumble into hell. My sins and the damnable nature of them, were in a moment exhibited to my view; and I was convinced that I was unprepared to die.

22. After the assembly was dismissed, I went out of doors; all nature seemed to wear a gloomy aspect; and every thing I cast my eyes upon seemed to bend itself against me, and wish me off the face of the earth.

23. I went to a funeral of one of my acquaintance the same day, but durst not look upon the corpse, for fear of becoming one myself: I durst not go near the grave, fearing lest I should fall in, and the earth come in upon me; for if I then died, I knew I must be undone. So I went home with a heavy heart.

24. I durst not close my eyes in sleep, until I first attempted to supplicate the throne of grace for preservation through the night. The next morning, as I went out of doors, a woman passing by told me that my cousin the evening past, had found the pardoning love of God. This surprised me, to think that one of my companions was taken and I was left. I instantly came to a resolution to forsake my sins and seek the salvation of my soul. I made it my practice to pray thrice in a day for about the space of a week; when another of my cousins, brother to the former, was brought to cry for mercy in secret retirement in a garden, and his cries were so loud that he was heard upwards of a mile. The same evening he found comfort.

25. Shortly afterwards, several persons in the neighborhood, professed to have found the pardoning love of God, among whom was my brother-in-law FISH, and his brother.

26. Sorrows arose in my mind, to think that they were heavenward, whilst I, a guilty one, was in the downward road. I endeavored to double and treble my diligence in prayer, but found no comfort to my soul. Here the doctrine of uncondi-

tional reprobation was again presented to my view, with strong temptations to end this mortal life ; but the thought again arose in my mind ; if I comply, I am undone forever, and if I continue crying to God, I can but be damned at last.

27. One evening there being (by my desire) a prayer-meeting appointed by the young converts, I set out to go ; and on my way by the side of a wood, I kneeled down and made a solemn promise to God, if he would pardon my sins and give me an evidence of my acceptance, that I would forsake all those things, wherein I had formerly thought to have taken my happiness, and lead a religious life devoted to him ; and with this promise I went to meeting.

28. I believe that many present felt the power of God ; saints were happy and sinners were weeping on every side : but I could not shed a tear : then I thought within myself, if I could weep I would begin to take hope, but, oh ! how hard is my heart. I went from one to another to know if there was any mercy for me. The young converts answered ; “ God is all love ; he is all mercy ; ” I replied, “ God is just too, and justice will cut me down : ” I saw no way how God could be *just* and yet show me *mercy*.

29. A certain woman bound upon a journey, tarried at this house that night ; discovering the distress of mind I was in, broke through the crowd with the hymn book in her hand, and after reading a part of a hymn, said to me ; “ My friend, I feel for you ; my heart aches for you, but this I can tell you, that before I leave town in the morning, you will come down here praising God ; ” I told her no ; I believed I should be in hell before morning.

30. After the meeting had concluded, which was about nine o'clock, and previous to the foregoing circumstance, I had, by the advice of my parents, set out for home, thrice, but by a strong impression, as it were a voice whispering to my heart, “ you must not go yet ; but go back and pray to God : I turned about and went into a wheat field, and kneeled down ; and striving to pray, I felt as if the heavens were brass, and the earth iron ; it seemed as though my prayers did not go higher than my head.

31. At length I durst not go home alone, fearing I should be carried away by the devil, for I saw destruction before me.

32. Several of the young converts accompanied me on my way ; one of whom was Roger Searle ; they since have told me that I fell down several times by the way ; which I do not remember, as my distress was so great, that I scarcely knew what position I was in. When I got home, I went into my bed room, and kneeling down, strove to look to God for mercy

again, but found no comfort. I then lay down to rest, but durst not close my eyes in sleep, for fear I should never awake, until I awaked in endless misery.

33. I strove to plead with God for mercy, for several hours, as a man would plead for his life; until at length being weary in body, as the night was far spent, I fell into a slumber; and in it I dreamed that two devils entered the room, each with a chain in his hand; they laid hold on me, one at my head, the other at my feet, and bound me fast, and breaking out the window, carried me a distance from the house, and laid me on a spot of ice, and whilst the weaker devil flew off in flames of fire, the stronger one set out to drag me down to hell.—And when I got within sight of hell, to see the blue blazes ascending, and to hear the screeches and groans of devils and damned spirits, what a shock it gave me, I cannot describe: I thought that within a few moments, this must be my unhappy lot. I cannot bear the thought, I will struggle and strive to break these chains; and if I can, and get away, it will be gain, and if I cannot, there will be nothing lost, and in my struggle, I waked up, and, oh! how glad was I that it was only a dream. Still I thought, that within a few hours it would surely be my case. I again strove to lift my heart to God for mercy—and these words struck my mind; “In that day there shall a fountain be opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem; for sin and for uncleanness.” A thought darted into my mind that the fountain was Christ; and if it were so deep and wide for the wicked numerous inhabitants of Jerusalem to wash in and be clean; why not for the WHOLE WORLD? why not for me?—Here hope sprang up, there was a Saviour offered to ALL instead of a certain few; and if so, possibly there might be mercy yet for me; but these words followed; “woe to them that are at ease in Zion;” here discouragements arose, concluding that if there had been a time when I might have obtained mercy, yet as I had omitted it so long, the day of grace is now passed, and the woe denounced against me. I thought myself to be the unprofitable servant, who had wrapped his talent in the napkin, and buried it in the earth: I had not on the wedding garment, but was unprepared to meet God.

34. I thought I heard the voice of God's justice saying, “take the unprofitable servant, and cast him into utter darkness.” I put my hands together, and cried in my heart, the time has been, that I might have had religion; but now it is too late; mercy's gate is shut against me, and my condemnation for ever sealed:—Lord, I give up; I submit; I yield; I yield; if there be mercy in heaven for me, let me know it; and if not, let me go down to hell and know the worst of my case. As these words flowed from

my heart, I saw the Mediator step in, as it were, between the Father's justice and my soul, and these words were applied to my mind with great power; "Son! thy sins which are many, are forgiven thee; thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace."

35. The burden of sin and guilt and the fear of hell vanished from my mind, as perceptibly as an hundred pounds weight falling from a man's shoulder; my soul flowed out in love to God, to his ways and to his people; yea, and to ALL mankind.

36. As soon as I obtained deliverance, I said in my heart, I have now found Jesus and his religion, but I will keep it to myself; but instantly my soul was so filled with peace and love and joy, that I could no more keep it to myself, seemingly, than a city set on a hill could be hid.—At this time day-light dawned into the window; I arose and went out of doors, and behold, every thing I cast my eye upon, seemed to be speaking forth the praise and wonders of the Almighty: It appeared more like a new world than any thing else I can compare it to: this happiness is easier felt than described.

37. I set out to go down to the house where the meeting was held the preceding evening, but the family not being up, I being young, thought it not proper to go in and disturb them; and seeing a wicked swearer coming down the road, I wished to shun him, accordingly I went down to the barn, and as he drew near me I went round it and looked up towards the house, and saw the *woman who was bound on the journey*, coming out at the back door. I made to her with all the speed I could. It seemed to me that I scarcely touched the ground, for I felt so happy, that I scarcely knew whether I was in the body or out of it.

38. When I got to her, she said, "good morning!" Yes said I, it is the blesseddest morning that ever I saw; and walking into the house, the first words that I said were, I am happy, happy, happy enough:—My voice penetrated almost every part of the house, and a preacher coming down stairs, opened his hymn-book on these words,

"O! for a thousand tongues to sing,
My dear Redeemer's praise."

Indeed I did want a thousand tongues and ten thousand to the end of it; to praise God for what he had done for my soul.

39. About nine o'clock I set out for home; and to behold the beautiful sun rising in the east above the hills, although it was on the 12th of November, and the ground partly frozen, yet to me it was as pleasant as May.

40. When I got home to my parents, they began to reprove me for going out so early, as they were concerned about me. But

when I had told them where I had been, and what I had been upon, they seemed to be struck ; it being such language as they had never heard from me before, and almost unbelieving to what I said—however my soul was so happy that I could scarcely settle to work ; and I spent the greatest part of the day in going from house to house, through the neighborhood, to tell the people what God had done for me.

41. I wanted to publish it to the ends of the earth, and then take wings and fly away to rest. In this happy situation, I went on my way rejoicing for some weeks ; concluding that I should never learn war any more.—Some said that young converts were happier than those who were many years in the way : thought I, Lord ! let me die whilst young, if I may not feel so happy when I am old.

42. One day relating my past experience and trials (in a prayer meeting) my mother upon hearing thereof, said to me ; How do you know that you are converted ? How do you know but what you are deceived, if you have passed through such trials as I understand you have ? I said, God has given me the evidence what ground I stand upon, and he cannot lie. Afterward walking out of doors, it was suggested to my mind, here are many in town that have professed thirty or forty years, and say they do not know their sins forgiven : and can it be that a young upstart stripling, could have more knowledge and experience in these things, than they ? Nay ; you have only lost your conviction : You think you are converted, but your peace is a false one.

43. I then began to reason with the tempter ; (instead of going to God in prayer, to show me my state ;) Can all these things I have met with be a deception ? Unbelief began to arise ; and my beloved hid his face from me. I ran to the fields and woods, sometimes kneeling and walking and bemoaning my loss ; for I felt as if something of more value than silver or gold was departed from me ; but found no comfort to my restless mind. I then set out to go to a house, where some converts lived, hoping God would enable them to speak something for my comfort ; but before I got to the house, I met my BELOVED in the way ; he was the chiefest among ten thousand and altogether lovely. And I went home happy in the Redeemer's love.

44. Having been sprinkled in my infancy, and now feeling not satisfied, I had the ceremony re-performed ; as a declaration to mankind of my dedicating myself to God ; and the same evening I with twelve others, united ourselves in a society, to watch over one another in love ; among whom was second cousin, and friend R. Searle.

45. One day being alone in a solitary place, whilst kneeling before God, these words were suddenly impressed on my mind ;

“Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.”—I instantly spoke out, Lord! I am a child, I cannot go; I cannot preach. These words followed in my mind, “Arise and go, for I have sent you.” I said, send by whom thou wilt send, only not by me, for I am an ignorant illiterate youth; not qualified for the important task:—The reply was—“What God hath cleansed, call not thou common.” I then resisted the impression as a temptation of the devil; and then my Saviour withdrew from me the light of his countenance; until at length I dared not believe that God had called me to preach for fear of being deceived; and durst not disbelieve it, for fear of grieving the Spirit of God: thus I halted between two opinions.

46. When I nourished and cherished the impression, the worth of souls was exhibited to my view; and cords of sweet love drew me on; and when I resisted it, a burthen of depression and distress seized my mind.

47. Shortly after this, my trials being very great, I took an opportunity to open my mind to my friend, R. Searle, who said his mind had been impressed in the same way for about four months.

48. One day, as I went to meeting, being in August, 1793, a certain person said to me, “My friend, it appears to me as though you never had any trials.” My reply to her was, although my soul had been happy the greatest part of the time these nine months past, yet the remainder of my life will be a life of grief and trouble and sorrow; said she, I hope not:—said I, you may wish so in vain; for what is revealed will surely come to pass. Very shortly after this, as I was riding along one day, I was seized with an unusual weakness, and my eye-sight entirely failed me, whilst my horse carried me forward about the space of half a mile; when my sight returned, and strength in some degree:—Soon after this, whilst retired in a wood, I was taken in a similar manner, and for some time I thought I was dying, but my mind was calmly stayed on God. My bodily strength continued gradually to decline; till at length it was concluded I had the quick consumption, and by physicians and friends I was given over to die. In the beginning of this illness, the sacrament was administered to the society; at which I attended.

It was suggested to my mind, “what good does it do to kneel down there and eat a little bread and drink a little wine; why is it not as good to eat bread and milk at home?” I replied, it is a command of God; and threw it out of my mind; and partook, and felt measurably happy. But the same suggestion returned in the evening, and so harrassed my mind for a space of time, that I, instead of resisting it by watching unto prayer, began to give way by querrying with the enemy until my happiness of mind fled: and shortly after this, being brought apparently near the borders

of eternity ; and not enjoying that consolation as heretofore, the language of my heart was,

"I have fall'n from my heaven of grace,
I am brought into thrall,
I am stript of my all,
And banish'd from Jesus's face."

Oh ! how I felt, cannot be described by tongue ; at this critical period of life, not to see my way so clearly as formerly ; but it was not long before God blessed these words to the comforting of my soul (though all but my confidence was given up before,)

"Peace, troubled soul, thou need'st not fear—
Thy great Provider still is near ;"

so that now I could look beyond the grave, and see my way to joys on high.

49. One thing I desired to live for, viz. to attain to higher degrees of holiness here, that I might be happier hereafter ; and what I desired to depart for, was to get out of this trying world, and be at rest with saints above ; yet I was resigned to go or stay. But it pleased kind Providence to rebuke the disorder beyond the expectation of all, and in a measure to restore me to health, so that after about five months confinement, I was enabled once more to attend meeting ; and falling into conversation with R. Searle about the dealings of God towards us, the impression came upon my mind stronger than ever, that I should have to call sinners to repentance. After returning home, I began to consider the matter on every side more attentively than I had done hitherto ; and to make it a matter of earnest prayer to God ; that if the impression was from him, it might increase ; but if not, that it might decrease. My mind soon became so powerfully exercised as to cause some sleep to depart from me—till at length my trials were so great, that I was resolved to fast and pray more fervently ; that if the will of God was to be known I might find it out, and on the 23d day of my so doing, according to what my bodily strength would admit of : it being one Sunday afternoon whilst engaged in prayer in the wilderness, in an uncommon manner the light of God's countenance shined forth into my soul, so that I was as fully convinced that I was called to preach, as ever I was that God had pardoned my sins.

50. This continued for about the space of forty-eight hours, when I again began to doubt ; but after eleven days it pleased the Lord to banish all my doubts and fears, and to fill me with his love.

51. 1794. One day, a prayer meeting being appointed in the town, and feeling it my indispensable duty to go, I sought for my parent's consent in vain; still something was crying in my ears—"go—go"—but fearing that my parents would call me a disobedient child, I resisted what I believe was required of me, and felt conscience to accuse me, and darkness to cover my mind. But at length finding a spirit of prayer, I had faith to believe that God would bless me, though from the 14th of May to the 9th of June, I felt the sharp keen fiery darts of the enemy. June 12th, this scripture afforded me some strength, "fear not, the night is far spent, the day is at hand."

52. I heard G. Roberts (the one who had taken me into society) preach from these words, "our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers, the snare is broken and we are escaped."

53. June 14, these words afforded my soul great comfort; "I will not leave you comfortless, but we will come unto you, and take up our abode with you." And whilst retired in devotion, my soul did taste of the powers of the word to come.

54. 24th, I was still satisfied that it would be my duty to preach the gospel, though several reasons occurred to my mind against it—viz. 1st. According to human appearance, my bodily strength would not endure the fatigues and inclemencies of the weather, which must attend such a life.—2dly. My parents and relations would be against my travelling, from whom I must meet with much opposition.—3dly. My weakness and want of learning, and my abilities did not seem adequate to the task; but upon hearing my father read this expression in Whitfield's sermons, "*where reason fails, there faith begins*," my mind was strengthened to meditate on the work.

55. Sunday, October 5th, was the first time that I (with a trembling mind) attempted to open my mouth in public vocal prayer in the society.

56. A little previous to this time, upon considering what I must undergo if I entered upon the public ministry, I began to feel discouraged, and had thoughts of altering the situation of my life to excuse me from the work; but could get no peace of mind until I gave them entirely up, though my trials in this respect were exceeding great.

57. November 14th. About this period I attempted to speak a few words of exhortation in public, which my parents hearing of, gave me tender reproof, (which was like a sword to my heart,) fearing lest I should run too fast.

58. One day, I felt impressed to exhort again, but fearing the reproof of my relations, (*as the old enemy was now raised*) I neglected my duty in order to shun the cross; but horror and

condemnation seized upon my mind ; and I began to reflect, if in the beginning of my pilgrimage I have such trials to encounter with, what will it be if I attempt to go into the vineyard to face a frowning world ? nay, let the consequence be what it may, saved or damned, I am resolved I will not preach the gospel ; and if ever one felt the pains of the damned in this world, it appeared to me that I did.

59. I was willing to be a private member of society, but not a public character. I had rather retire to some remote part of the earth and spend my days ; but could not feel myself excused from preaching the gospel.

60. Filled with horror and darkness whilst awake, with fearfulness and frightful dreams by night, for near the space of four weeks ; when one night I was awaked by surprise, and in idea there were represented to my view two persons, the one by the name of *Mercy* with a smiling countenance, who said to me, “if you will submit and be willing to go and preach, there is mercy for you,” (he having a book in his hand :) the other by the name of *Justice* with a solemn countenance, holding a drawn glittering sword over my head, added, “if you will not submit, you shall be cut down : now or never.” It appeared to me that I had but one half hour for consideration, and if I still persisted in obstinacy, that it would be a gone case for ever.

61. I put my hands together, and said, Lord I submit to go and preach thy gospel : only grant my peaceful hours to return ; and open the door.

62. At the dawn of day, I arose and withdrew to the wilderness to weep and mourn before God ; at length the light of his countenance shined into my soul, and I felt humble under his mighty hand ; willing to become any thing as God should see fit.

63. About this time, I made known to my parents the exercise of my mind, which previously I had kept from them : they immediately began to oppose me in this thing ; and advised me to reject it by all means, concluding it to be a temptation, as it appeared to them an impossibility, that I should be called to such a work as this ; which apparently I could not fulfil.

1795, July 16th. Last night, the hand of the Lord was heavy upon me—I was much afflicted in body and mind—in body, by the want of breath, so that I was scarcely able to exist, (by reason of my asthmatical disorder)—in mind, by much heaviness ; whilst the enemy suggested, “you will never go forward in public, because of the weakness of your body and the violence of your disorder ; and you are deluded by that impression which you think is from God : besides, none will equip you out, and you will one day perish by the hand of Saul.” Here my faith was greatly tried, for I saw no way for my equipment, unless the hand of the

Almighty should interpose; for my parents had hinted already that they would neither give their consent nor assistance; my discouragements therefore became exceedingly great.

64. August 4th. I feel tried and tempted by the world, the flesh, and the devil, and if I think of pursuing any other course of life but that of preaching, I sink into horror and find no peace in any other way.

65. 22d. About this time, my mind was much exercised concerning the doctrines of unconditional election and final perseverance. I dreamed that I saw Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden, and God, after talking to them as written in Genesis, said, I shall be faithful on my part; and it depends upon your being faithful to the end, to receive a crown of glory: but if you are not faithful you will be exposed to the damnation of hell, and then said to me, write these things, for they are true and faithful.

66. October 28th, being greatly pressed in spirit, for a number of days, to know my father's will; whether (provided a door was opened) he would give his consent for me to go out to travel, or whether he would withhold me by his authority, when I think the time is come that I should go. He said, I shall not hinder you; only give you my *old* advice, not to harbor the thought, and I shall not give you any help. I told him, I did not desire any help, only liberty of conscience. I concluded that my father thought that some persons and not God had raised such thoughts in my mind, which occasioned him to restrain me, so I told him if this was the case, that he judged the matter wrong.

67. November 9th, being again tried in my mind with regard to preaching; fearing lest I should run too fast or too slow, and querying from what quarter my impression came. I dreamed that I was walking in the solitary woods beside a brook, and saw a beautiful stalk about eight feet high: from the middle and upwards, it was covered with beautiful seeds. I heard a voice over my head, saying to me, "shake the stalk that the seeds may fall off, and cover them up: the seed will be of great value to some, though not to thyself, but thou shalt receive thy reward hereafter."

68. I shook the stalk and beautiful speckled red seed fell off, and I covered them up with earth and rotten leaves, and went on my way to serve the Lord.

69. Some time after, I thought I was there again, and saw a large number of partridges or pheasants that had been scratching up a great part of the seed. I discovered them and was very sorry, and went and drove them away; and watched it to keep them away, that the remainder, with my nourishing, might bring forth fruit to perfection.

70. Then I thought I began to preach, and immediately awakened, when the parable of the sower came strongly into my mind.

71. 19th. My mind has been buffeted and greatly agitated (not tempted in the common sense of the word) so that my sleep departed from me, and caused me to walk and wring my hands for sorrow. Oh, *the corruption of wicked nature* ! I feel the plague of an hard heart, and a mind prone to wander from God ; something within which has need to be done away, and causes a burthen, but no guilt, and from which discouragements frequently arise tending to slacken my hands.

72. I dreamed that I saw a man in a convulsion fit, and his countenance was expressive of hell. I asked a by-stander what made his countenance look so horrible—said he, “the man was sick and relating his past experience, his calls from time to time, and his promises to serve God ; and how he had broke them ; and now, said he, I am sealed over to eternal damnation, and instantly the convulsion seized him.” This shocked me so much that I instantly awaked, and seemingly the man was before my eyes.

I dropped asleep again, and thought I saw all mankind in the air suspended by a brittle thread over hell, yet in a state of carnal security. I thought it to be my duty to tell them of it, and again awaked : and these words were applied to my mind with power : “there is a dispensation of the gospel committed unto you, and woe unto you if you preach not the gospel.” I strove to turn my mind on something else, but it so strongly followed me that I took it as a warning from God ; and in the morning to behold the beautiful sun to arise and shine into the window, whilst these words followed—“and unto you that fear my name, shall the Sun of Righteousness arise, with healing in his wings.” Oh ! how happy I felt : the help of kings and priests is vain without the help of God.

73. December 31st, the year is now at a close, I see what I have passed through, and what is to come the ensuing year, God only knows ; but may the God of peace be with me ; and grant me strength in proportion to my day, that I may endure to the end, and receive the crown of life. I felt my heart drawn to travel the world at large, but to trust God by faith (like the birds) for my daily bread, was difficult, as my strength was small, and I shrunk from it.

74. 1796. January 7th, I received a message, with orders from C. Spry, the circuit preacher, to go to Tolland to the brethren there, for a few days, that he might get some knowledge of my gifts : this visit caused some opposition. Afterwards, I was directed to go and meet L. Macombs, a preacher on New-London circuit, who after two days constrained me to part with him, so I turned and went to East-Hartford, (having my brother-in-law's horse with me :) in this place I attended several meetings—from thence to Ellington, where I met C. Spry—who directed me to

fulfil three of his appointments, (Warehouse-point, East-Windsor, and Wapping,) at one of which, whilst speaking, I was taken suddenly ill, even to the losing of my sight and strength, so I was constrained to give over.

75. 15th. I rode near forty miles to Munson and met *N. Sneathen*, with whom I travelled through his appointments a few days, when he likewise constrained me to part with him, after giving me the following hints:—"You are but eighteen years of age; you are too important, and you must be more humble, and hear and not be heard so much; keep your own station, for by the time that you arrive at the age of twenty-one years, you will see wherein you have missed it—you had better, as my advice, to learn some easy trade, and be still for two or three years yet; for your bodily health will not admit of your becoming a travelling preacher at present; although, considering your advantages, your gifts are better than mine when I first set out to preach, but it is my opinion that you will not be received at the next conference."

76. 19th. I feel gloomy and dejected, but the worth of souls lies near my heart: O Lord! increase my faith, and prepare my way.

77. After travelling several days and holding a few meetings, I attended the quarterly meeting at Wilbraham: C. Spry hinted that there were many scruples in his mind with regard to my travelling; as many thought my health and behavior were not adequate to it.

78. February 5th, I set out for home, and in the town of Somers, I missed my road and got lost in a great wilderness, and the snow being about two feet deep, on which was a sharp icy crust; after some time, as the path divided into branches, so that I could not distinguish one plainer than another, and those extending over the woods in all directions for the purpose of getting ship timber, I went round and round about, till I was chilled with cold, and saw nothing but death before me—at a distance I could see a village, but could discern no way to get to it, neither could I find the passage out, by which I entered; and night drawing on, no person can tell my feelings, except one who has been in a similar situation. I at last heard a sound, and by following it perhaps about half a mile or more, found a man driving a team, who gave me a direction so that I could find a foot-path made by some school-boys, by which I might happen to get through: towards this I proceeded, and by means of leaping my horse over logs, frequently stamping a path for the horse through the snow banks, with much difficulty made my way, and late at night got to my brother-in-law's, in Tolland, and the next day went home, and my soul was happy in God. I am glad that I went, although there was great opposition against me on every side; I am every

where spoken evil of, &c. I feel the worth of souls to lie near my heart, and my duty still to be to preach the gospel; with a determination to do so, God being my helper.

79. 20th. I dreamed, that in a strange house as I sat by the fire, a messenger came in and said, there are three ministers come from England, and in a few minutes will pass by this way. I followed him out, and he disappeared. I ran over a wood-pile and jumped upon a log, to have a fair view of them; presently three men came over a hill from the west towards me; the foremost dismounted: the other two, one of whom was on a white horse, the other on a reddish one; both with the three horses disappeared. I said to the first, who are you? He replied, *John Wesley*, and walked towards the east; he turned round and looking me in the face, said, God has called you to preach the gospel; you have been a long time between hope and fear, but there is a dispensation of the gospel committed to you. Woe unto you, if you preach not the gospel.

80. I was struck with horror and amazement, to think how he should know the exercise of my mind, when I knew he had never heard of me before! I still followed him to the eastward, and expressed an observation for which he with his countenance reproved me, for the better improvement of my time. At length we came to a log house where negroes lived, the door being open, he attempted twice to go in, but the smoke prevented him, he said, you may go in, if you have a mind, and if not, follow me. I followed him a few rods, where was an old house two stories high, in one corner of which, my parents looked out at a window; and said they to him, "Who are you?" He replied, *John Wesley*; Well, said they, what becomes of doubting christians? He replied, there are many serious christians who are afraid of death. They dare not believe they are converted, for fear of being deceived; and they are afraid to disbelieve it, lest they should grieve the Spirit of God, so they live and die and go into the other world, and their souls to heaven with a guard of angels. I then said, will the day of judgment come as we read, and the sun and moon fall from heaven, and the earth and works be burnt? To which he answered: "It is not for you to know the times and seasons, which God hath put in his own power, but read the word of God with attention, and let that be your guide."

81. I said, Are you more than fifty-five? He replied, do you not remember reading an account of my death, in the history of my life? I turned partly round, in order to consider, and after I had recollected it, I was about to answer him, yes; when I looked, and behold he was gone, and I saw him no more. It set me to shaking and quaking to such a degree, that it waked me up.

82. N. B. The appearance of his person was the very same as him who appeared to me three times in the dream when I was about thirteen years of age, and who said that he would come to me again, &c.

83. March 14th, about this time, my uncle made me the offer of a horse, to wait a year for the payment, provided I would get bondsmen : four of the society willingly offered. O ! from what an unexpected quarter was this door opened ! My parents seeing my way thus beginning to open, and my resolution to go forward ; with loving entreaties and strong arguments strove to prevail against it. But as they promised sometime before not to restrain me by their authority, in case a door should open from another quarter, (they not expecting it would,) and seeing they could not prevail upon me to tarry, they gave up the point—and gave me some articles of clothing, and some money for my journey.

84. Not having as yet attempted to preach from a text, but only exercised my gifts in the way of exhortation, I obtained a letter of *recommendation* concerning my *moral* conduct ; this was all the credentials I had.

About the 10th of last month, I dreamed that C. Spry received a letter from JESSE LEE, that he wanted help in the province of Maine, and that the said C. S. and L. Macombs concluded to send me. N. B. These were the two preachers who afterwards signed the abovementioned letter of recommendation.

85. 1796, March 30th. This morning early, I set out for Rhode Island, in quest of J. Lee, who was to attend a quarterly meeting there—as I was coming away we joined in prayer, taking leave of each other, and as I got on my road I looked about and espied my mother looking after me until I got out of sight ; this caused me some tender feelings afterwards.

86. Until this time, I have enjoyed the comforts of a kind father's house : and oh ! must I now become a wanderer and stranger upon earth until I get to my long home !

87. During this day's journey, these words of our Lord came into my mind ; "the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head."

88. The language of my heart is ; what is past I know ; what is to come I know not. Lord ! bless me in the business I am set out upon. I feel more than ever that God has called me to this work.

89. April 1st. Upon my arrival at Cranston in Rhode Island, I found that J. Lee was gone to Boston ; I accordingly set out after him and found the preachers' boarding house at Boston, and they told me that Lee had gone to the east, and that I could not overtake him short of two or three hundred miles, and their advice was to go to Warren in Rhode Island with *Thomas Coope*, a na-

tive of Manchester, who was going to set out that afternoon—accordingly I joined him in company thirty-six miles, to *East-Town*.

90. Sunday 3d. This day, for the first time, I gave out a text before a Methodist preacher, and I being young both in years and ministry, the expectations of many were raised, who did not bear with my weakness and strong doctrine, but judged me very hard, and would not consent that I should preach there any more for some time.

91. Having travelled a few days with T. C. we came to *Reynham*, where attempting to preach I was seized with sudden illness, such as affected me at *Warehouse-point*, with the loss of sight and strength, so that I was constrained to give over, and T. C. finished the meeting—after which, lots were cast to see whether I should pass the Sabbath here, or go to *East-town*—it turned up for me to tarry here, which I accordingly did, and held three meetings, which were solemn.

92. I met T. C. who said, if I was so minded I might return home; which I declining, he said, “I do not believe God has called you to preach.” I asked him, why? He replied, 1st, your health—2nd, your gifts—3rd, your grace—4th, your learning—5th, sobriety—in these you are not equivalent to the task. I replied, enough!—Lord! what am I but a poor worm of the dust, struggling for life and happiness.*

93. The time now drawing near when I expected to leave these parts, the society where I first attempted to give out a text, desired to hear me again; and contrary to my entreaties, T. C. appointed and constrained me to go, threatening me if I refused.—Accordingly I went and gave out these words, “Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth.” Gal. iv. 16.

94. June 30th. I rode twenty-four miles and preached once, and saw J. Lee, the presiding elder, who had just returned from the east—I gave him my recommendation.

95. July 3rd. This evening, our quarterly meeting being over, from the representation that was given of me by T. C. I received a dismission from the circuit, with orders to go home, which was as follows :

96. “We have had brother *Lorenzo Dow*, the bearer hereof, travelling on *Warren* circuit, these three months last past. In several places he was liked by a great many people; at other places, he was not liked so well, and at a few places they were not willing he should preach at all; we have therefore thought it necessary to advise him to return home for a season, until a further

* He since is expelled the Connexion!

recommendation can be obtained from the society and preachers of that circuit.

Jesse Lee, Elder.

JOHN VANIMAN,

THOMAS COOPE.

Rhode Island, July 3d, 1796.

To C. Spry, and the Methodists in Coventry."

96. The time has been when I could easier have met death than this discharge—two or three handkerchiefs were soon wet through with tears: my heart was broke, I expostulated with them, and besought him for farther employment;—but apparently in vain. The next morning, as we were about parting, he said, if you are minded, you may come to *Greenwich* quarterly meeting, next Sunday, on your way home.

97. This evening I preached in *Greenwich* court house, as I once dreamed, and the assembly and place looked natural to me.

98. After travelling through Sepatchet, Smithfield, (in which I formed a class for the first time,) Providence, and Wickford, where attending a prayer meeting among the Baptists, I asked liberty to speak, which seemed to give them a surprise, and after some time, they said, if I had a message from God, they had no right to hinder me. I spoke a few minutes, to their attention, and their leader seemed satisfied, and bid me God speed.

99. From thence to South Kingston, I set out for my native town; to which I arrived, and met my friends, who were glad to see me.

100. My parents asked me whether I was not convinced that I did wrong in going? I told them no; but was glad: others began to mock, and cry out, this man began to build, and was not able to finish.

101. After a few days, I set out for *Granville*, to meet C. Spry, who gave me a written *license*, and orders to come to the ensuing quarterly meeting at *Enfield*, where he would give me a credential for the *conference*; and if I was so minded, and brother Cankey willing, I might travel Tolland circuit until that time.

102. But as the circuit extended through my native town, I thought proper to forbear, and set off for Hanover, in the State of New Hampshire, to see my sister, whom I had not seen for about five years. But *J. Lee* coming to town next day, lodged at a house where I had enquired the road, and they informed him of me: he sent for me, and querying me whether I still preached, and by what authority, and what I came there for—showed his *disapprobation* at my coming hither, and then we parted.

103. I tarried a few days and held several meetings, and for the time met with no small trials of mind and opposition from without, and then returned to Connecticut, fulfilling several appointments by the way.

104. I went twenty-eight miles to Enfield quarterly meeting, for my credential, and C. Spry sent me to Z. Cankey, who could not give it to me according to discipline; he sent me back to S. and he again to Z. C. several times; but at length Z. C. said, have you not a written license?—I told him yes, to preach: said he, that is as good as a recommendation to the conference, which I believed, though C. Spry knew that according to the *letter* of the discipline I could not be received with this, yet he told me to attend the conference.

105. September 20th. Conference came on in the town of Thompson, and I passed the examination by the *bishop* before them: and after some conversation in the conference, T. Coope, J. Lee, and N. SNETHEN, bore hard upon me after I had been sent out of the room: and those who were friendly to me durst say but little in my favor; so I was rejected and sent home, they assigning as the reason, the want of a written credential, though the greatest part of them were personally acquainted with me.

106. This so affected me that I could take no food for thirty-six hours.

107. After my return home, still feeling it my duty to travel, I accordingly resolved to set off the next Monday; but Philip Wagar, who was appointed for Orange circuit, being in Tolland, sent for me, and I went twelve miles to see him.

108. After that he had criticised and examined my credentials, he concluded to take me on his circuit. I accordingly got prepared, and bidding my friends farewell for a season, met him in West-Windsor.

109. Some weeks ago, whilst I was in Rhode Island, being troubled with the asthmatical disorder, I was necessitated to sit up some nights for the want of breath; but at length lying down on the carpet, I found that I could sleep and breathe easy.

110. Accordingly, I was resolved to try the experiment until the fall of the year, which I did without much trouble. But September 27th, being on my way with P. Wagar, he said the people would despise me for my lodging, and it would hurt my usefulness: and accordingly he insisted upon my lying in bed with him, he thinking it was a boyish notion that made me lie on the floor.

111. To convince him to the reverse, I went to bed, but was soon much distressed for want of breath, and constrained to arise and sit up all night. After which, I would be persuaded to try the bed no more. After travelling with him a few days into the state of New York, he gave me a direction when and where to take the circuit. I travelled to New Lebanon, where I saw one who experienced religion about the time that I did, and our meeting in this strange land was refreshing to our souls.

112. Monday, October 10th. I rode twenty miles to Adams, and thence to Stanford : at these places we had refreshing seasons.

113. Wednesday 12th. I rode thirty miles across the Green Mountain, in fifteen of which, there was not a sign of a house, and the road being new, it frequently was almost impassable : however I reached my appointment, and though weary in body, my soul was happy in God.

114. From Halifax I went to Guilford, and in entering a chamber where the people were assembled, it appeared natural to me, as though I had seen it before, and brought a dream to my remembrance, and so overcome me that I trembled and was obliged to retire for some minutes. In this meeting, three persons were stirred up to seek God.

115. Leaving the state of Vermont, I crossed Connecticut river, and through Northfield to Warwick, Massachusetts, where we had a refreshing season.

116. Thence I went to Orange, and preached in the Presbyterian meeting house, the clergyman having left the town. Being this day nineteen years old, I addressed myself to the youth. I spent a few days here, and though meeting with some opposition, we had refreshing seasons. Oh ! how fast is the doctrine of unconditional reprobation falling, and *infidelity* and the denial of *future punishment* prevailing ! Men thus going from one extreme to the other, as they wish to lull conscience to sleep, that they may go on in the enjoyment of the world without disturbance : but, oh ! would they wish to be deceived in a dying hour ?

117. I never felt the plague of a hard heart, as I do of late, nor so much *faith* as I now have that *inbred corruption* will be done away, and I filled with perfect peace, and enabled to rejoice evermore.

118. I never felt the worth of souls so near my heart as I do of late, and it seems as if I could not give vent enough to it. Lord ! prosper my way, and keep me as under the hollow of thy hand, for my trust is in thee.

119. October 20th. Satan pursues me from place to place : oh ! how can people dispute there being a devil ! If they underwent as much as I do with his buffetings, they would dispute it no more. He throwing in his fiery darts, my mind is harrassed like punching the body with forks and clubs. Oh ! that my Saviour would appear and sanctify my soul, and deliver me from all within that is contrary to purity.

120. 23d. I spoke in Hardwick to about four hundred people; thence to Petersham and Wenchendon, to Fitchburgh, and likewise to Notown, where God gave me one spiritual child.—Thence to Ashburnham, where we had some powerful times.

121. November 1st. I preached in Ringe, and a powerful work of God broke out shortly after, though some opposition attended it ; but it was very solemn.

122. Some here I trust will bless God in the day of eternity, that ever they saw my face in this vale of tears.

123. In my happiest moments I feel something that wants to be done away : oh ! the buffetings of satan ! if I never had any other hell, it would be enough.

124. Thence to Marlborough, where our meetings were not in vain.

125. Whilst I am preaching, I feel happy, but as soon as I have done, I feel such horror, (without guilt) by the buffetings of satan, that I am ready to sink like a drowning man, sometimes to that degree, that I have to hold my tongue between my teeth to keep from uttering blasphemous expressions ; and can get rid of these horrible feelings only by retirement in earnest prayer and exertion of faith in God.

126. From Marlborough, I went to Packersfield, and thence to Chesterfield, where I had one seal of my ministry. Leaving New Hampshire, I crossed into Vermont, and came to Marlborough.

127. Thus I continued round my circuit until I came to Belcher—a few evenings previous, I dreamed that a minister came and reproved me harshly, whilst I was preaching—in this place it was fulfilled ; for a Baptist preacher accused me in the congregation of laying down false doctrine : presently a Presbyterian affirmed the same likewise ; because that I said a christian would not get angry.

128. Here also appeared some little fruit of my labor, among which were some of my distant relations.

129. About this time I visited Mary Spalding, who had been suddenly and miraculously restored (as was said) from an illness which had confined her to her bed about the space of nine years. Her conversation was so profitable, that I did not grudge the journey of several miles to obtain it. I found it to strengthen my confidence in God : the account was published in print, by a Presbyterian minister, with her approbation.

130. On the 29th, I met P. Wager, which seemed to refresh my mind. I had to take up a cross and preach before him : but, oh ! the fear of man ! The next day I parted with him and went on my way.

131. My discouragements were so great, that I was ready to leave the circuit, and I would think within myself, I will go to my appointment to day and then go off ; but being refreshed during the meeting, my drooping spirits would be revived, and I would be encouraged to go to the next. Thus it would be, day

after day ; sometimes I was so happy, and the times so powerful, I would hope "the winter was past and gone ;" but soon it would return again. Thus I went on, during the three first months of the circuit ; at length, my discouragements being so great, and inward trials heavy, concluded to go farther into the country and spend my time in the best manner I could, about the neighborhood where my sister lived.

132. December 15th, I rode fifteen miles to Brattleborough. About this time, on my way, I took a severe cold on my lungs, and almost lost my voice. The next day my friends advised me not to go to any other appointments, as they thought it presumption ; but I feeling impressed on my mind, could not feel content to disappoint the people. Accordingly, in the name of God, I set out in the hard snow storm, and over the mountains, about ten miles, and a solemn time we had. The storm still continuing to increase, the snow had now fallen about knee high, so that the mountains were almost impassable by reason of snow, steepness, mud and logs ; the people here thought my life would be endangered by the falling of trees, or the extreme cold in the woods, as there was no house for several miles, and the wind blew exceeding hard : however, out I set, relying upon the strong for strength. The snow being driven in banks more than belly deep, I frequently was obliged to alight and stamp a path for my horse ; and though I was much wearied and chilled, yet by the goodness of God, I arrived at my appointment, fourteen miles. We had a good time, and I did not begrudge my labor. I believe, these *trials* will be for my good, to qualify me for *future usefulness* to others : and a secret conviction I feel, that if I prove faithful, God will carry me through, and support me to see the *cause* that should *ensue*.

133. After my arrival at my sister's I had thoughts of spending my time principally in study ; but feeling it my duty to call sinners to repentance, I could not enjoy my mind contented without travelling in the neighboring towns, there being no Methodists in this part of the world.

134. I went to Enfield several times during my stay, (being first invited by a universalian) by which there seemed to be some good done. Here I received an invitation to fix my residence amongst them, as their stated preacher. This was somewhat pleasing to nature, as by which I could have ease and acquire wealth ; an elegant new meeting house being also ready ; but something would not suffer me to comply.—I still feeling it my duty to travel, I went into Canaan, Lyme, Dorchester, Orford, Hebron, New-Lebanon, Strafford, Tunbridge, Chelsea, Hartford, with many other adjacent towns ; and the feather edge of prejudice removed, and some few were awakened and hopefully converted to God.

135. 1797, June 4th. Vershire in Vermont. I met with *N. Snethen*, who informed me that he had seen *J. Lee*, and that I must come down to the quarterly meeting; and, said he, "*J. Lee* disapproves of your travelling into so many new places, and what will you do provided that he forbids your preaching?" I told him it did not belong to *J. L.* or any other man to say whether I should preach or not, for that was to be determined between God and my own soul; only it belonged to the Methodists to say whether I should preach in their connexion; but as long as I feel so impressed, I shall travel and preach, God being my helper; and as soon as I feel my mind released, I intend to stop, let people say what they will. But said he, "what will you call yourself? the Methodists will not own you; and if you take that name, you'll be advertised in the public papers as an imposter." Said I, "I shall call myself a friend to mankind." Oh! said he, for the Lord's sake don't; for you are not capable of it—and not one of a thousand is; and if you do you'll repent it. I sunk into a degree of gloominess and dejection—I told him I was in the hands of God, and felt submissive; so I bade him farewell and rode ten miles on my way. The next day I rode fifty miles to Charlestown, where I overtook *J. Lee*, to my sorrow and joy * * * * *. He mentioned some things, that if ever I travelled I must get a new recommendation from my native circuit, or else not offer myself to conference again.

136. We then rode to Orange quarterly meeting; but *J. Lee* forbade *P. W.* to employ me any more, and then set off.* I ran after him and said, if you can get no text to preach upon between now and conference, I give you Genesis xl. 14. and then turned and ran, and saw him no more for some years, when we met at Petersburg in Virginia.

137. I then returned home to my parents, after an absence of eight months; having travelled more than four thousand miles, through heat in the vallies, the scorching sun beating down, and through cold upon the mountains, and frequently whilst sleeping with a blanket on the floor, where I could look up and see the stars through the bark roof, the frost nipping me so that I lost the skin from my nose, hands and feet; and from my ears it peeled three times—travelling through storms of rain and snow; this frequently drifted into banks so that I had no path for miles together, and was obliged at times to alight and stamp a way for my horse for some rods: at other times, being engaged for the welfare of souls, after preaching in the dark evening, would travel the chief part or the whole of the night, journies from twenty to forty miles, to get on to my next day's appointment; preaching from ten to fifteen times a week, and often-times no stranger to hunger

* This was the fourth time I had been sent home.

and thirst in these new countries ; and though my trials were great, the Lord was still precious to my soul, and supported me through.

188. The preacher of Tolland circuit, (Evan Rogers, who since hath turned churchman) after some close and solemn conversation, advised me to preach in my native town, and providing that I could obtain a letter of recommendation concerning my preaching gifts as well as my conduct, he saw no hindrance why I should not be received at conference. The thought was trying, the cross was great, to think of preaching before my old acquaintances and relations ; besides, my parents were opposed to it, fearing how I should make out : however, there being no other way, and necessitated thereto, the people flocked out from every quarter, and after my feeble manner I attempted to perform, and I obtained a credential by the voice of the *whole* society ; which was approved of by the preachers at the quarterly meeting ; after which it was thought proper to send me to Granville circuit.

139. During my stay at and about home, though I went into several other places, not in vain to some souls, yet my trials were very great, so that many almost whole night's sleep departed from me ; I walked the floor and woods, weeping until I could weep no more, and wringing my hands until they felt sore. When I was in the north country, being under strong temptations to end my life, I went down to a river to do it, but a thought of futurity darted into my mind ; the value of my soul ! Oh ! Eternity. I promised and resolved that if God would grant me strength to resist the temptation, and see my native land in peace, that I would discharge my duty to my friends ; which he did, and now my promise began to stare me in the face.

140. I felt it my duty to visit from house to house ; but the cross was so heavy, I strove to run round it ; but the thorns beside the way scratched me : and to take up one end of the cross it dragged hard ; here the old temptation returned so powerful, that I durst not go from one appointment to another alone, nor without one to go with me, and sometimes to sleep in the same room, lest I should end myself at night ; and for the ease and enjoyment of my mind, I was necessitated and did visit about sixty different families, and then set off to Granville circuit, under the care of *Sylvester Hutchinson*, with *Smith Weeks* and *Joseph Mitchell*. Weeks was at first unwilling I should come on the circuit, fearing how I would make out, but seeing I was under trials, consented : accordingly I went round until I came to Suffield. Upon my entering the neighborhood, falling into conversation with an old man, he invited me to hold a meeting at his house : accordingly I appointed to preach to the youth in the evening ; and went to my other appointment

not far off. The man of this house shut his door and would entertain no more meetings. This was a trial to me, not knowing what the society would do for a place to meet in.

141. When I began to meditate what I should say to the youth, I could think of no subject, and felt distressed, and was sorry I had made the appointment.

142. I withdrew to a field to seek help from the Lord ; but I felt as if all the powers of darkness were combined and compassed me about.

143. When I saw the people began to collect, I thought I would have given the whole world if I possessed it, that the meeting had not been appointed; but as it was now given out, and circumstances being as they were, I durst do no other than go to the house ; I went with this burthen to the house, and by an impression spoke *ironically* from the words of Solomon, which mightily pleased the youth at first. My burthen was soon gone ; the power of God seemed to overshadow the people, as I turned the discourse upon the *judgment* which the youth must be brought into : and one of the ringleaders was cut to the heart, and brought to seek God. Here a good work broke out, and where about thirty or forty used to attend, now the congregation was increased to hundreds, and this wilderness seemed to bud and blossom as the rose.

144. In Northampton, a society was collected likewise, though Methodists had not preached there before.

145. August 6th, after preaching in Conway, I went to Buckland ; and when the people saw my youth, and were disappointed of the preacher they expected, they despised me in their hearts. However, God made bear his arm, and I have reason to believe that about thirty persons were stirred up to seek God from this day.

146. The year past was remarkable for very many persons complaining of uncommon trials of mind from the enemy of souls, and scarcely any revival to be heard of either in Connecticut, Massachusetts, or the upper part of New York.

147. The flame kindled and ran into several neighboring towns, and some hundreds of souls professed to experience the forgiveness of their sins.

148. A great deal of opposition, both from preachers and people, Baptists and Presbyterians, were in this quarter ; professing to be friends to God and truth, whilst to us they were secret enemies ; seeking to get people converted to their way of thinking, and proselyted to their denomination.

149. I dreamed one night, that I saw a field without end, and a man and boy striving to gather in the corn, whilst thousands of birds were destroying it. I thought there was such a ne-

cessity for the corn to be gathered, that let the laborers work ever so hard, the labor would not wear out their strength until the harvest was past.

150. This dream encouraged me to go on in this work, and in the space of twenty-two days, I travelled three hundred and fifty miles, and preached seventy-six times: besides visiting some from house to house, and speaking to hundreds in class meetings. In several other places, there was a good revival likewise. At the *quarterly meeting*, I obtained a *CERTIFICATE* concerning my *usefulness* and *conduct* here, and as S. Hutchinson thought not proper to take all the preachers to conference, concluded to leave me to help the revivals; and that he would there transact my business for me, so I gave him my *dismission* from Rhode Island, and my *two last recommendations* to carry into conference.

151. September 19th. Conference began in Wilbraham: my case was brought forward, to determine whether I should be admitted on trial to preach, or sent home, or expelled.

152. J. Lee, and several others, of whom some were strangers to my person, took up hard against me, from say and hear say; and only one at first espoused my cause, (this was Joseph Mitchell, with whom I had travelled these last few weeks,) after some time a second joined him. The debate was sharp and lasted for about three hours; when Mitchell and Bostwick could say no more, but sat down and wept; which seemed to touch the hearts of some: at length, it being put to the vote whether I should travel or not; about two-thirds of the conference were in my favor. All that saved me, in this conference from an expulsion, was the blessing which had attended my labors; but still those who were against me would not suffice me to be admitted on trial, nor my name printed in the minutes. One said, if they acknowledged me fit to travel, why not my name be put on the minutes? if he be fit for one, why not for the other, &c. So I was given into the hands of S. Hutchinson, to employ me or send me home, as he should think fit. He sent me a message to meet him on Long Island, which I never received in time to go; and the first preacher, (Daniel Bromley,) who came to me after conference, I asked, what hath the conference done with me. He replied, they have done by you as they have done by me: what's that? said I; He replied they have stationed me on this circuit—and that was all that could get out of him concerning the matter; only he ordered me to take his appointments round the circuit, whilst he should go to see his friends, until he should meet me again. Accordingly I set out to go round the circuit.—I had been on my way but a day or two, before I came to places where the

preachers, on their way from conference, had been, and told the *accusations* against me, and my *rejection*. Thus it was, day after day; people telling me the same story.

153. From *this circumstance*, as the conference had given me *no station*, and *Hutchinson's* message not reaching me, I concluded I should be *sent home* again; as I had no *license* according to discipline, which one *must* have, if his *name* is not printed in the *minutes*.

154. My trials were great; I was afraid I should become insane; and seeing no chance for my life, I publicly gave up the *name* of Methodist, and assigned the reason why, viz. because the preachers would not receive me as a brother to travel with them, &c., and was resolved to set out for some distant part of America, out of sight and hearing of the Methodists, and get societies formed, and the next year come and offer myself and them to the connexion; and take this method to get my character established; for J. Lee had said, if I attempted to travel in the *name* of a Methodist, without their consent, he would advertise me in *every paper* on the continent, &c. for an impostor.

155. But now arose a difficulty from another quarter; I had lost my *great coat* on the road whilst travelling, and my *coat* was so worn out that I was forced to *barrow* one; my shoes were unfit for further service, and I had not a *farthing* of money to help myself with, and no particular *friends* to look to for assistance. Thus one day whilst riding along, facing a hard, cold northeast storm, very much chilled, I came to a wood; and alighting from my horse and falling upon my knees on the wet grass; I lifted up my voice and wept, and besought God either to release me from travelling and preaching, or else to raise me up friends. My soul was refreshed; my confidence was strengthened, and I did believe that God would do one or the other: and true it was: people a few days after this, of their own accord, supplied all my necessities, and gave me a few shillings to bear my expenses.

156. Jeremiah Ballard, whom I had esteemed as a pious man, was expelled at the Wilbraham conference, and as he represented it to me, it was unjustly; he went with me to the north, and a number of places he saw, with me, the out-pouring of God's spirit: he was minded to form societies, and call ourselves by the name of *Separate Methodists*. I told him, no; for God did own the Methodists, and of course I durst not do any thing to their injury. This caused a separation between him and me: he formed societies on his own plan, and afterwards I saw him no more; but by what I could learn, he and his people differed, and then he and some of them removed off to the western country. It appears that the conference were

under the necessity of excluding him for a *foolish* thing ; as he would show no humility, but stubborn impenitence. O ! how blessed is the spirit of meekness.

157. I accordingly left the circuit and set off for the north : I had not gone far till I came to Deerfield river ; in riding through which, the cakes of ice going down the stream, had like to have cost me my life ; but this did not discourage me ; I still went on my way, upwards of an hundred miles, till I came to the town of Windsor, in Vermont ; where God poured out his Spirit, and several were turned to him. I thought it not my duty to leave the young converts to the devouring wolves, but to tarry and strengthen them for a season ; and whilst here wrote back to some of my old friends, who told the preachers where I was and what I was about ; who wrote requesting me to come back to a quarterly meeting. At first I concluded not to go ; thinking what should they want but to scold me ; but feeling it impressed upon my mind in a powerful manner, one evening, after holding two meetings, I called for my horse, and set out from Claremont, and continued travelling twenty-five hours, excepting the times of baiting my horse, during which space, I rode about an hundred and seventeen miles, and got back to Conway on my old circuit : from hence, I proceeded to Buckland, where was held the quarterly meeting—and met the preachers, wishing to know what they wanted with me.

158. *Hutchinson* began to be very crabby and cross, seemingly at first, in his questioning me why I went away ? I assigned him as the reason, because that I had no *chance* for my life. Why, said he, did you not receive the message I sent you, to come to me ? I replied, no ; (not until it was too late, &c.) which I could hardly persuade him to believe at the first.

159. *L. Macombs* asked, what I came back for ? I told him, I was sent for, and I came to see what they wanted of me.—Said he, what do you intend to do ? I replied, I expected to go back to the north ; then he and *Hutchinson* went and talked together. I was sorry I had gone away, after I had found out the *mistake*, and *Hutchinson's* friendship for me : accordingly in answer to a query which was proposed, viz. what satisfaction can you make ? I replied, that I was willing to acknowledge that I was sorry, but not guilty, as I did it in sincerity, not hearing soon enough of his message : which acknowledgment I made, first, in quarterly conference, before about thirty preachers, leaders, and stewards, with exhorters, and then he required it in a public assembly of about eight hundred people.

160. After which, I travelled several days, in company with *S. Hutchinson*, who was going to take me to Cambridge circuit ; and on the way, said he, “ the conference have had a

great deal of talk and trouble concerning you, and now you are under my care, and you shall *live* or *die* at the end of *three* months : if you are faithful and your labors blest, so that you can obtain a recommendation from the circuit, all shall be well; but if not, you shall die.

161. Accordingly, after reaching the circuit, a saying I remembered, viz. you had as good be hanged for stealing an old sheep as a lamb, and finding the people in a very low state of religion, I was convinced that nothing but a revival could *save* my life; I was therefore resolved to do my endeavors to get a revival or else to get the circuit broke up. So I went a visiting the people, from house to house, all denominations, that were in the neighborhood, and where there was freedom, to exhort them collectively or individually, as I felt in my mind, after joining in prayer.

162. *Pittstown*, New York, was the first place I thus tried on this circuit, and preached at night. Thus I did here, for several days successively, and it caused a great deal of talk. Some said I was *crazy*; others, that I was possessed of the devil; some said one thing, and some thought another: many it brought out, to hear the strange man; and would go away cursing and swearing, saying, that I was saucy and deserved knocking down, and the uproar was so great among the people, that the *half-hearted* and *lukewarm* Methodists were *tried* to the quick, and became my warm opposers; complaining of me to my travelling companion, TIMOTHY DEWEY, whose mind at first was prejudiced! however, it was not long before I had the satisfaction to see some small fruit of my labor here; which gave me encouragement to strive to raise the inquiry of the people to consideration: though the devil should be raised round the circuit.

163. In this place, I visited about a hundred families, some of them twice or thrice over. In *Ashgrove*, I walked about four miles, and visited every family in the way, and generally met with a good reception, though the cross of visiting thus was the hardest and happiest that ever I took up. *Wilson's* hollow, which was surrounded by mountains, except one small entrance by which I set out to go to an appointment; and coming to a house, I felt impressed to go in and pay them a visit; but the cross being heavy, I strove to excuse myself and go by, saying the other preachers who are *older* in years and in *experience and learning* do not visit thus, and yet enjoy the comforts of religion, and I will take them for my pattern; thinking it impossible that God should call me to such a *peculiarity*, who was so weak and ignorant. Instantly, I felt distress in my mind; when I came to a second house I felt impressed as above;

but still *supported* my mind against it with the same arguments —when I cast a look to the sky, and felt as if God was about to revive religion there, and if I did not visit them, *their souls* would be required at my hand: it seemed as though the sun frowned upon me: accordingly, I resolved, if the impression continued, that I would go into the next house, and if I met good reception, that I would thus go through all the families in the hollow, which amounted to about thirty in number. I called, and finding a good reception to my visit, I went to a second and third, but was turned away: to all in the village, however, I went, and some thought one thing, and some said another; however, they came out to hear a crazy man, as they thought, and were struck with a great solemnity, whilst I spoke from these words, “Thus saith the Lord, set thine house in order, for thou shalt die and not live.” The second and the third day, I held meetings likewise, and said, at such a time, I hope to be here again, God willing; and accordingly came, and proposed a covenant to the people, if they would attempt to pray three times a day, four weeks, (on their knees,) I would remember them thrice in the twenty-four hours during that space, God being our helper, to perform; and those who would endeavor to do it, to signify it by standing on their feet, and those who would not, to keep their seats; for God is about to revive religion here; and those who will put in for a share, may freely obtain, but those who neglect will find to their sorrow.

164. About twenty rose up, to which I called God to witness, and whilst we were at prayer, one who had not agreed, caught hold of a loom to avoid falling down, whilst his knees smote together. The evening after I was gone, the youth assembled to take counsel about their souls; and were so concerned, that the cries became general, and were heard afar off: but eight persons found comfort before they disbanded.

165. To this place, *Hutchinson* came, just after he reached the circuit, though I had not heard of this effect of my labors.

166. Thus round the circuits I went, visiting from house to house, getting into as *many* new neighborhoods as I could, and sparing no character in my public declarations. Many were offended at my *plainness* both of *dress*, *expressions*, and way of *address* in conversation, about heart religion; so that the country seemed to be in an uproar; scarcely one to take up my cause, and I was mostly known by the name of *crazy Dow*. At length, quarterly meeting came on in Welsh hollow, and I expected an expulsion, the uproar being so great, as *T. Dewey* had come thirty miles to give me a scolding for my conduct: to whom I said, I make a conscience of what I do, and for it, I expect to give an account to God: if you should even turn

against me, I cannot hearken to you, in this matter. After which God gave me favor in his sight; so that he took my part, and defended my cause (round the circuit, like a champion) to the lukewarm, unknown to me at first. Of him I was the more afraid, as I knew that he had promoted the expulsion of *Ballard*.

167. So I went to *Hutchinson*, and besought him to exclude me, that I might go my way and be of no more trouble to them; which he refused, and gave me some sharp words, and said he would not; but that I should tarry on that circuit another quarter, adding, but before the quarter is up, I expect you'll leave the circuit and run away: so we parted. But I was resolved he should be disappointed in me for once at least, if no more.

168. At Claridon and Castleton the society were watching over me for evil, and not for good. These two places, I visited likewise, from house to house; next to Fair Haven, where I met with hard speeches. Then to Poultney, where was no regular preaching. Here lived a young woman whom I began to question about her soul; but met with cool answers. Well, said I, I'll pray to God to send a fit of sickness upon you, if nothing else will do, to bring you to good, and if you won't repent then, to take you out of the way, so that you shall not hinder others.—Said she, if you'll pray for such things as this, you can't be the friend you pretend to be to my soul; and I'll venture all your prayers, and was much displeased, and so was her mother likewise. She soon began to grow uneasy and restless, and went into one room and into another, back and forth; then sitting down, but could get no relief. The whole family, except the father and one son, began to grow outrageous towards me, which occasioned me to go seven miles late at night, for the sake of family quietness.

169. Shortly afterwards the young woman began to seek God, and with two of her sisters, were found walking in the ways of wisdom: and a society was soon formed in the place, although I saw them no more.

170. In Hampton and Skeinsborough, on the south end of lake Champlain, was some revival, likewise.

171. Here was a woman who found fault with me, for exhorting the wicked to pray; saying, the prayers of the wicked were an abomination to the Lord. But I told her *that was home-made scripture*; for that there was no such expression in the bible: and after bringing undeniable passages to prove it was their duty, I besought her to pray: she replied, I cannot get time. I then offered to buy the time, and for a dollar she promised she would spend one day as I should direct, if it were in a lawful way, provided she could get the day, (she not thinking I was in earnest;) I then turned to her mistress, who promised to give her a day—then throwing a dollar into her lap, I called God and about thirty

persons present, to witness the agreement. She besought me to take the dollar again, which I refused, saying, if you go to hell, it may follow and enhance your damnation. About ten days elapsed, when her conscience roaring loud, she took the day, and read two chapters in the bible, and retired thrice to pray to God to show her what she was, and what he would have her to be, according to my directions.

172. Afterwards, I had the satisfaction to hear that before night she felt distressed on account of her soul, and before long found the comforts of religion. From thence I visited Kingsborough and Queensborough, where many were brought to a sense of themselves, among whom was *Solomon Moon*.

173. One evening, just as I had dismissed the assembly, I saw a man to whom my mind was impressed to go; and before I was aware of it, I was breaking through the crowd; and when I had got to him, I said, "are you willing I should ask you a few serious questions?" to which he replied, yes: do you believe, (said I,) there is a God? said he, yes.

174. Q. Do you believe there is a reality in religion?

A. I am uncertain; but think we ought to do as we would be done by.

Q. Are you willing for some good advice?

A. Yes.

Q. Supposing I shall give you some that you can find no fault with the *tendency of it*; are you willing, and will you try to follow it for four weeks?

A. Yes, if it is no unreasonable request.

I then desired him not to believe what authors, ministers, or people, said, because they said so; but to search the scriptures to seek for light and instruction there; to read but a little at a time, and read it often, striving to take the sense of it.

2dly. Not to stumble over the unexemplary walk of professors of religion; nor the contradiction of ministers' sermons; but to forsake not what other people thought was wrong, but what he himself thought to be wrong: and then to take his leisure time, and go where none would see him but God, twice or thrice a day, and upon his knees beseech the Almighty to give him an evidence within, that there was a heaven and a hell, and a reality in religion, and the necessity of enjoying it in order to die happy; and then, said I, I do not believe the time will expire before you will find an alteration in your mind, and that for the better.

Q. Is the advice good or bad?

A. I have no fault to find; the natural tendency of it is to good, if followed.

I then said, you promised, if the advice was good, and you had no fault to find with it, that you would follow it four weeks and now I call God to witness to your promise; so left him.

He went away, and began to meditate how he was taken in the promise before he was aware of it, and for forty-eight hours neglected it—when his conscience condemned him, and for the ease of his mind was necessitated to go and pray.

175. From hence I went to Thermon's patent, and held several meetings, not in vain, and riding across the branches of Hudson's river, I called the inhabitants together, and we had a refreshing season from the presence of the Lord. In eternity, I believe, some will be thankful for that day.

176. After preaching at Fort Edward, (where one took fire mysteriously, and was burnt to death,) I went to East-town.—Here the youth, under plain dealing, would frequently leave the house. Accordingly, after procuring the school house, I invited all the youth to come and I would preach to them; and the house was filled from end to end: and then placing my back against the door, (to prevent their running away,) gave out the text, and did not spare, and was soon confirmed that God was about to visit the place.

177. Solemnity rested on every countenance, and in the morning the congregation was treble its usual number, and there was a shaking among the dry bones. This neighborhood I visited from house to house likewise, and conversed personally with the youth, found that about two-thirds of them were under serious impressions, but durst not expose it to each other for fear of being laughed at, (though some fled from me to prevent being talked to,) and in this private conversation, they promised to pray for a season, one of which broke her promise and strove to escape my sight, but following her to a neighboring house, I sat in the door and would not let her out till she promised to serve God or the devil for a fortnight; the latter she chose, saying, I can't keep the other: and I called God to witness, and said, I'll pray that you may be taken sick before the fortnight's up—and left her.—Before night she began to grow uneasy and was sorry she made the promise, and soon broke it, and began to seek the salvation of her soul, and in about a week was hopefully converted to God.

178. After I had gone through the visiting, in public meeting I set forth plainly the state of the youth, as abovementioned, and besought them not to be afraid of each other, but to continue seeking the Lord. And one evening whilst *T. Dewey* was exhorting, a flash of forked lightning pierced the air, and rolling thunder seemed to shake the house. Some screeched out for mercy; some jumped out at the windows, and others ran out at the door.

179. From this night the stir became visible, and thirteen of the youth that night resolved together to pursue religion, let their companions do as they would. A young man by the name of

Gideon Drapar, said, "If I can stand the *crazy man*, I will venture all the Methodist preachers to convert me." And when I heard of his expression, faith sprang up in my soul, and I felt a desire to talk to him; he objected, "I am too young;" but here God brought him down, and he is now an itinerant preacher.

180. As our quarterly meeting was drawing near, every society round the circuit promised, such a day, as much as their labor and bodily strength would admit, to observe as a day of prayer and fasting to God, that he would meet with us at the quarterly meeting; which came on June 20th, at Pittstown.

181. Here, after *S. Hutchinson* had finished his sermon, *J. Mitchell* began to exhort, when there commenced a trembling amongst the wicked: one, and a second, and a third fell from their seats, and the cry for mercy became general; and many of the backslidden professors were cut to the quick; and I think for eleven hours there was no cessation of the loud cries; no business of a temporal nature could be done at this quarterly meeting conference.

182. The next day, *Solomon Moon*, who had come more than forty miles, stood up in the love feast and declared how he was caught in a promise, and to ease his mind, was necessitated to fulfil, and within three days, found the reality of what he had doubted; and besought others not to be afraid of promising to serve God: for, said he, I bless the day that ever I saw the face of brother Dow. It was curiosity, as he testified, which first induced him to come out to hear him that was called the crazy man. In this love feast, the cry began again and continued till within two hours of sun setting, when I went off to an appointment, leaving about twenty who were resolved not to go away until they found pardon.

183. This day's meeting was a season not soon to be forgotten. I have reason to believe, from observation round the circuit, that not less than an hundred souls were blessed and quickened here. N. B. It had continued from nine in the morning.

184. During these last three months, I had six hundred miles to travel, in four weeks, besides meeting in class upwards of six hundred members and spectators, and preaching seventy or seventy-five times; and some visiting.

185. As we were enlarging this circuit, there being a vacant place of upwards of sixty miles, where I, with some trouble, got a few places of preaching. As I was travelling, at a distance I saw one dressed in black, whom I overtook; and I asked, in our conversation, if he knew any thing of the Methodists and their doctrine lately, in these parts. He was a Calvinist Baptist preacher, and from my dress and questions he supposed that I was no preacher, but a stranger to the Methodists, so he talked just like a pre-

judiced Calvinist, about them; and when he had found me out, he colored, and invited me to dine at an acquaintance of his; and I requested permission to pray with them, which caused a surprise.—“Prayers,” thought they, “in the middle of the day!” Through this medium, the door was opened at Brandon, where I made a covenant with the people; here curiosity brought out one of the chief men, a merchant, with his proud neice; to hear, as he expected, a great man, but being disappointed in the looks of the person, was almost ready to go home; but considering in his mind, I have come a mile and a-half distance, through a difficult road; now I am here, I’ll stay to the end. He rose up in the covenant with his neice, not thinking what they were about, but seeing others rise. I called God to witness to the covenant, and went on my way. The consciences of these two persons began to condemn them for breach of promise; and to ease their minds, were constrained to fulfil, and soon found comfort; and they, with his wife, at the end of four weeks, came out to join society; and twenty-two others followed their example the same day: in nine days after, twenty-five others joined likewise.

186. The commonality said, the Methodists have done some good, by turning the mind of the blasphemer, from collecting in his debts, to religion, and so we are kept out of jail.

187. In New Huntingdon, I made a covenant with the people, which proved not altogether in vain. Shortly after, about forty were joined in class. This place, I visited from house to house, with Hindsburg, Monkton, and Starksborough; where the wilderness seemed to bud and blossom as the rose. O! the joyful meetings we had in these new countries, will not soon be forgotten.

188. When in Williston, an uncle of mine with his family came out to hear, but behaved very rudely, and strove to persuade me to leave the town, and have no more meetings there; for, said he, you’ll break up our good order.

189. From hence I proceeded to Richmond, where was a woman, who being told by her physician that death was now upon her, cried out, Why, doctor Marsh, you have been deceiving me, promising me life and health, not letting me know my danger, that I might prepare for death. Twice I have been brought to the gates of death, and promised God, if I might be restored, that I would serve him, and after recovering, broke my promise, and went on in the ways of sin; and now I am brought to the gates of death, and have not time to repent: and turning to a man in the company, said, whilst the minister is preaching my funeral sermon, know ye that my soul is in hell, and then expired.

190. Here whilst I preached, some liked, others mocked, and were unwilling to converse with me, lest I should ensnare them

into a promise. From hence I crossed Onion river, (through some danger by reason of its depth) to *Underhill*, where God gave me one child in the gospel, as I found next year. From thence to *Cambridge*, where I met with some opposition, and crossing the river Demiles to *Fairfield* and *Fairfax*, where the people were serious, but some afterwards spoke evil of this way.

191. Thence to *St. Albans*, where one made disturbance in meeting, which I reprov'd. After meeting, he said, if I did not make him satisfaction, by a public acknowledgment that I had abused him, he would prosecute me at law. I defied him to do his worst, knowing that the law was in my favor; then, said he, lay out for the worst. In another meeting, although he thought himself a gentleman, he came in and publicly attempted to wring my nose; but I dodging my head, his hand slipped by; and though I was a stranger, a man attempted to take my part, so I was forgotten by the first; the wrangle in words was so sharp between them, that the woman of the house turned him out of doors.

192. The next day he way laid me until he was tired and chilled, and went in to warm himself, and just then I rode by the house where he was.

193. I preached in *Swanton*, likewise, and though I had many critics, and was publicly opposed by three Baptist preachers, yet three persons dated their conviction and conversion from this meeting: at the close of it, I appealed to the people that I had proved every disputed point from the scriptures; whereas my opponents had not brought one whole passage of scripture, in support of their assertions: so having first recommended them neither implicitly to believe me nor my opponents, but to search the scriptures for their own information, we parted. But the Baptists held a council amongst themselves, and came to a conclusion, that it was best to come no more to hear such false doctrine, as they deemed mine to be. From *Canada*, I visited all the towns on the Lake shore, to *Orwell*, to my uncle Daniel Rusts, and God was with me on the way.

194. The circuit was now divided, and I was to take the part which lay towards Albany.

195. September 10th, having travelled on foot the preceding week, about ninety miles, and preached nearly twice a day, I thought that something broke or gave way in my breast. I borrowed a horse, and proceeded from *Wells* to *Danby*. Whilst speaking in the chapel, my strength failed and I gave over, and brother Lobdel concluded the meeting.

196. To his house I went, but was soon confined to the floor with a strong fever, being destitute of money, bound in body, and but one room in the house, and several children in the family; and the walking across the floor, (the sleepers being long) caused

a springing, which gave me much pain, as I had but one blanket under me. A wicked physician was employed, without my consent, whose prescriptions I did not feel freedom to follow; but being over-persuaded by some who wished me well, I at length complied, and found a very bad effect attended: being in this situation, I began to meditate what course to take, knowing that unless I could get help soon I must die.—When I recollected an account I had heard of a man in a fever, who was given over to die; and by persuading his watcher to give him plentifully of cold water, which was contrary to orders, he recovered in a few hours. I endeavoured to follow the example, by asking it in tea-cups full, from both of my watchers alternately, (so that they should not mistrust my intention, lest they should withhold it from me) as they waked up in the night, until I had taken twenty-four cups, which promoted a copious perspiration, and the fever left me; but I was so weak that I could not bear the noise and shaking; and the extremes from heat and cold, occasioned by fire being sometimes large and sometimes nearly out. The man of the house with *J. Mitchell*, were now gone to the conference at *Granville*. I hearing of another family of Methodists who were rich, persuaded a young man without religion, to make a *bier* and sew a coverlet upon it; with which, (the neighbors being called in) they carried me up and down hills, (like a corpse) several miles to the rich man's house, where I expected the best attendance; but, alas! I was much disappointed, for they seemed unwilling to assist me with nursing or necessaries; neither could I send to where I had friends, by reason of the distance. Here I despaired of life, and some who were no friends to my manner of conduct, reported that I was dead, from which it appeared, they wished it were the case. This report gained much ground, and circulated for some hundreds of miles; so that my parents heard of it, and believing it, gave me up for dead, and my sisters dressed in mourning, and the preachers on hearing it so credibly, ventured to preach my funeral sermon in several places where I had travelled.

197. The first relief that I got during this illness, was from a *Quaker* (a namesake of mine, though no relation) who had accidentally heard me preach.

198. He came ten miles to see me, on hearing I was sick: I hinted to him concerning my situation; he went away and the next day came again, and brought a quart of wine, a pint of brandy, a pound of raisins, and half a pound of loaf sugar. These articles seemed to give me new strength, but were soon out. My nurse, who was a spiritual child of mine, offered to get me what I had need of at her own cost; but she having herself and two children to maintain by her labor, being forsaken by her husband,

my heart was so tender that I could not accept of her kind offer. Then she prevailed upon the man of the house, with much difficulty, to get me a bottle of wine. The reason (I suppose) they were so unwilling to supply me with what I stood in need of, was because they expected no recompense.

199. The floor over head was loose boards, on which they poured day after day, baskets of apples and Indian corn in the ear; which with the working of a loom, and spinning wheels in an adjoining room, besides the cider mill near at hand, all together, caused such noises as in my very weak state distressed me much. In addition to the above, the youth of the neighborhood made noisy visits, without restraint of the family.

200. A man who had heard of, but never seen me, came fifteen miles to know my state, and gave me a dollar. Soon after, two men who had heard that I was dead, and then alive, and dead again, came about thirty miles to find out the truth concerning me. I was glad to see them, and would take no denial, until they promised to come with a wagon and take me away: which they were unwilling to do, thinking that I should die by the fatigue, but at length consented.

201. The wagon came, and a message from a young woman, that if I would come to her father's house, the best of care should be taken of me. Her name was *Mary Switzer*.

202. I waited thirty-six hours for the rain to abate, but seeing it did not, I persuaded them to wrap me in a coverlet, and with straw under and over me we set out—and over rugged hills and mountains, carried me twenty-seven miles in eight hours, to the house where I was invited; and beyond their expectation I received no harm. At this time I was so weak, that I was obliged to be carried; not being able even to stand alone.

203. The young woman made good her promise, and the young friends who had joined society when I was in this part before, spared no pains for my comfort—she being up with me four and five times every night, whilst I was still despairing of life. One evening, as the young people were holding a prayer meeting in the adjoining room, a thought came into my mind, “Why is not God as able now to raise me to health as those in primitive days?” something answered, “He is;” why is he not as willing? something replied, “He is;” another thought arose, “Why don't he do it?” the answer was, “because you lack faith:” It struck my mind, “is faith the gift of God? or is it the creature's act?” the reply was, “the power to believe is the gift of God; but the act of faith is the creature's.” I instantly strove to see if I could act faith; and I did believe, if the young people which were in the room, would intercede with God, faithfully during that week, that God would, in answer to many prayers, restore me to health.

204. I made this request of them, if consistent with God's will. About two hours afterwards I fell asleep, and had a singular dream, by which I was convinced I should see my native town in peace once more; and within fifteen hours after I perceptibly began to amend, and by the goodness of God, after about ten weeks' confinement, from the beginning of my illness, I was able to ride alone.

205. During this illness I was frequently asked if I did not repent having exposed myself to such toils and hardships, through the year past? I replied, no—if it was to do, I would do it again; it brought me such peace and consolation, that now my very soul was lifted up above the fear of death, so that the grave appeared lovely.

206. What I wished to live for, was principally these—first, to attain to higher degrees of holiness here, that I might be happier hereafter; and secondly, I felt the worth of souls to lie near my heart, and I desired to be useful to them. What I desired to die for, was to get out of this troublesome world, and to be at rest with saints above.

207. I obtained a *letter of recommendation*, signed by above thirty local preachers, stewards, and class leaders, &c. concerning my usefulness and moral conduct; which T. Dewey carried to the conference, and gave his opinion concerning me: when nine others and I were *admitted on TRIAL*. My name was now printed in the minutes, and I received a written license from Francis Asbury. Then said S. Hutchinson to J. Lee, this is the crazy man you have been striving to kill so much.

208. November 20. I set off with brother Dewey, for the north, though still so weak that I could neither get on nor off my horse alone.

209. In Argyle, we had a solemn season; then we parted and I re-visited Thermon's patent and Queensborough: after which, I rode twenty-three miles, facing a cold north east snow storm; I think the hardest that I ever was exposed to: even wild geese could not keep their course, but flew round and round. The next day but one, I rode through Rutland thirty-six miles to Brandon; stayed a week; met the societies; preached fifteen times and bade them farewell, and returned southward, visiting some places until the quarterly meeting came on.

210. I took my leave of the classes and people in the different places, taking them to record that I had spared no pains, either by night or day, in public or in private, to bring them to good; and if they did not repent, I should appear against them at a future day, calling the sun, moon and stars, with the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field to witness against them, that my skirts were pure from all their blood.*

* I have not seen them since.

211. December 27th, I puked almost to death before it could be stopped; but far beyond expectation, God enabled me to speak at night. On the 29th, I held three meetings, which appeared not in vain. On the 29th, our quarterly meeting began in Ashgrove, where I was complained of, and was whipped (in words) by brother Hutchinson for jealousy.

212. The next day we had a refreshing season and about two hundred communicants; and after giving them my farewell, I felt as pure from the blood of the people as if I had never been called to preach.

213. During my stay upon these two circuits, in ten months, about six hundred were taken into society, and as many more went off and joined the Baptists and Presbyterians.

214. From thence, I started with brother Sabin for the South. I rode through Bennington, in a cold storm; through tedious drifts of snow, to Williamstown.

215. January 1st, 1799. I again renewed my covenant to be more faithful to God and man than I had been. I proceeded to Stockbridge, and met my friend Hubberd, who was to go where I came from, and I to supply his place on Pittsfield circuit, while brother Sabin was to go to Litchfield. This circuit was in a very low situation, and the most despised of any in New England; and as they had frequently sent complaints to conference against their preachers, I at first refused to go to it, lest I should be injured by false brethren, knowing that J. Sawyer, with whom I was to travel, had been prejudiced against me. But upon conditions that Dewey and Sawyer would stand by me, as far as consistent with truth and discipline, I consented to go.

216. On the 3d, I began to pursue the circuit regularly, after my irregular manner, to sinners and lukewarm professors, with backsliders.

217. From Lenox, going across the mountain to New Canaan, I met with a loss, and had like to have perished with the cold and snow drifts.

218. 6th. I preached in Pittsfield: the members were high in profession, but low in heart: their prejudice being great, they did not invite me to their houses, but were sorry I came on the circuit.

219. 7th. Windsor. In the lukewarm class, the power of God was felt. From hence to Adams and Stanford, where revivals soon broke out, but the Baptists did us much harm, pretending to be friends; but with the reprobation doctrine opposing as enemies behind our backs.

220. Thence through Clarksburgh to Pownal, where the people were once engaged in religion, but now were hardened; so we gave up the place.

221. Thence to Hoosac, where several were cut to the heart, and shortly after a beautiful society was formed. This town being large, I went into several other parts to break up fresh ground.

222. One day, a man said to me, "fourteen months ago I met you coming out of Troy; and you, after enquiring the road, asked, was my peace made with God? I replied, I hope so; (knowing it was not) for which my conscience condemned me; but the pride of my heart would not suffer me to acknowledge that I lied; and you, after giving me good advice, went on your way; which advice has not left me yet; and now I am resolved to serve God the remainder of my life." This was an encouragement to me, not to be discouraged, as bread thrown on the waters is found after many days.—Hence I went to Troy, where was some revival in the class. Thence to Greenbush, where a glorious work of God began.

223. The second time I went to this place the people flocked out by hundreds, to hear the strange man preach up his principles. I told the people that God had promised me two souls to be converted from that day; and if my labors were not acknowledged, they might brand me in the forehead with the mark of liar, and on the back with the mark of hypocrite.

224. They watched my words. However, two who were in the assembly thought, oh! that I might be one of these two; and shortly after both found pardon. A reprobation preacher sought to do us much harm, when I publicly besought God, if he was a true minister, to bless his labors, and make it manifest; but if he had jumped presumptuously into the work, that God would remove him so that he should not hurt the people. Shortly after, he fell into a scandalous sin, and so his influence was lost.

225. At Canaan-gore, a number of backsliders and sinners were brought to a sense of themselves, and joined in a class; one of whom invited me to preach in Green River meeting house, as we had a right to it two days in the year.

226. The time arrived; the people came out, and I went; but having a hard day's journey of twenty-five miles, and to preach five times, and to speak to three classes, I had to be in earnest.

227. As I entered the meeting house, having an old borrowed great coat on, and two hats, the people were alarmed, and thought it singular that I did not bow to every pew as I went towards the pulpit, which was the custom there. Some laughed, and some blushed, and the attention of all was excited. I spoke for about two hours, giving the inside and outside of Methodism.—Many, I believe, for that day, will be thankful, though I was strongly opposed by a reprobationist in the afternoon.—My hat being taken from me without my consent, and two others forced upon me, I was carrying one to give a young man.

228. In New Concord, religion being low, I visited the people three miles, taking every house, and (being persuaded) I told the people that God would soon surely revive his work ; which words they marked and sought to do me harm, as instantly the work did not appear.

229. I besought God in public, that something awful might happen in the neighborhood, if nothing else would do to alarm the people. For this prayer many said I ought to be punished.

230. A company of young people, going to a tavern, one of them said, I will ride there as Christ rode into Jerusalem : instantly his horse started, ran a distance, and threw him against a log. He spoke no more until he died ; which was next morning.*

231. In this neighborhood, the young people assembled again to a gingerbread lottery ; and I preached from—"if they hear not Moses and the prophets ; neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."—They were so struck, that the fiddler whom they employed, had nothing to do.

232. At length the revival appeared visible, and the mouths of gainsayers were shut : numbers were added to class.

233. On my way to Spencertown, at a distance, I discovered a place in a hilly country, where I thought God would immediately revive his work. Coming to a house, I inquired my road, but found I had gone out of my way ; but upon being righted, I came to the place which just before I had seen from the top of a mountain, where I thought God would revive his work.

234. I began immediately to visit the neighborhood from house to house. The people thought it strange, (I being a stranger,) and came out to see where it would end.

235. Here too it was soon reported I was crazy, which brought many out to the different meetings : amongst whom was an old man, who came to hear for himself, and told the congregation that I was crazy, and advised them to hear me no more. I replied, people do not blame crazy ones for their behavior ; and last night I preached from the word of the Lord ; but when I come again I will preach from the word of the devil. This tried our weak brethren : however, the people came out by hundreds to hear the new doctrine. I spoke from Luke iv. 6, 7, and an overshadowing season we had of the divine presence. I besought the family to promise to serve God ; but upon receiving a refusal, my soul was so pained with concern on their account, that I could not eat my breakfast, and set out to go away in the rain. Conviction seized the minds of the family ; they followed me at a distance with tears, and made me the promise, and not altogether in vain.

* His name was *Valentine*.

Here the society was greatly enlarged ; those that were in darkness were brought into marvellous light.

236. In Alford, I preached Methodism, inside and outside.— Many came to hear ; one woman thought I aimed at her dress. The next meeting she ornamented far more, in order that I might speak to her. But I in my discourse took no notice of dress, and she went away disgraced and ashamed.

237. The brethren here treated me very coldly at first, so I was necessitated to pay for my horse keeping for five weeks : and being confined a few days with the ague and fever, the man of the house not being a Methodist, I paid him for my accommodation.

238. I had said in public that God would bless my labors there ; which made the people watch me for evil and not for good. I visited the whole neighborhood from house to house, which made a great uproar among the people. However the fire kindled ; the society got enlivened, and several others who were stumbling at the unexemplary walk of professors, were convinced and brought to find the realities of religion for themselves. When leaving this place, I was offered pay for my expenses, but I refused it, saying, if you wish to do me good, treat the coming preachers better than you have done me.

239. Stockbridge. Here the minister of the place had done his endeavors to influence the people to shut the preachers out of the town ; but by an impression I went into one part, and by an invitation to another ; and though the opposition was great from the magistrates and quality, yet they found no way to expel us out of the place ; but the revival began, and several were stirred up to seek God. Now reprobation lost ground : the eyes of many were enlightened to see a free salvation offered to all mankind.

240. In Lenox the society and people were much prejudiced at first, but the former were quickened afresh. Here lived a young woman, who, by the unexemplary walk of professors, was prejudiced against the advice to religion, saying, I see no difference between their walk and others. Her parents besought me to say nothing to her about her soul, lest she should be prejudiced and hardened more. I began to consider what to do ; and after seeking to God for wisdom and success, said, “ Sophy, if you’ll read a chapter every day till my return four weeks hence, I’ll give you this bible :” she thinking I was in jest, said she would : I instantly gave it to her, at which she blushed. At my return, as she said she had fulfilled, I requested a second promise ; which was that she would pray twice a day in secret another four weeks. She said, you’ll go and tell it round if I do : which I assured her I would not, if she would only grant my request ; said she, I’ll retire, but not promise to kneel, so we parted. At the expiration of the time I came round the circuit here again, and requested

one promise more, viz. to pray once a day kneeling, which I would not take a denial of: and to get rid of my importunity, she promised; and before the time expired she was convinced of the necessity of being made holy, and was willing that all the world should know of her resolution to serve God during life.*

241. I visited Pittsfield extensively, and had the satisfaction to see the Methodists and others stirred up to serve God. Now they offered me presents, which I refused, saying, the next preachers invite home and treat well, for my sake.

242. In Bethlehem, whilst preaching, I was suddenly seized with puking, and expected to expire. Here also God revived his work.

243. Conference drawing near, and finding that my food did not nourish and strengthen me as heretofore, I was convinced that unless I could get help, I must be carried off the stage. I accordingly wrote to conference concerning my state, and requested permission to take a voyage to sea, as I had no hope of escaping any other way; and IRELAND lay particularly on my mind. Feeling a particular desire to visit Lansingburgh and Albany, which the preachers had restrained me from going to, I embraced the opportunity whilst they were gone to conference.

244. June 17th, I preached five times and rode thirty-five miles. On the 18th, I rode fifty-five miles; preached five times, and spoke to two classes. On the 19th I preached six times and rode twenty-five miles. On the 20th I preached twice and went to Albany, and preached eight nights successively, one excepted, which I improved in Lansingburgh.

245. In the day time, I went to Coeyman's patent and Niskunna. These visits were not altogether in vain; wherefore I did not grudge the above mentioned hard days' works, to gain this time.

246. 29th. I rode thirty miles, preaching twice on the road, to Hancock; which place I had visited extensively, it being newly taken into the circuit, and about forty persons joined in the class. Our quarterly meeting coming on, the congregation was so large, we were constrained to withdraw to the woods; for no building we had would contain them. It was a powerful time indeed, and many were refreshed from the presence of the Lord.

247. My state of health being so low, I bade them farewell until we should meet in a future world, as I expected to see them no more on earth.

248. I took them all to record, that my skirts were pure from all their blood, as I had spared no pains to bring them to good.

249. When I at first came on this circuit, I felt like one forsaken, as they all appeared to be sorry to see me, and almost un-

* A few years after she died happy.

willing to feed me or my horse. For all my toil here, I received ten dollars, when my extra expenses were upwards of six pounds; so that when leaving it, I was sixteen pounds worse in circumstances than when coming: yet it afforded me comfort that I could leave them in peace and have a joyful hope of enjoying some of them as stars in my crown of glory, which I expected soon to obtain.

250. As the preachers who had just come from conference told me that my request was rejected, and my station was on the bounds of Canada; this information grieved me at first, however, I consented to go according to orders, after I had visited my native town.

251. Leaving this circuit, to which there were added one hundred and eighty, and about five hundred more under conviction for sin, I set off for Coventry, and riding through Granville circuit, it caused me to weep and mourn when I saw some who were awakened when I was there, now in a backslidden state.—Oh! the harm done by the laziness and unfaithfulness of preachers. But some who were alive then, are alive still, and I trust to meet them in a better world.

252. July 3d. I reached my native town, and found my parents and friends well in body, but low in religion. Next evening I preached; many flocked out to hear the preacher who had arose from the dead, as was the common say.

253. I told the people, once I was opposed by them about preaching: I have come home before now to see you and bid you farewell for a season; but now I have come home, not a cousining, as some children do to see their parents, but to discharge my duty and bid you farewell once for all; and if God does not give me seals of my labor, you may still say he has not called me to preach.

254. I went to New London, to see if the salt water would do me any good, and coming through Norwich I met with a cool reception from the society: but in New London all seemed friendly. We had several powerful meetings; two were awakened and one found pardon during my stay.

255. I besought God to let me preach one funeral sermon in my native town; where having visited many, I preached in about twenty different houses. Having spent about four weeks, the time drew near when I must set off.

256. The class-leader, *S. Parker*, having received a wound, bled to that degree, that he died in consequence of it, happy in the love of God.

257. I took leave of the dear families of my acquaintance, and August 4th, preached the funeral sermon to many hundreds of people; both gentry and commonality were drawn out by curi-

osity to hear one of their native town, whom they had heard so much about; thinking it would do to go to a funeral, when it would not to go to another of my meetings; taking the funeral for a cloak.

258. After discharging my duty as God gave me strength, to old and to young, to professor and non-professor, I said, ye all see the decline I am in, and take you to record my walk and conversation since I first professed religion, and my faithfulness to you now; and if God permit, I intend to see you again at the end of eleven months; but it is impressed on my mind as though I should never see you in time, (unless it should be in answer to many prayers,) I therefore bid you farewell till the judgment day; and then taking my youngest sister by the hand, (from whom I had obtained a promise to pray twice a day till I should be twenty-two years old, reminding her of my dream, she then being in the height of fashions, pleaded she would have none to go with her; I said, I myself had to go alone and was enabled to endure—and you, after I am two and twenty, if tired of the service of God, can turn back and the devil will be willing to receive you again, then tears began to roll,) bade her farewell, and strive to appear to meet me in heaven, and rather than have her turn back to sin, would come and preach her funeral sermon. Another sister, and my mother, and brother in law, I shook hands with likewise.—My father's trials were so great, he withdrew, (I suppose to weep;) and then mounting my horse, all this being in the sight of the assembly, and the sun shining from the western sky, I called it to witness against that assembly if they would not repent, that my skirts were pure from their blood; and then putting the whip to my horse, I rode off forty miles that evening before I dismounted. On the 5th, I rode seventy miles to Chesterfield. A family with whom I was acquainted, being as I thought, unwilling to receive me, I went to the next house and so pleaded that they took me in,

259. The next day I rode sixty-four miles to Hanover, and the day after saw my brother in law and two sisters; to whom I discharged my duty, and left them and went to Vershire.

260. A swelling appearing on my horse's leg, I left him and borrowed another to reach my circuit. On my way across the mountain, I preached in Berry, and the power of God was present. The next morning, crossing Onion river, reached my circuit at Essex, being two hundred and fifty miles from my parents.—Cold winter now approaching, my clothes considerably worn and few; and no way apparently to get any more, having but one penny in my pocket, and a stranger in a strange land; and unless God gives me favor in the sight of the people, shall have to walk on foot. My trust is still in God; my mind is solemnly stayed upon him, and I do believe he will bless me here by numbers.

261. I met brother *Sabin*, (a local preacher, who came to my assistance,) in Jericho. After meeting, we set off (whilst one rode the other went on foot) to Fletcher : here a powerful work of God immediately broke out. The next day, we swam the horse across the river Demile, ourselves crossing in a canoe, proceeded through a wood without any path, for some miles, and late at night came to Fairfield, about thirty miles in all. My body was weary, but my soul was happy.

262. It was not long until I was sorely tempted to desist from travelling, and wait till my change come, but then considering the value of souls, I am constrained to exert the little strength I have.

263. On hearing brother *Sabin* preach in Shelden, I was comforted. The next day, we crossed Canada line into Dunn's Patent : here God began a good work. From thence to the Dutch manor, brother Millers, where I had been before.

264. I held meeting, and a proud young woman was stirred up to seek the Lord, and found comfort—and borrowing a horse I went to break up fallow ground, and proceeded to Dunham, towards Mumphrey Magog Lake, and held meetings in different parts of the town. Some were angry and spake evil of the way, and some were serious and tender, and desired to hear again.—The people, in this part of the world, were the offscouring of the earth, some having ran hither for debt, others to avoid prosecution for crimes, and a third character had come to accumulate money. These were like sheep without a shepherd, having only two ministers, one of whom believed one principle and preached another. Hence I went to Sutton, and got into three parts of the town ; in two of which, there was a prospect of much good ; but in the other, reprobationism shut up the hearts of the people, and I must speak there no more.

265. Returning through these places to Mussisque bay, the prospect of good increased. From thence I proceeded round the north end of the bay to the west side, as far as I could find inhabitants. The roads were so sloughy and miry that they were almost impassable ; however, I got places to accommodate the inhabitants for meetings, all along. Here, for thirty miles, there was no preaching until I came : but the Lord made bare his arm.

266. Returning, I held meetings at the same places, and found the prospect to increase. Then going up the Lake shore, holding meetings where I had the year past, until I came round to Fletcher : here the work increased. Hence I proceeded through Johnston, up river Demile to Morristown. Here the people had not heard a sermon for two years : we entered into a covenant to serve the Lord ; and many were keenly convicted, and their hearts were like wax before the sun.

267. Hence to Stowe, where for three miles I could get no house at first; night drawing on, I scarcely knew what to do, as the families would not take me in; but at length I met a company of men, who had been marking out land in the woods; to these I made known my errand; and they invited me to go back about two miles; and the house was soon filled with people, and solemn times we had that evening and the next morning.

268. Ten years ago, this was an howling wilderness, inhabited only by wild beasts, and now contained near one hundred families. Oh! what an alteration there is in the earth!

269. From hence I went to Waterbury, on Onion river, where a reprobationist gave me these words to preach from: "*No man can come to me except the Father who hath sent me draw him.*" The Lord loosed my tongue, and good I believe was done.

270. From thence, I returned to Mussisque bay, under trials and discouragements of mind, but was revived on meeting brother Sabin. As I could not readily find a horse to borrow, I set out on foot towards Magog: but my body being weak, I disappointed one congregation, to my sorrow, but reached the next day's appointments in Sutton and Dunham, and God gave me favor in the sight of some, who with horses conveyed me to the several places.

271. During my walking, I found one fourth of a dollar, and reasoned, why have I found this? I have not had any for some time past.

272. I had to walk from Dunn's patent to the bay, which was about ten miles, the nighest way, on which lived but few inhabitants: I set out, hoping to get through that night, but falling short by reason of weakness, came to a house and requested they would guide me through the woods, but in vain: I then entreated liberty to tarry under their roof all night, as it had now become dark, and impossible for a stranger to keep the road, it being narrow and miry, and closed overhead by the branches of thick topped trees: besides, it was exceedingly dangerous, by the *flocks of bears*, which were uncommonly numerous this fall; but at first my entreaties were in vain: then remembering the piece of money which I had found, I offered it to them for the privilege, which on this condition I obtained. The next morning, with much difficulty, I got through to a friend's house.

273. After breakfast, I obtained a horse, and set out to fulfil my appointments round the bay, which were five. Far beyond my expectation, I was enabled to go through these, riding twenty-five miles that day, and visiting the isle of Noah and Hog island, (in the latter of which I held the first religious meeting, that was ever in it; and a solemn time it was,) I returned to the Dutch manor and sold my watch, saddle and portmanteau.

274. For some months past, I had no hope of recovering from my declining state, unless it were by a long voyage to sea, but the *impossibility* of it, as *I thought*, was so great that I rejected the idea. But it being strongly impressed these few weeks past, if that I tarried I should die according to the dream; but that if I were to cross the ocean to Ireland, it would be the means which God did choose to bless to the restoration of my health, and preservation of my life for future usefulness, for some particular end unknown to me. But when I considered the dangers by sea, by reason of storms and tempests, at that season of the year, and of being taken by pirates or privateers, into whose hands I might fall in this declining state, and what care would be shown me I did not know: and supposing I were even to get well to Europe, what might follow I did not clearly foresee: the country being in scarcity, with great disturbances, and who would receive me I could not tell—and if rejected by all, having no trade to pursue, I saw nothing but that death would follow. These things weighed so heavy in the balance of reason, that I rejected the impression, and threw it out of my mind as a temptation: it returned with more force, and pursued me from day to day. By nourishing it, I had peace; and by rejecting it, depression, which caused great distress; so that many hours of my sleep departed from me. This I made known to the preachers and some others, who had importuned me to tell them what was the matter.

275. After being informed, all with one voice entreated me not to entertain such a thought as coming from God; seeing that my labors were here acknowledged, and that there was a prospect of an universal revival: Wherefore, it is inconsistent (said they) that he could require you to go away three thousand miles, into a strange country, without friends, leaving the circuit in this situation, (forfeiting the confidence which the conference have placed in you, by giving you the care of the circuit,) and none to supply your place.

276. These arguments were powerful, and so confounded me, that I could not answer them: still there was something in my mind that said, go, and by putting it away I could get no peace.

277. September 26th. I preached in Highgate, Swanton, and St. Albans, for the last time; in Georgia and in Milton likewise: in the latter, I once made a covenant, which they broke, and afterwards they hated me so, that they could not bear to see me.

278. 28th. Our quarterly meeting began in Essex. I made my exercise known, and the declining state I was in, to S. Hutchinson and J. Mitchell, who would hearken nothing to it; but brought up the above mentioned arguments. I besought for a certificate, concerning my moral conduct, but was refused, with a strict injunction not to go. *S. Hutchinson* said, I shall appear like

a fool in the eyes of the conference, for supporting your cause in the manner I have done, as some said that you would never prove true to the connexion, which, by going away, will appear to be the case. But if you'll tarry, as I ever have been, so I still will be your friend; and the next conference, your probation will be ended, and you will be ordained. I bid him farewell, giving him Hezekiah's lamentation—Isaiah xxxviii. 9. &c.—He gave me Paul's charge to Timothy, and so we parted, after that I had given my farewell to the people.

279. I now proceeded to fulfil what appointments I had made for myself; riding with J. M. to Fletcher. He again entreated me for his, and my, and the work of God's sake, to tarry, saying, "If you go away and leave us thus, I believe the *curse* of God will follow you;" and kneeling down, besought God, if he had called me to go, to make it manifest, and if not, to hedge up my way, and so parted for a while; and I went to Cambridge, Johnston, Morristown, Stowe, and Waterbury, to Duxbury, and the quickening power of God was sensibly felt in every place.

280. About this time I met with Dr. *Whipple* of New Boston in New Hampshire, who gave me some things for my voyage, but saying he felt for me in this great undertaking.

281. My trials of heart were great, to think of leaving my people and country, and particularly my parents; probably to see them no more, (so contrary to the minds and advice of all those who wished me well;) but I have endeavored to weigh the matter candidly before God, as for eternity; and after making it a matter of earnest prayer to know my duty, that if the impression be from God it may increase, and if from the enemy it may decrease: and according to the best judgment that I can form, I do believe it to be the will of God that I should go; as I can enjoy peace of mind in no pursuit but this, and accordingly I am resolved to proceed as the door opens.

282. My horse being brought from Vershire, which cost eighty-four dollars, I now sold for a small part of that sum; and all which I could collect, including the price of my saddle, &c. amounted to six guineas and some provision.

283. October 12th. I met brother *Mitchell* again: he would not bid me farewell, saying, I can't give my consent you should go. I bid him farewell, saying, I know you have ever been my friend, and are such to the present day; it is hard to go contrary to your advice; and if you think I am wilful in this matter, you judge me wrong and hard: it is in tender conscience before God that I leave you this day, for the sake of peace of mind, which, if I could otherwise enjoy, I would take up with your advice, "to stick and die by the stuff:" and kneeling down, whilst at prayer our hearts were melted with a feeling sense of the goodness of God; and as Jona-

than and David, our parting was hard. From thence I proceeded (in a canoe which had come for me and started back, I being about twenty minutes behind the time, but hailed him, so he stopped and took me in. This was a stranger, as the first man who was to have come for me was dead) down the Mussisque river, across the bay, to what is called the ridge, where God has begun a good work. Here some of my friends from the Manor met me with entreaties not to go, (which to prevent did not bring my chest; as apparently I must die with sufferings amongst hard hearted sailors:) but if I would tarry with them, I should have friends and a decent burial: but my mind was to go: so they went back and brought my chest to South river: we kneeled down on the bank, and besought God, if it was his will I should go, to prosper my way: but if not, to shut it up. Said they, "we expect to see you again;" but I replied, "it is in my mind as though I should never see you again." Some were minded not to have brought my chest, that I might be thereby detained until it was too late for going; (as the fleet was to sail in a short space.) Being disappointed of a canoe which was promised, we took another which sprang a leak before we had gone far; but we got a second down the river, and soon got into the lake. The waves ran high, and the people had advised us not to go, as they thought there was great danger of upsetting.

284. The man who had promised to take me to St. John's, breaking his word. I had to look out for another, who said, "such a day. I went out of curiosity to hear a strange man who had come to the neighborhood, whose words reached my heart: and now I believe God has pardoned my sins, and I bless God that ever I saw your face."

285. Cutting down a bush and hoisting it for a sail, we reached St. John's about three in the afternoon; and after wandering up and down the town for about two hours, I found a man who for two dollars engaged to carry me in a cart to Lapareri, the mail stage having gone off just before I arrived there. After being examined strictly by the military officers, and my name recorded, I parted with the cance man and went on my way; being now entirely amongst strangers, and probably I shall be so, I know not but for life. The cart broke down on the road; so he had to borrow another: about three o'clock after midnight, I arrived at Lapareri, being very much chilled.

286. The market boats, at break of day, started for Montreal: and on my way I discovered several vessels lying at the wharf, one of which particularly attracted my mind, and after landing, I walked on board, inquiring where she belonged and was bound to. The captain answered, "belongs to Quebec, and bound for Dublin:" (the very place where I wanted to go.)

Q. Will you give me a passage?

A. Have you plenty of money?

Q. What shall you charge?

A. Sometimes people give fifteen guineas, but I will carry one for eight.

Q. I'll give you five guineas and find myself; will you carry me for that? if not I must return to the States.

A. I will; but you are a devilish fool for going from a plentiful country with peace, to that disturbed island. I then gave him his money, and bought some more provisions, and had a few shillings left.

287. After attempting to preach in a congregation of the hardest of the hard, I went on board the vessel, and put down the river a few leagues.

288. October 16th. I this day was twenty-two years old; the dream of the prophet now lay with weight upon my mind, which said, that I should live until I was two and twenty, and the hours passed solemnly away. A woman passenger said, "I judge this man's a methodist." I turning away as with an air of disdain, said, what do you lump me in with that despised people for? She replied, "because you don't drink and be jovial and cheerly as what the rest of us are: but are gloomy and cast down; like that people, always melancholy." Well, said the sailors, we'll try him over the ground, and see what he is made of; then they began to put tar on my face and tallow on my clothes, until I told the captain he ought to make them behave more civil, being commander of the ship. However, I was the object of all their sport for seven days on our way to Quebec: during which time I suffered much with cold, having no blankets, and lying either on the cable or across some barrels filled with potash, and my garments being thin, and nothing but a side of leather to cover myself with: But the last night I found a small sail, and begging it of the captain, I wrapped myself in it and thought myself comfortable. There was no fire below decks at this time. One morning, a lieutenant came on board before I was up, and describing my dress, inquired of the captain if such a person was on board: I came up and the captain told me what had passed.

289. The officer then said, you were seen at Lapareri, &c., and was thought to be one of M'Clen's party, as a spy, and I have come a hundred miles to apprehend you, and now you must clear yourself, or go before the chief commander. I showed him my licence and some private letters, and told him my business: he then replied, "I believe you are an honest man, and if you will enlist, I'll give you so much bounty and a sergeancy; and if not, you shall be pressed." I replied, fight I cannot in conscience for any man; because it would be inconsistent for a man one hour to

be praying for his enemies, and the next hour learning to handle a gun to shoot them; but if you take me on board, I shall preach. At length, I found a strange piece of money in my pocket; and he attempted to take my hat to put a cockade on it; I snatched it out of his hand and pushed him away; to which he said, remember you are not in the States now; here it is treason to resist an officer. I making as if I would throw them overboard, he besought me not, as the cockade was costly; on condition of his letting me have peace till I got to Quebec, I gave them up. At our arrival, it being evening, I would not stay on board in the captain's absence, knowing the sailors would abuse me. The lieutenant, as I carried his little chest or trunk to his lodgings, said he would send his servant to pilot me to the house of a piece of a Methodist, but it being now late, altered his mind, and gave me entertainment all night, with blankets and fire, which was refreshing to me. He and his captain exerted themselves to lead me into sin; but before we parted I obtained liberty to pray with them.

290. The next morning I enquired for Methodists, and through the medium of an English lad, the people being mostly French, found a few back-slidden ones, some of whom came from Europe. The week preceding, a society of about twenty-six, belonging to the army, had gone to Halifax, but two or three of their wives were left. I found the place where they used to hold their meeting, and collected about a dozen English to a meeting in the evening.

291. The next evening the congregation increased to about thirty; thus on to about a hundred and fifty the five days I was there. A woman the first day, on finding out who and what I was, invited me to dinner; then her husband invited me to eat and drink as I needed, as often and as long as I stayed: This I looked upon as providential. This woman was very inquisitive to know all the particulars of the materials I had procured for the voyage; and the day but one before I was to set sail, gave me all the small materials that were lacking—and the last evening after I had done preaching, one and a second and a third, &c. of their own accord, without any hint from me, came forward and laid down pieces of money, amounting in the whole to several dollars, which I stood in need of at this critical time; and a buffaloe skin dressed with the hair on, (which I had to lodge on while here in the city,) and a blanket, was given me by one person for my bed on the voyage. Now I began to meditate, when I entered this city, according to human appearance, I must fall short of the voyage for want of necessaries, and no place to lodge in whilst here; but that God who I believed had called me to go, to him I looked (when in retirement under a fort wall) and found my wants supplied; and if he thus far had opened my way step by step, what reason had I to

doubt but what all my journies might be made as prosperous as this through trials, and I persevered for future usefulness, and yet see my native land in peace; and my soul was strengthened to put my trust in God and go forward. I think about twenty were stirred up to seek God during this short stay, who earnestly entreated me to give over my voyage and tarry with them; but not prevailing, sought a promise for my return in the spring, which I gave them not; but said, if God will, perhaps I may see you again.

292. October 28th. I went on board and the fleet fell down the river—I thought of my parents, but said, to tarry is death; to go, I do but die.

293. October 31st. I informed my parents of my departure, and got into the gulph of St. Lawrence; I felt some little sea sick, but did not puke much; but my bodily sickness increases fast, and 'tis more than probable, according to human appearance, that I shall not see Dublin.

294. November 2d. I saw Newfoundland covered with snow, and left it to the left. My sickness still increases, and I am scarcely able to sit up ten minutes in twenty-four hours. The captain, though deistical and profane, is as kind as I could expect from a religious man. Though the agreement was to come in the steerage, my birth is in the cabin, and the boy has orders to wait upon me as I have need.

295. I feel the want of some religious person to converse with: Oh! how do people misimprove their privileges, and some don't prize them until deprived of them:—But religion is that which the world can neither give nor take away; I still feel the Lord to be precious to my soul, in my critical place—surely in the deep waters are the wonders of the Almighty to be seen.

296. The whole fleet consisted of about twelve sail; we had pleasant sailing for about a week, the ships frequently calling to each other; but at length the sea began to rise; first like hills, then like mountains, then it seemed to run to the skies; the whole fleet was scattered; but the next day collected again; and within two hours after, so scattered that we saw each other no more.—This gale lasted five days: the captain said, that for fifteen years he had not seen the like: The mate replied, "I have followed the sea these twenty-five years and have never seen the like;" but through the goodness of God, we were not driven any out of our course, and sustained no damage except the breaking of the main yard; though the crew appeared terrified once or twice, I don't know that my mind was ever more calm in my life. I frequently said to myself, "my body may sink to the bottom; but my soul will fly to the paradise of God." At length the wind abated, and the sea fell, and I spent a little time on deck: I could see no land: farewell to America.—Oh! shall I ever see my native country

again? I am now going to a strange land, to be a stranger amongst strangers, and what is before me I know not.

297. I gave the name of my father, and the place of his residence, to the captain, that if he gave me to the sharks, my parents should have information, which he promised to send. If I live to do good, I will bless God; and if I die, O God! thy will be done.

298. What am I going to Europe for? For the sake of riches? From whence will they come? For honor? Who will give me this? For ease? Lord thou knowest my heart, that I have no other end in view, but thy glory and the salvation of immortal souls: And though I pass through trials, I will fear no evil, whilst God is on my side. I know the time has been when I was a guilty sinner, and I have a witness within myself that all my guilt is done away through the mediation of Christ, and my soul is in a state of acceptance with God. I frequently, whilst enjoying this evidence, am greatly distressed and compassed about, as with all the powers of hell, so that an horror seems to run over my mind, when I feel not the least degree of guilt, but love to God and all mankind, and none of the slavish fear of hell; neither would I commit a known sin for my right hand. If any one should ask, how that a sanctified saint could have such feelings or trials? I ask again, cannot spirit pray or operate upon spirit, as well as matter upon matter? If any one should deny, let him prove it.—Experience is the greatest evidence; a person may be powerfully depressed by the infernal powers of darkness, and still retain the right and sure evidence of his acceptance with God; so as to read their title clear to heaven.—Tempting to actual evil is one thing; and buffeting of the mind is another: at particular times, to feel either the one or the other, is no sin, whilst the whole soul cleaves after God.

299. After being under some weighty exercises, I fell asleep, and God comforted me in dreams of the night; for first, I thought I saw myself in some place, and the people seemed to be struck with wonder what I came for; shortly after I heard some young converts tell their experience; then I saw the work go prosperously on: after which I saw myself surrounded by a wicked company of people; but their words were like empty sounds, though their tongues were sharp, yet their weapons were like feathers; for my forehead was like brass: but God raised me up friends in time of need. From this, I infer that some trouble is at hand, yet I am more than ever convinced that this voyage will turn for my good, and for the glory of God. Trouble I expect is near, but my trust is in God; all is well now; to-morrow may take thought for itself.

300. I remember once when I was in trouble with my asthmatical disorder, I besought God to heal my body and let my

heaviest trials be in mind ; but now I find it is not good to be our own choosers, but submit to the will of God ; remembering that all things shall work together for good to them that love him.

301. 25th. The sun in the sky was not seen for several days, which made it dangerous sailing ; but fearing privateers, did not lay to. One evening, the captain grew uneasy and could not sleep, and got up and lay down several times in a short space, and as the mate came below to warm himself, the captain said, Mr. Tom, is there land near ? the mate said, I can see three leagues a head and there is no land in sight. The captain's trouble continuing, the reason he could never assign, immediately lay down, and then rose up and went on deck, and being strong sighted, beheld land within a mile ! All hands were called ; they tacked the vessel about.—Oh ! what a providence was this !—Less than twenty minutes no doubt would have wrecked the ship. This was in latitude 57, off the Highlands of Scotland.

302. 26th. The sun broke out pleasant ; this evening we came to anchor at *Larne*, in the north of Ireland ; having no contrary wind all the way until we got off this port ; when the wind turning suddenly round, drove us in here, where we were bound nineteen days. O ! what a mercy of God ! I have seen his wonders in the deep, and through his goodness have escaped the roaring waves. I yet cannot say I am sorry that I have come ; although I know not what awaits me on the shore ; my trust is still in God, who has the hearts of all men in his hand.

303. 27th. This morning, I went on shore, having no proper recommendations with me. The captain said, “ I wonder what the devil you are going to do here.” I told him, perhaps he might see before he left town.

304. As I entered the village, I inquired for Methodists, (and a lad directed me to inquire for John Wears, a school master,) and came to a house and met the man in the door : said I, are there any that love God here or in town ? Said he, my wife makes more ado about religion, than all the people in town ; come walk in. I went in, but found him an enemy to truth.

305. In this place, for more than forty years, no regular society could be established till a few days since, nine women were joined in a class, (one of whom kept a school, and sent me word that I might occupy her room for meeting.) With much difficulty, through the goodness of God, I got a few collected in the evening, to whom I spoke. A loyal woman after meeting scolded me because I did not pray for the king : I replied, that I came from a country where we had no king, and it was not natural for me, so she excused me and invited me to

breakfast. Noise began to be in town, "there is an American come." Accordingly the next day I gave a crown for a large ball chamber, and put up a public notice, requesting all hands to turn out: many came to see the babbler; to whom I spoke, and then caught near the whole of them in a covenant: which the greater part, I suppose, broke that night.

306. God gave me favor in the sight of the people; and I received invitations to breakfast, dinner, and supper, more than I needed during all my stay. The next evening, after preaching, said I to the people, as many of you as will pray for yourselves twice in the twenty-four hours for two weeks, I will endeavor to remember you thrice, God being our helper; and you that will, come forward, that I may take your names in writing, lest that I forget.

307. A few came forward that night; some more next day, and so on, now and then serious countenances appeared in the streets: at length, one and another was telling what God had done for their souls. The congregations were very large. I had a desire to visit the adjacent country; but no door opening, as no one might travel without a pass; the country being under martial law.

308. When I arrived at *Larne*, the captain said, "When I sailed from Quebec, you was so weak and low, that I never expected to bring you to land again: I thought I should give your body to the sharks;" "But now, said the mate, you look ten pounds better." The inhabitants said, "We evidently perceive that since your coming here you have altered for the better every day; you are become quite another man than when we first saw you."

309. The first night after I came on shore, I went into my room, and was going to pull off the coverlet of the bed and spread it on the floor, according to my usual custom in America; and behold the floor was earthen or ground, which I had never seen before. I felt amazed, to think what I should do: to sleep in a bed (thought I) I cannot; to sleep on the ground, I shall be chilled and take a fever. At length, I came to this resolution; I'll go into bed with my clothes on, and if it comes to the worst, I'll get up: so I lay down, thinking it was more than probable I should have to rise within half an hour, on account of my asthma. I soon fell asleep, and slept sound until morning.

310. December 15th, after two days sail, I landed in Dublin. Having a letter, I sought to find him to whom it was directed; (and a *custom house* officer, for *two and six pence* English, piloted me there) but in vain, he not being at home, and night coming on, I scarcely knew what to do, (as the family would not suffer me to stay within, fearing who or what I might be.) I

enquired for Methodists ; and a chaise-man said, I know where there is one lives ; and for a SHILLING, I got him to pilot me to the house.

311. After rapping, the door was opened by a boy, who informed the mistress that a stranger wanted her husband : she said, let him come in till he comes home : so I went in, and sat down in the shop. By and by, in came her husband, *William Thomas*, who stopped and looked, and then with a smile, shook hands with me ; which gave me some hope. After I told him my case he invited me to tarry all night ; which I accordingly did, and in the evening, attended meeting at Gravel-walk, where I was called upon to pray.

312. The next day, I called to see the preachers, and when I saw *Mr. Tobias*, made my case known to him. He heard me, and then with plain dealing, advised me to go on board again and return to America (though he did not attempt to scruple the account I gave of myself.) He offered me half a crown, which I refused, and with tears left him, though I had only *two* shillings left !

313. In the evening at *Whitefriar-street* meeting house, I was again invited to pray and sing ; but *Mr. Tobias* the preacher (on whom I had called) checked me in the meeting, and took the hymn out of my mouth, commanding the persons who prayed to stand on their feet ; and after meeting gave me a sharp reprimand : and then calling the local preachers and leaders into a room, and, I suppose, charged them, and reprimanded *him* who had invited me, as *he* ever after was shy to me.

314. Now my door seemed to be completely hedged up, and I saw nothing but death before me, having no money to pay my passage back, and did not know how to do ship work, and no trade to follow for my bread, and I could not expect *this family* to entertain me long ; no acquaintance round about, and three thousand miles from my friends. No one can tell my feelings, but those who have been in the like circumstances. It was a trial of my faith, yet I could not say I was sorry that I had come ; though it seemed to me I should sink : But these words strengthened my confidence, “the very hairs of your head are all numbered ;” immediately I lay down and fell asleep, and dreamed that I saw a person put leaven into a bowl of meal, it leavened and leavened until it swelled clear over on the ground, then leavened under ground till it got a distance of some score rods, imperceptible by the inhabitants : at length it broke out in the furthestmost place ; and then appeared in several other spots. This dream strengthened my confidence in God, that my way was preparing, though imperceptible to me. When I awaked, my trials of mind were greatly lessened. I besought God if he had any

thing for me to do in this country, to open a door and prepare my way ; but if not to take me to himself, for now I was only a burthen to myself and others ; and I did believe that one or the other he would grant.

315. 20th. Whilst we were at family prayer, a Scotch soldier overheard us, and came in, and invited me to preach in the barracks at Chapel-izod ; which I did several times. Several other doors opening in different barracks, I improved the opportunities ; one of which was at Island-bridge, where God began a revival, and a small society was formed. Having a desire to visit the country, at first the door appeared shut ; but one (who for a scruple of conscience had been expelled society,) upon hearing thereof, sent word to me, that he was going to the Queen's County, and if I was minded to go, would bear my expenses.

316. 26th. Taking the canal boat, we proceeded to Monaster-even, whence we walked to Mount Mellick. Here I found a man out of society, who had been abused, which occasioned the separation of about thirty, who held meeting by themselves. I held several meetings in different parts of the neighborhood, and refreshing seasons we had from the presence of the Lord. A quarterly meeting was held here ; I petitioned for liberty to go into the love feast, but was denied, saying, you belong to no particular people.

317. My congregations were so large, that no private house could contain them ; for which reason some got open the preaching house doors, contrary to *my advice* ; lest it should look as though I wanted to cause divisions ; as the preacher had left strict orders not to let me in, &c.

318. Here I heard two women from my own country preach, (called quakers) for the first time of my hearing any of their society.

319. A question arose in my mind whether I had done wrong in coming away from my own country ; is it not possible that I lay under a mistake after all ? Thus I fell asleep, and dreamed that I died and was buried under a hearth ; the lid which composed a part of the hearth was marble : My father coming into the room, said, What is there ? one replied, your son lies there ; he then pulled off the lid, and behold it was truth ; and I stood and looked at my body, and behold it began to putrefy and moulder. I was then a mystery to myself, to see my body in one place and I standing in another. I began to feel, to see if I was flesh, when a voice seemed to answer, I will explain the mystery to you : If you had tarried in America, you would have died as the prophet predicted, and your body would have been mouldering as you now see it ; but now you are preserved for future usefulness. I waked up with the queries gone.

320. From hence, (Mount Mellick,) I returned to Dublin.—I received two letters from the north, requesting me to return with all speed to *Larne*. I had received money enough from the withdrawn members to return.

321. After holding some more meetings in the barracks, (and *paying* my passage, and *procuring* some provisions, having *two shillings left*,) I set sail, but was put back by a contrary and tempestuous wind, after being out thirty hours.

322. I believe there was the peculiar hand of God in this ; for a powerful time we had at Island-bridge the same evening.

323. January 20th, 1800. After walking some miles I embarked again, and just as I was going on board heard the shrieks of a woman, and turning round saw (a door shut too) one weeping as if her heart would break ; I asked the cause, she said she had three children at home who had eaten nothing since yesterday, and that she had not a sixpence to buy bread for them, and this family would not lend a shilling, and that her husband would not receive his wages till Saturday night. There was a dialogue in my mind whether duty required me to relieve her want, (as I reflected how much better my present circumstances were than her's,) however I did not leave her till I had given her one of the shillings I had left ; and, O, how grateful she appeared ! The wind was not entirely fair, however we put to sea : The storm increased, and the sea seemed to run mountains high, and washed several valuable things overboard ; but what surprised me was, I never once heard the captain swear or take an oath during all the time.

324. On the 22d we gained Belfast harbor, and came to anchor within two miles of the town, where I jumped into the pilot's boat, and gave my remaining *shilling* to be taken ashore ; and through cold wind and rough sea, reached the town about six o'clock in the evening ; I wandered up and down for some time, the way I felt my heart inclined,* till recollecting a letter I had in my pocket ; but how to find the person to whom it was directed I did not know, but feeling my heart drawn up an alley, I went to the door and rapped ; the people desired to know what I wanted, I told them, and they invited me to take tea, which favor I received as from the hand of God ; then a lad piloted me to the house where I wished to go to, where I found the mother of sergeant Tipping, in whose room I preached at Island-bridge, he having sent by me a letter to her.

325. Here I had lodging, and continued a few days. I went to see the preacher, *Andrew Hamilton jun.*, to whom I related

* By the light of lamps—famine and death now stared me in the face in this large town—yet could not say I was sorry I had left America.

all my situation, and after a little conversation, he gave me the right hand of fellowship, with liberty to improve round his circuit, so long as my conduct should be such as it had been at *Larne*: He could not be blamed for this precaution, for if I behaved bad he would be blamed. I told him I hoped he would not by me have cause to repent giving the liberty. He likewise gave me money, to pay the passage of a letter to New York, to get justice to my character.

326. From thence to White-abbey, where I was questioned very close, and it was judged I did wrong in leaving America; but *J. Morrison*, whom I had seen at *Larne*, (the local preacher who formed the class and questioned me very close to know where I came from and was going to) persuaded them to call an assembly to whom I spoke.

327. Thence to Carrickfergus, (where a jailor apparently died and remained for some hours, then revived again for some hours, and appeared to be in great horror,) and held several meetings; to these two places I had notes of introduction from a preacher.

328. Thence to Ballycarey, and held three meetings, which were very serious. From thence to *Larne*, which I gained about twelve o'clock. I took breakfast and visited two or three families; and though my dress was somewhat altered, the people knew me, and were staring from their doors and windows.

329. I spent some more time about here not altogether in vain.

330. The society when I left it amounted to about sixty in number. Such a village as this I never met with before, for universal friendship to me, considering I was such a stranger.

331. One man by the name of *Martin*, showed every possible kindness, whilst I was confined by a breaking out, which was generally thought to be the small pox.

332. One morning the shop door under the same roof, was found wide open; though late in the evening, the mistress had examined particularly, as was her constant custom to see that it was locked and barred just before she retired to rest, and nothing was missing, though money and valuable articles were in it.

333. The man who said his wife made so much ado about religion, at first was unwilling to hear me preach, or even to pray in his family, being much given to jesting, &c., but when sickness came upon him, he made vows to serve God, and sent for me to visit him, and a few hours before his departure, found acceptance.

334. Isle of Magee—Here was no society; many were the opposers to a free salvation; contending for reprobation and blinding the people thereby. However, many tender minds of the youth appeared to be stirred to consideration during the few meetings I held among them.

335. In Strade and Cogray, were a tender people ; at Doe the officer of the guard, taking the letter of the law, would suffer no meeting in the evening, so scores were disappointed : however, I held meeting in the morning and several times afterwards, and the disappointment brought more out to hear, by which means I hope good was done.

336. One morning I went to the Barracks and found many of the soldiers round the card table, which seemed to dash them ; I threw a pamphlet on the table and walked off. These things so attracted their attention, that on a Sabbath day the parade was omitted, that the men might come and hear me. The greatest part of the assembly were caught in a covenant to pray to God ; but some were angry, and said I *swore* the people to be religious.

337. In Carley, the family had not notified the people according to expectation, fearing the martial law. However, they thought and said it was a pity I should lose my visit ; and calling in the neighbors, we had a refreshing season. Some more meetings I held in this vicinity, and some good I hope was done. In Ballinure and at Bryantang, we had comfortable seasons. At Kilwater the Lord has begun a good work. In Belleaston church, I spoke to the young people from, "Is it well with thee?" having walked fourteen miles and spoke four times.

338. Sunday, Feb. 23d. I went fourteen miles ; preached four times : many felt the word, and it was a happy day for me.

339. March 6th. A magistrate hailed me on the road, and said, Where are you going ?

A. To Larne.

Q. Where did you come from ?

A. Ballycarey.

Q. What's your occupation ?

A. I have got none.

Q. Where do you belong ?

A. No where.

Q. What, are you strolling about the country ?

A. Yes, I have no particular place of residence.

Q. Where's your pass ?

A. I have got none.

Q. Where was you born ?

A. North America.

Q. Well, to America you shall go again.—Come, go along with me to the guard-house.

Q. What do you follow, and what did you come after !

A. I follow preaching, and come upon account of my health ; and Methodist preachers don't apply to magistrates for passes.

Well, said he, (upon observing I could not walk fast ; my feet being sore,) if ever I see you this way again, I'll send you to pri-

son. I replied, you are at your option, and can do as you think proper; then he put the whip to his horse and went on.

340. My mind has been much exercised of late, as though it would be my duty to travel the vineyard in other lands; and the time of my departure from about here, I believe is nigh.

341. I feel the worth of souls near my heart, and as willing to spend and be spent in the ministerial work as ever. My trust is still in God; but oh! the hindrances of Zion! stumbling block professors, I fear are the ruin of many souls.

342. When I feel an uncommon impression to do such and such things, if when I resist them, it brings a burthen, and if when I cherish them, it brings love, I generally prosper in following it.

343. My soul is pained on Zion's account. The sores upon my feet grow worse, and I have no one who can sympathise with me in my singular state.

344. Sunday 16th. I preached in *Larne*, for the last time, from, "Finally, brethren, farewell," &c. to many hundreds of people, and a melting season it was: hard to part with the young beginners; but the will of God be done.

345. On the 17th, contrary to the advice of my friends, I walked to Caron Castle. There I held some meetings, and there seemed a prospect of good: from thence to Glenarm and Canayla: here we had solemn seasons.

346. Returning to Carrickfergus, I held several meetings; as when I left this place before, I put up a public notice, requesting the people to turn out when I should come again, and hear me, not as critics, but as sincere enquirers after truth. Word flew over the town, "the American's come, the American's come:" so I told them I would speak to the youth; which brought out a multitude. Then I said, invite out the deists and I will preach to them: so the deists in town were invited personally, and came out. After several meetings, I felt myself clear from the place and went away. The power of God was sensibly felt here, and one soul, I trust, found religion, whom in some months after, I met in Dublin. From this, I infer, that I ought not to be discouraged, if the fruit of the word does not immediately appear.

347. April 1st. Quarterly meeting was held in Belfast, where I met several preachers who treated me with love and friendship, as much as I could expect in my situation. One's name was Wood. A woman at Newry, who had got her mind prejudiced, had said, God has forsaken the Methodists, and will bless them no more, and the Evangelical society have got the crown. Wood said, God has not forsaken them, but will bless them again, and twenty souls will be converted before Saturday night: and how he came to speak these words, he could not tell; it was the beginning of the week, and no visible appearance of a revival, until the next

evening, when some were awakened powerfully, and just twenty before sun set on Saturday, professed to receive remission of sins; and some hundreds were shortly taken into society.

348. I walked to Antrim, and held a few meetings that were solemn and tender, and returned to Belfast. Round this place, I had some meetings in the street; for which I was sent to prison. But *A. Hamilton* said to the officer, preaching in the streets is a privilege allowed us by government, and they will give you no thanks for your loyalty in sending this young man to prison; for he seeks to do no harm, if he can do no good. I got a good opportunity to speak to the prisoners by this means, and shortly was let out. I bless God for this singular event, for it brought more people out to meeting.

349. Feeling my spirit inclined to the south, I bought a passage. These words were running through my mind, "and the waters assuaged." I told the people, I believed we should have a rough passage. Some advised me not to go; but feeling my work done here, I set forward on Friday, 11th; but on Saturday night the wind began to blow, and the waves to toss the vessel, which drove the captain and hands to their Romish duties, as they got affrighted.

350. The wind drove us into Ramsay bay, in the isle of Man; and we anchored about a mile from land. The waves being high, I did not venture on shore for several days.

351. The sailors ate up my provisions, whilst I slept, and their provisions my weak stomach could not endure; so for more than eighty hours I did not break my fast, except with cold water, and I despaired of life.

352. The wind and storm increased. A schooner near us slipped her cable and drove off towards Scotland. Our captain, the night following, got terrified, as did all the hands and passengers; but my mind was calmly composed and stayed on God.

353. The captain had thoughts of running the vessel on shore to the mercy of God; but at length day broke; a signal of distress was hoisted, and a boat came from shore and towed the vessel to the quay, and I went on shore to get something to eat, having but one sixpence with me; and after much difficulty I found a Methodist boarding house, and made known my situation to them, who gave me some food: and eating rather hearty in my weak state, it seemed to give me much pain. Here also I obtained a lodging for the night. My soul was melted to tenderness under a sense of the divine goodness, in turning my present captivity. The next day, a preacher came to town, to whom I made known my situation; and God gave me favor in his sight.

354. The preaching house doors were opened to me, where some hundreds of people came to hear me the first night; and

conditionally if the vessel did not sail, I intended to speak the next.

355. The vessel attempted to sail out unknown to me ; but broke her anchor against the quay ; which detained her another tide ; so I fulfilled the meeting and did not lose my passage. And the captain, who said I was either a witch, or a wizard, or a devil, or something, and if it had not been for me, he would have had a good passage ; and before he would take me again, I should pay five pounds. He and the crew came to hear me preach.

356. I visited about twenty families ; which times were tender indeed. The disposition of the inhabitants seemed exceedingly hospitable. They were minded I should tarry for some weeks ; but not prevailing, gave me the necessaries for my passage ; so we set sail for Dublin.

357. I did not regret all my sufferings, considering the good times we had in this place.

358. The night before I got on shore, (whilst the waves were running over the deck, every now and then the water coming into the fore-castle where I was, which made me wet and chilled,) I dreamed that I got on shore and held two meetings : this I related to the people before I held the first meeting.

359. After a passage of forty-eight hours, I landed in Dublin, and was glad to escape the sailors, who twice threw me across the cabin.

360. I went to my old lodgings at *W. Thomas's*, where I continued about twelve days, to let my feet grow a little better ; but the same shyness still appeared among the Methodists.

361. During this stay was held the Quaker yearly meeting. Several meetings I attended, and found it not altogether unprofitable.

362. Here I saw one, who when hearing I was sick in the north, sent something for my relief, and here gave me more to bear my expenses.

363. May 6th. I took the canal boat for Monastereven, where I tarried a few days, and the edge of prejudice seemed to be removed in general ; and some refreshing meetings we had, though the preaching house was shut against me by strict orders from the preachers. The class leader said, I believe you mean well, but did wrong in coming away without liberty ; for which reason these *afflictions* in body, &c. pursue you ; but if you are faithful, will at last work for your good.

364. A door being opened, I rode three miles and held four agreeable meetings.

365. A man carried me to Knightstown, near Mount Mellick, as my feet were so sore I could not walk ; my hands likewise so

swelled, that I could neither dress nor undress myself: so I tarried with T. Gill for several days, holding meetings in the evenings; the fruit of which, I expect to see in the day of eternity. Thence I rode to Maryborough, where I found kind friends, and held four meetings. Thence to Mount Mellick, where we had some refreshing times. Then I hobbled along about two miles, to T. Gill's, and spent a little time more.—My trials concerning my singular state, and the exercise of faith God calls me to, and to see so little fruit of my labor, and the cause of God so wounded by ministers and professors of all denominations, that I wished to retire to some lonely part of the earth, and weep and mourn out my days. But I cannot feel myself released from the important duty of sounding the gospel trumpet; from which, if I had the riches of the Indies, I would have given them for a release; but in vain were my thoughts. I sometimes thought I knew the feelings of Moses, in some small degree, with Jeremiah and Jonah; but not long after I found the Lord to breathe into my soul the spirit of my station; I felt resigned; my discouragement subsided, and I was filled with holy resolutions to go forward in the name of, and relying on, God alone. O God! keep me as in the hollow of thy hand, meek and patient, strong in faith, and clean from the stain of sin.

366. Taking my farewell leave of the people, I set out for Hall, near Moat, as a Quaker had invited me at the yearly meeting. Here I tarried several days, and experienced much kindness, and I improved the time in reading their books, with the journal of George Fox, which I long had a desire to see, but never had an opportunity until now. O! how are this dear people degenerated from the state of their forefathers. I spoke a few words in one of their meetings, for which I got a gentle reproof. I rode to Athlone, and sent a man through the town to notify the people.

367. I soon had a considerable congregation collected in the session house, where many were melted to tenderness. I believe much good might be done here, if the gospel was faithfully preached; but I must go to another place: here the Methodists looked upon me shy. In Moat I held two meetings, and had out, as I was told, some scores of Quakers.

368. Thence I rode on a car to Tullamore, where I found prejudice had been imbibed by the people. Hence I walked with much pain to Mount Mellick, and rested two days. Thence to Mountrath, where we had several comfortable meetings.

369. As I lay on the bed, a preacher came in and looked, and went out and inquired, and came in again, and calling me brother, shook me by the hand. I questioned him as to his mind

about my leaving America, and having a meeting appointed in his preaching house; said he, it is hard to judge in a case where it comes down on a man's conscience; so he parted with me in love, saying,—“I cannot encourage you according to discipline; and so I will let you alone, &c. But brother AVERILL told me if I saw you, to bid you *call* on HIM.”*

370. About this time the following ideas came into my mind. 1st. About the plain language so called: first, grammar, second, bible, third, Christianity teaches us plainness and not superfluity. 2d. That no man has a right to preach except God call him to it by his Spirit; and though words be ever so good, in and of themselves, yet unless attended by the power of God to the heart, will not profit; therefore it must be delivered in the power and demonstration of the Spirit to be useful; and as likeness will beget likeness, and a stream cannot rise higher than the fountain; therefore what is not done in the Spirit, cannot please God; consequently we must be subject to the Spirit, passive and active: passive, having no will of our own, but what is conformed and swallowed up in the will of God: active, to do what God requireth of us, &c.

371. As past experience is like past food, the present enjoyment of the love of God, is what makes the soul happy; therefore there is a necessity of momentary watching and constant prayer; to have our minds uplifted, drawn out after and solely stayed on God: and to have one fixed resolution in all things, to please, and know, and enjoy God: and accordingly begin, spend, and close every day with him: and in order to do this, we must have the agency of the Spirit; its strivings and assistance; but can we have this at all times at our disposal? To command the Spirit, we cannot: this is the free unmerited gift of God! yet as he gives it freely, and as the Spirit is never found wanting to convince considerate minds and make them serious and solemn: and as the scriptures command a steady acting, walking, and striving; and saith “*eth*” the present tense, (and yet requires no impossibilities.) I therefore conclude we may sensibly feel the Spirit continually; and the fault must be on the creature's side, if we do not, &c.

372. But can a man have the Spirit to preach and pray, when and where he will? It appears the apostles could not work miracles when and where they pleased: and in order that souls may be quickened, the word must be attended by the same power and Spirit, though in a different calling, consequently we must be under its influence, direction, and impression. But how shall we know the light and Spirit of God, from that of the devil?

373. 1st. There is no true solid lasting peace, but in the knowing and enjoyment of God: and the calls of the Spirit of God

* He travelled at large by the consent of the Conference.

bring tenderness and solemnity, and in following them there is great peace and content in the mind, which affords a joy or happiness that is very sweet and full of love ; it draws them more after God, and they have greater affection for the future happiness of God's creatures ; and to resist the spirit of God's calls, brings, 1st, depression and burden ; and (if persisted in) darkness and condemnation will come and overshadow the mind, and the tender place will become hard ; and great bitterness and unhappiness will fill the mind ; and as it is God's will and delight to make us happy, it is our duty to follow the leadings which give true content and solid joy to the inquiring mind : and they that do not, sin against God, and wrong themselves. As for a person's having the discerning power positively to know the state of the people, I know not ; but God knoweth the state and hearts of all ; and his Spirit may influence and impress a person's mind to such and such discourses, or to speak to such and such states or cases of men, though we may not know the particular object ; and as there is no particular form of church worship or government pointed out in the Scriptures, I therefore have no right to stick down a stake, and tie all preachers to that particular form, mode, or rule in public meetings ; for what is one's meat is another's poison. In some cases amongst men, there is no general rule without an exception to it ; what will be suitable at one time will not always do at another ; therefore we are daily to inquire the will of God, and follow the leading of God's spirit.

374. When God is about to make use of an instrument to some work, a little previous he frequently permits them to pass through great buffetings of Satan, and deep trials of mind. Trials denote good days ; and good denote trials at hand ; but the darkest hour is just before the break of day.

375. With regard to asking a blessing, either vocal or in silence, or rather giving of thanks, previous to eating, is scriptural : but after, appears to be the addition of men ; except it be inferred from the writings of Moses.

376. Water baptism I have seen God acknowledge, by displaying his power, whilst the ceremony was administered in sprinkling, plunging, and pouring : but as Paul said, God had not sent him to baptize, but to preach, so say I.

377. With regard to bread and wine, God has blessed my soul in the use of them, when I looked through the means to the end. But ceremonies others contend enough about ; and all I have to do is to save souls. If I could feel my mind released, oh ! how soon would I retire to my father's house, or to some retired place, and spend my days ; but I feel woe is me, if I preach not the gospel.—Some can go or stop, just as man directs ; and preach, and have no seals of their ministry from year to year ; and yet feel

contented and think all is well, but how they get along with it is unknown to me. But some I believe God accepts as *christians*, but not as *preachers*.

378. My mind is pained to see so many resting in means short of the power: and others so closely attached to particular forms. Oh! my bowels yearn over the different denominations; my soul mourns before God on Zion's account. I am willing to spend and be spent in the vineyard of the Lord; but I know in vain I labor except God's Spirit attend the word and work.

379. I believe God intends and will lead me by the still waters, in a way I have not fully known; and trials at hand I believe await me, and afterwards I trust God will bless my labors.

380. From Mountrath I called upon *Mr. Averell*, on my way to Donoughmore.—With him I had an agreeable conversation.—Said he, "I believe you are sincere, but lie under a powerful temptation in coming away from America." He gave me the liberty of his pulpit; from which I spoke to the people, and a refreshing time we had. In Donoughmore likewise, at two meetings. From hence to Durrow, where we had two meetings, and I received a kind reception, though a stranger.—Thence I walked to Kilkenny; my feet being bad, I was detained here for several days, during which time, I had a number of meetings; the latter of which were very refreshing, and one soul I since hear has been brought to good. Here a stranger sent a horse with me twelve miles to Innistearney. Thence I walked to Ross. Here a Quaker lived who had invited me from the yearly meeting; I spent near a week at his house, perusing some books which I found profitable.

381. I once went into a prayer meeting in the Methodist chapel, and they gave me the hymn book, which I took as providential; for I was impressed to speak concerning the dealings of God with me, though I sung not: thus God opens my door step by step. The next morning I set out on my way some distance; the further I went, the more depressed I felt, and the more impressed to return; and for peace of mind through necessity I went back, and requested permission in the preaching house to call the people.

382. After they had considerable talk among themselves, and some with me, they opened the door; at first, the discipline seemed to hinder, and then they durst not deny.

The commanding officer of the town, with many of the quality and commonality, filled the meeting house full, to whom I spoke an hour or more; this was a refreshing time, and not soon to be forgotten.

383. Very early the next morning feeling my mind free of this place, I set out for Enniscorthy, and found an opportunity to ride on a car which greatly eased my feet.

384. I spoke a few words in the Methodist meeting, and at night put up with a *Quaker*, in whose house I spoke to a number of his servants. Thence I walked to Carnew; I here was received as a friend by a methodist supernumerary preacher, who gave me the right hand of fellowship; and in his house I had some meetings. Attempting to ride on a car from thence, I had not gone far before I was overtaken with an express from the Widow Leonard, who wished to see me. Here I called another meeting, which was tender. Thence I walked to Gorey, where I spoke to a few hundreds, and a solemn time it was.

385. From thence to Eicon, holding one meeting on the way, and two here, which were times not soon to be forgotten.

386. Thence to Rathdrum: here I spoke to a few, amongst whom was the preacher who had shut me out of the love feast at Mount Mellick. Here he pretended some friendship with color in his face.

387. Thence to Wicklow, where *Cooper* preached, and then a Methodist: after which I was permitted. But some gentry being here, they could not bear the truth.

388. From thence I came to Dublin about the 15th of July. Here I met Doctor *Coke*, who had just returned from America. By him I received a letter from my dear friend *J. Mitchell*, who was so unwilling that I should come away; and also another from *R. Searle*. These gave me some refreshment. About this time I received a letter from my parents and sister; which gave me comfort, to hear my parents were well and my sister still endured.

389. Dr. *Coke* requested me to go a missionary to Halifax or Quebec; and upon conditions that I would promise obedience to what he should direct, for six years would bear my expenses; and I should want nothing of books, clothes, &c. Having twenty-four hours consideration, I weighed the matter, and returned my answer in the negative; as in tender conscience I durst not leave the kingdom yet; believing it the will of God I should stay. At which time tears flowed plentifully, and it seemed as if my head was a fountain of waters. The doctor grasped me in his arms, gave me a hug, and went his way.

390. At the time he made me the proposal, (whilst we sat at breakfast,) one preacher came and sat down by my side, and said, "what do you desire or request of the conference that they should do for you?" I replied, (supposing him to be my friend,) nothing; only that the preachers should not speak against me, to blacken my character; whereby to prejudice people against me, to hedge up my way, and hurt my usefulness. He then removed to the opposite side of the table, and said, if he attempts to travel in the name of a Methodist and preach in the streets, the mob will be upon him; and if they once begin, they will attack every preacher

that comes along, and fall on our Irish missionaries next: and if they begin, it will be hard to stop them; and government will immediately conclude we are at the head of these disturbances, or the occasion of them; by which means they will deem us enemies, and take away some of our privileges. Whereas, said the *doctor*, there was never such a thing known, when in the midst of external and internal wars and commotions, that preachers were permitted to travel and hold meetings as oft as they pleased. He then added, I don't know but your travelling about, may do more harm than the conversion of five hundred souls may do good; take it upon all accounts, I can't say but I shall be under the necessity of writing to lord Castlereagh, to inform him who and what you are; that we disown you, &c., then you'll be arrested and committed to prison, and if you once get in jail it will be hard to get out.

391. These things were mentioned for my consideration, during the above-mentioned twenty-four hours.

392. But the impression upon my mind was so strong to tarry, that if government had threatened to send me to prison in irons, as yet I durst not consent to go.

393. After this, it was talked over in conference, and agreed that the connexion should show me no countenance, but disapprobation, which they requested the doctor to tell me, though he never did his errand; but *Tobias*, upon finding out his mission, took upon himself to do it, without being appointed; and forbid me coming to Waterford (where he was stationed) among the Methodists, or to the meeting house, and if I did, he would preach against me in public and in private. Upon this, several of the preachers who were friendly in their hearts, durst not show it outwardly, &c.

394. Now, according to appearance, my way was hedged up all around. My trials were keen; but God was my support, in whom I put my trust, believing he would pave my way step by step.

395. About this time I had a short sketch of the general run of my experience committed to the press, in order to give away for the benefit of mankind—it contained about twenty small pages, the edition was near three thousand—none of which I sold; but sent some of them to different parts of the country.

396. I took a walk out of town, in order to preach to a garrison; but could not get them together; so I gave them some pamphlets, and set out to return; and on my way from the Pigeon-house I was suddenly taken unwell, and thought I should have died on the spot; and staggering along, I got into Ringsend; when after some little refreshment in a grocer's shop, I gained some strength, and visited a couple of prisons, and got to my lodgings. This was the first Lord's day in August. I took tea with the family,

and retired to my chamber, where I was confined about thirty-two days, without the sight of the sun.

397. In the beginning of this confinement, it was thought I had the measles, but an apothecary being called in, on examining closely, he said the eruption was too prominent for this, and therefore it must be something else, perhaps the small pox: so my friends halted between two opinions; scarcely knowing what to do—I being unwilling to have any physician who had not the fear of God before his eyes; knowing I had suffered so much from them, with very little good.

398. But a *Quaker* woman, who heard of me, came to see me, and said, “I wish he was in the care of doctor *Johnson*, and I should feel my mind easy.” I upon hearing the words, made some inquiry concerning the man, and consented he should come; and being sent for, he came without delay, as he had heard of me just before, and was considering in his mind whether he should come of his own accord and offer me his assistance.

399. My eyes, at this time, were entirely closed, and continued so about a fortnight; and for about ten days nothing passed through my bowels.

400. Here I despaired of life, and expected to die: but the Lord was precious to my soul as ever. Three things I desired to live for, which were:

401. 1st. I wanted to attain higher degrees of holiness, that I might be happier hereafter.

402. 2nd. I felt the worth of souls, and an anxious desire to be useful to them.

403. 3rd. My parents I wished to see once more in this world, lest when they heard of my death, it would bring them to the grave with sorrow. But at length I was enabled to give them up, and leave them in the hand of God to protect and support.

404. What I wished to die for was, to get out of this troublesome world, and to be at rest with saints above: yet I felt resigned to go or stay, as God should see fit: sensibly feeling the presence of God, and reading my title clear to the mansions of glory. The very sting of death was gone; so that it appeared no more to me to die, than to fall asleep and take a nap.

405. During this time, there was something whispering in my mind, as though this sickness, by the will and wisdom of God, came, and would turn to his glory in this world, and yet I must travel other countries to preach the gospel; but the possibility of it seemed so contrary to human appearance, that I did not give much heed to the whispering voice: but my soul was happy all the time.

406. Some thought it strange that I did not speak more than I did about religion: but I feeling my mind weak, and my thoughts

sometimes to wander, was fearful lest I should speak amiss, and thereby perhaps hurt tender minds, as *some* had alread said that I was better in my heart than in my *head*. After twenty-two days thus passing away, hope began to spring up in my mind that I should recover, and yet labor in the vineyard of the Lord.

407. The physician, *Dr. Johnson*, had attended me faithfully from the time he first came; sitting up with me about ten whole nights, and visiting me repeatedly through the day; and as soon as he thought I was able, had me carried in a sedan chair to his own house; though he was neither in membership with the Quakers nor Methodists.

408. Here I continued seven weeks. I think for about twelve days after I came, the blood would gush out of my sores, upon attempting to rest the weight of my body upon my limbs; but upon the forty-fourth day of my sickness, I attempted to venture out with help. During this space of time, God gave me favor in the sight of the people, though a stranger in this land, and having but one guinea when I was first taken ill, yet I wanted for nothing during the whole time.

409. Oh! how different are the dealings of man to me now, from those in America, when confined with the bilious fever.— Surely there must be the hand of God in this. He let me know what it is to want and to abound, that I might feel my weakness and dependence, and prize my privilege by feeling for my fellow mortals, and improve my time for eternity.

410. I think of all the people I have met with for four years and seven months' travel, this doctor has showed me the greatest kindness and friendship; for which, may God reward him in the day of eternity!

411. After some little recovery, feeling a desire to do good, I asked for *White-friar-street preaching house*; but was denied. Then for *Lady Huntingdon's* society meeting house in Plunket-street, but could not get it. Thence I applied to the *Quaker* society, but they could not, consistent with their religious principles; yet they behaved very kind and friendly to me. Then I sought for a *play house* in vain: thus my way seemed to be hedged up.

412. The first place that presented to view was, the Weaver's hall, on the Coombe in the Liberty; which was occupied by the separate Methodists, (by some called *Kilhamites*,) but by themselves, the *new connexion*. Here I held several meetings; some laughed; others stared; but in general were solemn and quiet, and some were melted to tenderness. I formed a covenant in one of these meetings, which appeared not altogether fruitless. In their meetings also, I had liberty to speak what I felt.

413. About this time, I received a letter from *S. Hutchinson*, ated New York, July 21st; in which I found he was now re-

conciled to my coming, and sent my character to this country, to *A. Hamilton*, doing me justice; which letter I showed to one of the stationed preachers, and had my character read in a public assembly, to let people know what I was, as many had been scrupulous concerning me.

414. At length, recovering my health to such a degree, I had thoughts of leaving Dublin, and going to the country, but could not feel my mind free, until I first had visited several prisons, and held a meeting at the doctor's house.

415. October 16. I was *twenty-three* years old; the prophet's prediction was fresh in my mind, not only the year past, but now. What is past and gone I know; but what is to come, I leave the event to God; believing he who hath preserved me and brought me through the mountains or waves of affliction and trials, will still be with me, and grant me strength in proportion to my day, if I cleave to him with all my heart, and have but the one thing in view, viz. the glory of God and the salvation of immortal souls.

416. 18th. I have held a few meetings of late in Chapel-izod, which seem not to be altogether in vain.

On the 19th, I held my last there, and at the Coombe.

On the 20th, I visited several prisons, holding meetings with the prisoners; and gave them some bread and books; and called some of the most serious and decent of the neighborhood into the doctor's house at even, to whom I spoke about an hour, and all was solemn and quiet; so for the present I feel my mind released to go and visit the country. What is before me, I know not; I expect trials and hardships in the way; but as soon as I can find my mind released and free, and the door open, I intend to return to my own country.

417. 22d. In company with my *doctor*, I went to Rathcool, but the woman of the house, who invited me, being absent, I met with a cool reception; however, I spoke to a few, and with grief went to Leixlip, where I had been invited, but the family holding some different sentiment, my situation here was trying too.

418. At Lucan I was disappointed, and then began to grow discouraged; querying in my own mind, whether the preachers were not right and I under a mistake.—Whilst spending some time solitary and walking the floor, I besought God if he would make my journey prosperous, and give me favor in the sight of the people, to give me a token for good; and upon this I lay down to rest, and soon fell asleep, and dreamed I was walking up a river side, through a smooth plain, and began to feel faint and weary, and meditated what I should do for refreshment; and suddenly coming to the door of a cottage which was open, I saw the table spread, and as I rapped, the mistress came and grasping me by the hand, gave me a hearty welcome to my astonishment.—

Said I, "how do you know me?" Said she, "our little Jemmey, (as I thought a boy about twelve years old,) dreamed last night that God sent two angels to us, clothed in white, with a message to entertain a traveller, with such and such a dress and features, who should come in the afternoon, and you answer the very description; therefore you are welcome." I then looked, and behold my robe was white, fine unspotted linen; and oh! how joyful I felt, to think angels were sent to prepare my way. I then awaked with my mind solemnly stayed on God; and my spirits refreshed to pursue the journey.

419. Taking the canal boat at Hazel-hatch, I went to Athy, and on the way the passengers solicited me to play cards, I replied, I will play one game when you have done, but must have the captain's consent; they then looked and laughed, and played on; now and then turning a joke on me.

420. I gave one of my pamphlets to the captain, and in the evening as soon as the gaming was over, after they had done playing, I offered to buy the cards; the captain replied, I don't sell cards, but will give them to you; I thanked him, and played my game by throwing them out at the window into the canal. The company seemed to be thunder struck and conscience convicted, and their merriment was soon over. Solemnity seemed to rest on every countenance; they now and then forced out a word, as though they took my conduct as an imposition; but in a manner they seemed dumb or confounded; but I felt justified in my conduct.

421. In Athy I met with a kind reception, and had the liberty of a chapel which was not the Methodists. I held two meetings, but the curate thought I was for party, as I preached up free salvation, he knowing it was a controverted point, and at first would not consent for a third meeting, till reviewing the matter, he would take no denial but I should hold a third. These meetings were quickening.

422. Thence to Carlow, where I held three meetings: here I was troubled with the asthma, for the first time to prevent my rest since I came into this country: thus I perceive the seeds of death are in my body, which, if I am not faithful, I expect will carry me suddenly hence.

423. I walked to Hacketstown through the rain, thirteen long Irish miles. I enquired for swaddlers, (for if I asked for Methodists, the Romans there would immediately direct me to the worst enemy they had, through an evil spirit,) and was directed to a house, (not a member but a hearer,) and asked for liberty to tarry all night, as I could not hear of a man who had invited me to come previously. The woman said, if you will accept of some straw, you may stay, which I thanked her for, as I felt so weary,

I scarce knew how to walk any farther ; but the man perceiving my thoughts of tarrying, objected ; I then rummaged my papers, found a few lines to a man out of town, who was not in a capacity to entertain travellers, so I walked to his father's (being piloted by a lad who returned immediately) about half a mile, and came to the door and rapped. The family were unwilling to let me in, as several persons the night before had been robbed, and house robberies were frequent in that quarter. I now was called to an exercise of my faith, as there were several dogs to guard the house without, and apparently I should not be let in, as they questioned me back and forth through the door, with entreaties to go to a tavern, yet they could recollect none near, but what was filled with soldiers. At length the old man, who was the only Methodist in the house, whilst sitting in the corner, felt these words run through his mind (as I was about to go and take up my lodgings on the bank of a ditch) repeatedly with power, " be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares : " he began to grow restless and uneasy, and finally prevailed on the family to open the door and see who and what I was. As I came in I saw fear in their countenances, and began to sing an American hymn and talk with them about their souls, and soon it was gone. The old man says, I think I have heard of you before from Mount Mellick. They entertained me all night. As I was going away in the morning, the old man said, will you not hold a meeting ? I said, if you will get the people convened. During the day two daughters were following the new fashions ; observing the superfluities they were fixing on some new clothes, I said, every time you wear them, remember another suit you'll have, the muffler and the winding sheet, which seemed to sink in their minds ; and since, I have had the satisfaction to hear, (several ways) these young women were found walking in the ways of wisdom.

424. In all I had four meetings here. In Tinnehely I had two in a house and one in the street. In Killiveany we had several refreshing seasons. At Rednah we had two powerful meetings. At Roundwood we had two likewise. At Castle-cavan the people were hard, but I hope some good was done. At Echon I fell in with Mr. *Matthew Lanktree*, who I expected would treat me with coldness, considering what had passed at conference, but was agreeably disappointed.

425. He gave me liberty to travel on his circuit as long as I pleased. He, I think, is one of the holiest men I have met with in Ireland. He strove to persuade me to accept from him a razor, which something within had in times past prevented me from using, and forbid it still, as it was a guard, sentry, or watch to remind me of my duty, and that if ever I fell away to become a backslider, (properly speaking,) I should never be reclaimed.

426. Arklow had lain with some weight on my mind for several weeks : I accordingly paid it a visit. No Methodist being in the town, I knew not where to go ; but God put it into the heart of a man to open his ball chamber, in which I held several meetings, which were very tender. A man who had opened a malt house to other missionaries, denied it to me.

427. On my way to Carnew, a preacher who had treated me with coolness at Ross, and had some trying reflections for it, took me upon his horse, and he himself walked six miles. He now gave me the right hand of fellowship, and I spoke for him at night.

428. Here lives a widow who was strangely preserved in the rebellion ; she is liberal, 1st, in sentiment—2d, in alms—3d, in plain dealing. She has built a large preaching room, which is open to all ; is prudent in temporal and external matters, and in religious things, sees men as trees walking.

429. Here some blamed me for not being more cheerful, and take a glass of wine, and dress more ministerial, &c. But there is a certain something within, which is tender, and to grieve or go contrary to it, pains me, and I know not but condemnation may follow if I persisted in going contrary to its dictates. Here I had several refreshing seasons. A few days since, as I was credibly informed, there was heavenly melodious music heard, from whence could not be ascertained : and at the same time a young woman died happy.

430. At Castletown, Arklow-rock, Ballymurtah, Minerrock, and Sally-mount, we had melting times. In Wicklow, two solemn meetings. In Gorey, I held three in a house, and one in the street. The chief commanding officer, as the sergeant said, was coming to stop me ; and when within a few yards, turned and went off muttering.

431. At Clough, I had one meeting. In Ballycanew, two.—Clinganny, one. Ballymore, one. Ferns two. Newtonbarry, four, and one in its vicinity, which was quickening.

432. At Enniscorty, after holding two meetings, I went out of town on my way, but going burthened and distressed, returned back and held two more for the ease and enjoyment of my mind.

433. I went on Vinegar-Hill, and took a view of the place where much blood was shed on account of religion.—Oh ! when will the time come, when the earth shall be of one heart and of one mind, and the nations learn to war no more. Many who say they are enlightened, being still in darkness, rest contented, and fight for the form of religion, but know not the power nor the purity of it.

434. At Wexford, I met *M. Lanktree* again ; I told him he must prepare for a scolding at the next conference, provided he gave me such liberties. He replied, I dare not oppose you ; 'tis

evident God is with you; and I look upon it providential your coming here, and so does my wife, as she has found it a blessing to her soul; and I entreat you to tarry longer on the circuit; and as we were about to part to see each other no more, as we supposed, he could hardly refrain from weeping.

435. I held three meetings here, and one at the barony of Forth, which was the most refreshing I had seen for some time.

436. On my way to Ross, I saw one sitting by the way side, reading the bible, to whom I gave a pamphlet.

437. As I called at a tavern to refresh, I found a young man under some convincement. I conversed plainly with him, though a stranger, and gave him a pamphlet.

438. At Ross, I held three meetings, and some said I was *Quakerized*; others said I was too much of a *Methodist*, and some that I was a *mystic*.

439. From thence I set off for Waterford, where *M. Tobias* was stationed, as this place lay upon my mind for several weeks. I was now called to a trial of my faith, as I did not expect one Methodist in the place would receive me. But this afforded me some comfort, that I could appeal to the Searcher of hearts, I had no other end in view, than to do his will, believing it to be my duty to go,

440. Having a letter to a class leader which was not particularly directed, as to his residence, I inquired for the man; one said, he lived in one street; another said, in another; thus I wandered up and down the town for some time, and suddenly I discovered a man: a thought arose, that man won't lie; I ran to him and showed the letter; said he, do you think I know the man? I told him I wanted information: he asked me several questions, and piloted me to the door. The man of the house read the letter, and after tea took me to the preacher's house to hear what he would say; and behold it was the man I had seen in the street, *Zechariah Worrel*.

441. He gave me the right hand of fellowship. I told him to look out what he did, lest others should blame him. I spoke at night, and on Sabbath morning too; but at night he durst not give me the liberty; as then was the great congregation. On Monday evening, through the intercession of the leaders, I held a third meeting, and appointed for the fourth; the house was well filled, and in the congregation were several Quakers. There was a considerable movement among the people.

442. The next morning, I held my last meeting; the class leaders, of their own accord, gave me a recommendation; first, that they believed I preached the gospel as held by the Methodists; and second, that my labors were blessed to the people.

443. Here I had several valuable articles of clothing and money offered to me, which I refused ; however, about eleven shillings were forced on me. I visited several backsliders and quitted the place.

444. In Pill-town, we had a shaking time ; here I pasted up some printed *rules for holy living*, in the streets ; as I had done some written ones in several other places.

445. To Carrick-on-Suir, I had several letters, which paved my way to getting the preaching house ; in which I had five meetings that were tender. The chief person of the society, when I first came here, was absent ; but on coming home offered me two shirts and some money, which I refused. Said he, "it argues a sound heart, but a weak head ; and if I had been at home when you first came, I would not have given you the preaching house, as that would have been an encouragement to impostors : but you might have preached in my private house as often as you pleased." I had several other things offered by other persons also, which I refused, and went to Clonmel ; having about five hundred papers printed—*rules for holy living*. Here I got the preaching house, likewise ; which some previously said I would not get : however, the congregations were larger than had been known for many months ; and the power of God was sensibly present.

446. Earnest entreaties were made for my tarrying longer ; but feeling my mind free, after holding three meetings, and after pasting up some *rules*, I quitted the town.

447. I had accepted a small note and two shillings, but feeling burthened in my mind, gave up the former to the person.

448. At night, I put up with a Roman Catholic, at Capperquin, which took all the money that I had, amounting to 2s. 6d. English.

449. On my way to Tallow, a magistrate overtook me.

Q. What have you got in your bundle ?

A. Papers.

Q. What papers ?

A. Rules for holy living.

Q. Where did you sleep last night ?

A. Capperquin.

Q. You made good speed this morning—where was you born ?

A. North America.

Q. What did you come here after ?

A. Partly upon account of my health, and partly by, an impression on my mind, believing it to be the will of God.

Q. And what do you do here ?

A. I strive to persuade people to serve God.

Well, said he, that is a good practice ; but do you meet with much success ? I replied, I am striving to do what I can ; but it is the spirit of God that must accomplish the work. He then pro-

posed several of the questions again and again, with some others, I suppose, to see if I would contradict myself. I then gave him a paper and a pamphlet, and told him, if he wanted further information, to search me.

He said, there are many who go about to stir up the minds of the lower class, (alluding to politics, riot, and rebellion,) but my mind is satisfied concerning you, and so he rode on.

450. In Tallow, I held two meetings, the house being opened to me; but now I had another trial; my feet being so sore, apparently I could walk no further: but a man who was going my road, took me up before him on a horse, and carried me six miles: and another man afterwards let me get upon his car now and then; and now and then I would hobble along a spell; so I got to Cork late in the evening; and having a letter to a man, I was provided with food and lodging.

451. Next day, I went to see the assistant preacher, who was also chairman of the district. Said I, "what privilege will you grant me?" Said he, "go away, and come at such an hour, and I will tell you:" which I did.—Said he, I have talked with some of our most respectable friends, who think it not proper to give you any encouragement, as it would be too great encouragement to imposters; and we think you to be out of your sphere. But, said I, suppose I hold meetings in town, not to intrude upon your meeting hours: nor yet say any thing against you; neither lay down contrary doctrines?—Said he, it will be taken as opposition, if you hold any meetings any where, at any time here; so I parted with him; this being Saturday evening.

452. Sabbath morning I heard one preach, and then took breakfast with a Quaker, who treated me cool enough: I attended their meeting, and then by an impression upon my mind took upwards of an hundred of my handbills, or printed rules, and went through the town distributing them to the gentry, and heard a preacher at night. The next morning, feeling the want of some money, I attempted to sell my watch, but could find none that would buy it. At length, I went into another watch maker's, who looked at me and said, tell me your cheapest price: I said a guinea, it being not half the value. He asked me what countryman I was; I burst out a crying; he then gave me a breakfast, a guinea, and a shilling. He asked then my religion; and I gave him a pamphlet and paper; and requested a guide out of town, to which I gave half the guinea; with orders to carry it to the man who had provided my bed and board, as he had a wife and three others of his family sick at that time.

In the night I arrived at Bandon, and inquired for Methodists; the woman said, What do you want with them? A. To tarry all night. Q. Are there any near? A. There is one near you.—

Q. Did you ever hear of an American in this country? A. Q. What is he doing? A. Wandering up and down striving to do good, and he has had the small pox of late. Q. Are you he?—A. Yes. Come, walk in. I felt thankful to God that he had provided me lodging for the night, &c.

453. Next day I went to see the preachers; one of whom treated me rather cool; the other said, I can give you no encouragement, and I will give you no opposition; I am willing you should go round the circuit and do all the good you can. From this, I perceived that he felt more love in his heart than he durst show out. But in a dream of the night, my mind was so impressed, that I quitted the town early in the morning, leaving my staff behind and bidding none farewell. It took me more than seven hours to walk nine miles, to Kinsale: on the way, I was near being stopped by a magistrate. I sat down by the road side and reflected thus; ‘here I am, a stranger in a strange land; but little money, and few that show me friendship; I am going now to a place; and I have no ground to expect reception: I cannot walk much farther; I cannot buy a passage to a distant part; and what shall I do, seeing I have no way to get bread? Once I had a father’s house and tender parents; and how would they feel if they knew my present case? Unless God works wonders for me soon, I shall surely sink.’—Then I lifted up my voice and wept.

454. The first Methodist I met in town treated me coolly; but recollecting to have seen a young woman in Dublin, who lives here, I inquired and found her. She at first was sorry to see me; she being in a low, uncomfortable state of mind, and her parents not Methodists. However, they invited me to tarry; and so it happened by the over ruling hand of Providence, that I got the preaching house: first, by talking with the members individually, and provoking them to say, I have no objection if the rest have none; and then by making bold to stand up on Christmas night, after a local preacher had dismissed the people, and spake a few words, and formed a covenant with the assembly to pray three times a day for a week, and the greater part of which agreed, and I called God to witness to the engagement. And when the society met to speak on the privilege of the meeting house, there was none to object.

455. Early the next morning many came out to meeting, and at evening likewise; thus for several days together; and God’s power was felt by several who were quickened to start afresh for the kingdom of glory.

456. I held one meeting, to preach to the children. The preacher who had treated me with slightness in Bandon, came to the stairs and listened. At a love feast, there was never such a refreshing time known there before.

457. I wished for a passage to Dublin, a vessel being ready for sea; but the owner would not consent that the master should take me on board; saying, where they have got priest, minister, or preacher on board, there is no prosperity or good luck; and the vessel was wind bound for several days.

458. During my stay here, I frequently thought every meeting would be the last, and would appoint no more, hoping by some means to get away; but no door opened. I received invitations to breakfast, dine, and sup, more than I supplied. At length, some people (not in society) procured me a passage, unknown to the owner, by persuading the captain to take me on board, and provided sea stores, and then gave me information that the wind was coming fair, and if I would, I could now sail for Dublin. The people at a venture would come out to meeting, and seemed as though they could not keep away. I requested my departure might be notified that night; and within two hours after hearing that the captain would take me, went on board, and was under sail; and after fifty-two hours passage from Oyster-haven, I landed in Dublin, and went to my old home, Doctor *Johnson's*, where I was cordially received, having been absent eleven weeks and two days, and travelled by land and water about seven hundred English miles.

459. It lying weightily upon my mind, what the Cork preacher said, I wrote to him to the following purport:

460. "I don't see how you could in justice take it as wicked opposition, if I did nor said nothing against the Methodists, provided I held meetings, without judging me hard. I acknowledge you treated me with less severity in harsh words than I expected; but lest you should write letters before me and hedge up my way, I left Cork as I did; and now remember, if souls be lost in consequence of it, that will lie at your door, for God knows, if I could have kept my peace of mind, I would not have left America, but in tender conscience I was constrained to come."

The person who carried the above, delivered it as follows:

Sir, here is a letter from Lorenzo.

Preacher. Oh! is he in Kinsale? (reads the letter without changing countenance,) he is displeased I did not let him preach: did he preach in Kinsale?

Bearer. Yes, sir, to large congregations; and a prospect of good.

Pre. I'm glad there is a good prospect—he has been a zealous preacher in America, and came away against rule, or order of his assistant—he follows his own feelings too much—he is Quakerized.

Bea. I believe, sir, he is led by the dictates of the Spirit, for his labors are owned of God.

Pre. Poor man, he fatigues himself—I told him he ought not to walk so much: I bid him call on me in the morning, in order to give him some assistance; but was too ill to see him.

Bea. I don't think Lorenzo would accept of it, sir! he is not a burthen to any of our societies.

Pre. I hear he is abstemious, and will not take sufficient nourishment: he won't take clothes, and such a poor figure as he cuts! why, when he went to Bandon and stood at the people's door, they could not tell what to make of him; and so he concluded, with saying something concerning my heart and head.

461. January, 1801. The greater part of this month I spent in this city. I went to see *John Dinneen*, who treated me with more friendship than ever before; yet there seemed to be something out of order between us.

462. Here I found *Alice Cambridge*, (who lives with Mrs. Stafford, from whom I received manifested kindness,) who had been very hardly treated in the south; and turned and kept out of society for no other cause, than because in conscience she could not desist from holding public meetings. She was kind to me during my illness, and was the occasion of the preachers' first coming to see me. Oh! prejudice and austerity, when will ye be done away! By the means of *Alice*, I procured a large room for meeting, in Stephen-street, where thrice I spoke to some scores. In Chapel-street, twice—some seemed to feel the word; others were angry. In Thomas-street, I met a few. In New-street, I had four meetings; some people were solemn; others noisy. I spoke twice at the Coombe; three times in Spital-fields;—twice in Ransford-street: once in Cathedral-lane, besides family visits, at which came in a few in different parts of the city. At Elephant-lane, I had two solemn and attentive meetings.

463. For some months I had a desire to preach at Black-rock; but saw no way till now; the young curate, by the name of *Mitchell*, whom I had seen at Athy, gave me the privilege of *Mr. Kelly's* chapel; in which I spoke to an attentive serious people.

464. Having it impressed upon my mind for several months, to give the inhabitants of Dublin a general warning, I never saw my way clear to proceed until now; and believing the judgments of God hanging over the place, I got about three thousand handbills printed, such as lay upon my mind, and the greatest part I distributed among the quality and decent kind of people; which I left either in their shops or houses, and one I enclosed in a letter, and gave it to a sentinel in the castle-yard for the Lord-Lieutenant; but fearing he would not get it, got a second framed and directed in gilt letters, for the Lord Lieutenant, sealed in black wax and paper, and tied tape round it—this I left in the porter's lodge.

465. I got two others framed in black, and directed in gold letters: one *for the merchants*, the other *for the lawyers*: the first I hung up in the Royal Exchange; the other I left on the floor in the sight of the Lawyers, in the hall of the four courts, and walked out, (it being court-time.)

466. A local preacher said he was willing I should have a meeting in his house, if it would not grieve his brethren; at the leader's meeting it was objected to.

467. At *John Jones's*, my printer, in Bride-street, I held my last meeting, which was solemn and refreshing, having had near thirty since this time of coming to town.

468. Feeling my mind at present free from the city and college, (as I had left a pamphlet on every floor in the letter-box,) and bound to the west of Ireland, I took leave of a number of my Dublin friends, saying, I know not I shall ever see you again in time; but several said it was impressed on their minds I should return to the city before I went to America.

469. February 1st. I took leave of my dear *Paul* and *Letitia*, who had showed every particular kindness and attention to me during this visit, which parting was painful to me, and taking the canal boat, I arrived in Tullamore after night fall. This day one passenger called for a pack of cards, another reproved him, saying it is Sabbath day; this opened a door for me to distribute some of my handbills and pamphlets; some of which passed into the first cabin, which influenced the passengers to send for me in there. Some of these cross-questioned me concerning my leaving America, and travelling through the kingdom, with other parts of my conduct which they had heard of: I endeavored to return my answers to the purpose, and yet in such a manner as should be profitable to the whole. God was my helper, and his power seemed to come over them. These people spread over the town, what a strange man they had in company. The Methodists who heard of it, came to the house where I was confined with sickness to my bed near all day, and asked if I would hold a meeting at night. I said yes, provided you will give me the preaching house, and get the people notified. Here prejudice had formerly shut the door and the hearts of the people against me.

470. In the evening the seats were filled; the next night the house was filled; the third night all the people could not get in. The next morning early the seats were filled, and I gave my last: the day but one preceding, I put up one of the *rules for holy living* in the market place; which occasioned a Protestant and a Roman or two, to come first to words, and then to blows; and then one of the Romans who held the Protestant whilst the other beat him, was obliged to run into his house and not show his head in the market all day, lest the Orangemen should give him a beat-

ing : he was one of the richest merchants of his profession in town : I spoke that day in the street to near fifteen hundred people, generally well behaved : here I was offered half a guinea, and the offer of a return carriage to carry me sixteen miles ; which I refused, knowing that example goes before precept ; and that the eyes of many are upon me. I walked nineteen miles to Birr, but here met with a cool reception : likewise at Cree, to which I had a letter from their friend ; nevertheless was cool enough received. Well, said I, I have come about twenty two miles out of my way to see you ; and if it were convenient, should be glad to hold a meeting, but if you call not the people together, I shall be pure ; and leaving them immediately, after giving them two pamphlets, I reached Eyrecourt that night.

471. The next day I walked twenty-two miles, and got benighted ; I called at a farm house and got liberty, for money, to tarry all night, but found no freedom to eat in the house, except two or three roasted potatoes.

472. Next morning walked on and a car overtook me, and I hired a driver to carry me into Tuam, at which town upon my arrival, felt a sudden halt in my mind ; enquired for Methodists, and after getting some refreshment found one, who treated me kindly and got me the preaching house and about ten score of hearers that night.

473. For several days past, feeling the necessity of a preacher's being assisted by the supernatural grace of God, or else his labors to be of but little use, and feeling my own weakness, trials began to arise and discouragements to desist, but here God revived my spirits by granting the quickening influence of his grace to assist me to go through the meetings both at night and morning.

474. At Hollymount, we had two solemn meetings, though the class leader had treated me with some neglect.

475. At Castlebar, where Mr. Russel and his wife were kind and friendly more than I expected, I held a number of meetings which were refreshing and powerful : here one woman said she had seen me in a dream two weeks before.

476. At Newport good was done ; here I was met by Sir Neal, who observing me to have a bundle of papers under my arm, which I had got printed a few days before as a warning to the people of the country, being more and more convinced there is an awful cloud gathering over the land. He questioned me very harsh and sharply what those were, and who and what I was ; and after taking me to his house and examining different papers, said he believed I was an honest man, and gave me a pass.

477. At Nappogh the people were cold and hard : at Westport in the day of eternity, I expect the fruit of two meetings will appear.

478. At Tullagh, a country place, about two hundred came out at night, and as many the next morning, though the ground was white with frost.

479. At Cappavico, the Lord's power was to be felt, and at Menalo we had memorable times. About this time, I fell in with the *Rev. Mr. Averill*, who intreated me to tarry longer on the circuit ; saying, the cries of the people are after you, which I look upon to be the voice of God in their hearts, for it is evident God is acknowledging you amongst them, and if you will tarry another year, I'll give you a guinea a month, to bear your expenses, and providing the next conference set their faces against you as they did the last, I'll pay your passage home to America. I told him, I believed the time was near, that it was the will of God, I should return home ; therefore durst not engage to tarry.

480. At Foxford we had good times—at Ballina, we had three powerful meetings. About this time, I had some articles of clothing and money offered to me ; but a small part I felt free to accept, though I would have to live by faith about my passage.

481. I walked about thirty Irish miles in a day, and coming to Sligo, I met *Mr. Averill* again. He preached and administered the sacrament, the latter of which was refreshing.

482. In the evening, I spoke at the court house to about a thousand people, and entreated them to prepare for trials, which I expected were coming on the land. The next morning, after speaking to about two hundred, went to Manor-hamilton, where was a great ado about religion, and some good doing.

483. I attempted to speak at night, and about two-thirds through my discourse, I was suddenly stopt, like one confounded, and other preachers carried on the meeting, and concluded it.

484. The next morning, feeling greatly depressed in mind, I wrote a letter for *Mr. Averill*, leaving it on the table, and quit the house before the family was up, and walked twenty-one miles to Enniskillen, where I spoke to a few at night, not in vain. The next morning, speaking to a number more, I went to Tempo, and at a tavern where I took some refreshment I missed my pocket-book, in which were a number of letters to people's friends in America. At night, I called in a market town, and after distributing a number of hand bills, called at a house, and for the sum of thirteen shillings English,

could have supper, and lodging, and breakfast, and liberty of holding two meetings. The man was a Methodist, the woman a Presbyterian. The Methodists then besought me to tarry a day or two, in vain.

485. Partly in the rain, I walked twenty-one miles to Dunganannon, and whilst distributing hand bills through the town, a soldier I met, who knew me, though it was night, and took me to a sergeant's house, who said, "when we lay at Chapel-ized last year, when you came there and formed the covenant, a corporal who agreed thereto, afterwards became serious, and died in peace.

486. Here I had an ulcer broke in my lungs whilst I was asleep, which had like to have strangled me at first. I felt cold chills after this, running through my body, and feverish, and my bodily strength greatly reduced. The serjeant, who a few days previous, was wishing that he knew where I was, that he might send for me to come to that place, asked the circuit preacher if I might have the meeting house, who said, "by no means;" however, the serjeant knowing my desire to hold a meeting, after the preacher had dismissed the people, spoke out, and said: Take notice, there is an American in town, who will hold a meeting to-morrow evening, but the place is not determined on; then walking and whispering to the preacher, said, will you forbid its being here? Who replied, I will neither approve nor oppose it. The serjeant turned to the people and said, It will be here.

487. I had four meetings in the house, and two in the street, which were solemn and attentive.

488. I held several in the neighborhoods of this place, which seemed to be attended with some degree of power; at one of which, a seceder's school house would not contain the people, and church service just being over, I got the liberty of its pulpit, which I looked upon as singular and providential. I spoke to near seven hundred people, and mentioned, I believed trials were near. Thence I proceeded to Lisburn, and put up with one who had been a Quaker, but had withdrawn. He appeared to be a conscientious man, but the scriptures bear but little weight with him, and the divinity of Christ he seems to stumble at. Thence to Belfast; on my way I called at Lambeg to inquire concerning a singular circumstance, respecting one's losing their hair, which was thought to be supernatural; it has produced a great effect upon the man of the house.

489. All the vessels in Belfast were full of passengers, except two; one of which was so dear, and her provisions not such as I required, she I declined. But a Quaker said, Lorenzo! I would not wish to transport thee; but if thy mind is clear to go home, we will make thee out a passage; thee speak to thy friends, and

I to mine ; which I did, but no notice was taken of it : then the Quaker with a friend gave me two guineas to engage my passage on board the other ; but the captain who was bending towards Quakerism, observing I had the small pox some months before, refused to take me ; saying, I know not but the infection may still be in your clothes, and five of my hands have not had it, and if they should be taken unwell, I shall be knocked up on my voyage.

490. About this time, I received three letters from *Dr. Johnson*, giving some account of my last visit in Dublin, and with an anxious desire for my return ; but if I did not see my way clear to come, might draw on him for as much as should be needful for my voyage, and receive it either as a gift or loan, whichever might be most agreeable to me—but I in a letter replied, “I cannot see my way clear to ask the Methodists for much help, lest they should lay claim to me and seek to tie my hands : and to ask too much of the Quakers, I must look all round ; and for you to pay it out of your own pocket, I cannot consent, no, not in my mind : but if people are willing to do the same, shall look upon it as providential.”

491. In one of his letters, he expressed a desire, if consistent with the Divine will, he with his dear Letitia might see me once more, to take leave of me, and see me properly equipped under their own inspection. Accordingly as my way now seemed hedged up in the north, and feeling my mission to be nearly ended, unless it were a desire to visit two or three neighborhoods, and feeling that I could go without condemnation, I took the mail coach to Lisburn, where I held a meeting in what is called the new connexion, which was solemn and tender.

492 Thence, being an outside passenger, I came to Dublin the next day, chilled and tired, and if it had not been for the kindness of the guard accommodating me with his seat, I must have given out on my way.

493. About six o'clock in the morning, I arrived at my friend *Dr. Johnson's*, to their agreeable surprise. Here follows one thing of the Doctor's singular conduct, in sending some notices to persons of different persuasions, that “if any person of ability had a desire, and would consider it a privilege to assist in sending Lorenzo Dow comfortably home to his own country, such assistance would be accepted by Letitia Johnson, 102 New street.” In consequence of this, they received somewhat more than the voyage required. I held two meetings in Bride street, the latter of which was solemn and tender, and the two Dublin preachers were present.

494. March 28th. It was now rising of sixteen months since I first came on to the Irish shore, and whilst others have been

robbed and murdered, I have been preserved by land and sea. Though a few days ago, I was informed, the crew with whom I sailed, when drove into the Isle of Man, were plotting to throw me overboard, if an Englishman had not interposed. I have known less of hunger in this country of scarcity, than ever for the space of time in my own, since travelling.

495. To-morrow, God willing, I expect to embark for America. What is past, I know; what is to come, I know not. I have endured trials in my own country, and have not been without them in this, even from those whom I love and wish well, both outward and inward, temporal and spiritual: but my trust is still in God, who I believe will support me, and give me a blessing upon my feeble labors in my native land, though I expect to wade through deep waters there.

496. I know not but I may come to Europe again, though there is but one thing which will bring me, viz. to save my soul.

497. April 2nd, I took my farewell leave of Paul and Letitia Johnson, and William and Nancy Thomas, with whom it was hard parting, and embarked for America on board the ship *Venus*, S. Taber, master, 250 tons burthen, seventy-three passengers, mostly Roman Catholics.

3rd. At one o'clock, A. M., took in our anchors, hoisted sail, and in about fifteen days after losing sight of land, we were half across the ocean, when the wind came against us, so that we were driven to the north, and south, about two weeks, making but very little headway.

498. 26th. I held meeting on board; good attention appeared among those who could attend. After forty-seven days passage, we hove in sight of land, and shortly after came to the quarantine ground, (Staten Island,) where I was detained thirteen days; during which time I got relief from some persons in New York, whereby I escaped these *vermin* that are troublesome on long voyages with a number of people, &c. On our passage, my life was despaired of through costiveness, (as in thirty-three days no means of medicine answered but thrice,) by some gentlemen on board, who, with the captain, showed me kindness. After holding two meetings, and my clothes cleansed, I got permission from the doctor to come into the city; where I was cordially received by S. *Hutchinson*, and some other kind friends; but they durst not open the preaching house doors to me for fear of the censure of the conference now at hand.

499. Dr. Johnson, who had given me a paper signifying that if I were brought to want in any part of Ireland, could draw on him for any sum I chose, by any gentleman who traded in Dublin, which paper I never made use of. He sent a library

of books by me, with orders to sell them, and make use of the money to buy me a horse to travel with, &c. These books were of singular service, to aid me in my travels, which I thought to be my duty, viz. instead of being confined on a circuit, to travel the country at large, to speak on certain points, which I considered injurious to the kingdom of Christ in this world, &c. Not knowing the value of these second hand books, one took the advantage of my ignorance to get them under price; but my friends insisted he should give up the bargain; to which he with a hard demand of ten dollars consented, with the proviso that Kirk (who sold them for an hundred and fifteen dollars) should have no profit. Oh! the cursed love of money!*

500. June 16th. Conference came on, and some of my old friends were minded I should take a circuit; but did not blame me for going to Europe, considering the advantage I had got to my health, &c. I could not feel my mind free to comply, feeling it my duty to travel more extensively. Their entreaties and arguments were hard to resist; and on the other hand the discouragements if I rejected, or discomplied, would be great. It would not only by them be deemed wilful, and must expect their disapprobation; but still be like the fowls of the air, to trust Providence for my daily bread: here I was brought to halt between two opinions, thinking it was easier for one to be mistaken than twenty; yet I felt it my duty to travel the continent at large. Here my trials were keen.

501. A pamphlet of my experience coming to America, Kirk was minded to reprint it; but bishop Whatcoat said I belonged to them, and they ought to have the first privilege of printing my experience: and being under great trials of mind, concluded to give up my judgment to theirs, and take a circuit; which I had no sooner consented to *try for a year, the Lord being my helper*, than an awful distress came over my mind; but I could not recall my words. My mind being somewhat agitated, gave the bishop somewhat encouragement relative to my journals, of which, on reconsideration, I repented, as the time was not yet.

502. I was restored by the conference where I was on going away, viz. remaining on trial. The conference was more friendly than I expected, when on my voyage home; but I did not make any acknowledgment that I did wrong in going away. Some thought I had broke discipline; but on re-examination it was found I had not, as one on trial has a right to desist as well as they to reject.

*I paid the doctor afterwards.

503. My station was on the *Duchess* and *Columbia* circuit, with *David Brown* and *William Thatcher*—*Freeborn Garretson*, presiding elder. Thus distressed, I sailed to *Rhinebeck*, on which way, one attempting to go on board the vessel, was knocked out of the boat, and carried down the stream more than a mile before he could be picked up. Oh! what dangers are we in! how uncertain is life! When I arrived at the flats, I called at a *Methodist's*, and got meeting appointed for the night. One of the principal *Methodists* came to inquire, who is stationed on our circuit? I replied, *Brown*, *Thatcher*, and *Dow*. Said he, *Dow*, I thought he had gone to *Ireland*! I replied, he has been there, but has lately come back. Said he, *Dow! Dow!* why he is a crazy man; he will break up the circuit; so we parted. After meeting, I appointed another at the new meeting house then building, which tried them at my boldness, they not knowing who I was, (but supposed a local preacher,) and intended *Mr. G.* should preach the first sermon there, for the dedication. Next day, some desired to know my name, which I desired to be excused from telling. I held a number of meetings in this place, mostly cold and lifeless, though we had some good and pious friends; yet I could not speak with life and power as formerly; but felt as if I was delivering my message to the *wrong* people. For it had been in my mind, to return to my native town, and there begin, and travel extensively; first, in the adjacent places, and so abroad, as I might find *Providence* to open the door.

504. When I got to this place, I had two shillings left, and hearing of a place called *Kingston-sopus*, I was minded to visit, (contrary to the advice of my friends,) and having got a few together with difficulty, and leaving two other appointments, returned, having paid away all my money for ferriages, and when the time commenced in which I must go and fulfil the appointments, saw no way to get across the ferry, and whilst walking along in meditation on past providence, and raising my heart, that a way might be opened for my getting across the ferry, I cast my eye upon the sand, and espied something bright, and on picking it up found it to be a *York* shilling, the very sum I wanted in order to cross over. And when I had fulfilled my first appointment, and was going to the second, a stranger shook hands with me, and left near half a dollar in my hand, so I was enabled to get back. Thus I see *Providence* provides for them that put their trust in him.—Having some scripture pictures framed sent by me from *Europe* to dispose of, some I gave away, and the remainder I let go to a printer for some religious handbills, &c. in *Poughkeepsie*, some of which I distributed through the town, and hearing the sound

of a fiddle, I followed it, and came to a porch where was a master teaching his pupils to dance. I gave some handbills, which he called after me to take away, but I spoke not a word but went off. Here the people are hardened.—At Fishkill, and the Highlands, the people were hard, and apparently sorry to see me.—At Clove and Snarlingtown likewise, I visited some neighboring places, and had some tender meetings. At Amenia and Dover, the Methodists seemed shy; I put up at a tavern several times. Swago, I visited from house to house, but have not the art nor the spirit of visiting as when in the north country. Sharon—I found two classes here, the first hard and sorry to see me; the other tender with christian love. In Salisbury and Canaan, (Connecticut,) I had sundry meetings, but still felt as if not in my right sphere. A report that *crazy Dow* had got back from Ireland, brought many out to hear. Mount Washington, Sheffield, and Egremont, (Mass.,) I visited; thence to Hudson, and so to Rhinebeck.

505. After quarterly meeting, I went home to see my friends, and found my parents well, and one sister, who had become more serious within the course of a few months, which was a matter of consolation to me.

506. The expectation of the Methodists was raised, expecting such times as we had before, not looking enough beyond the watchman—once some were prejudiced against me; but now too much for me, so I was clogged with their expectations and shut up. Walking to Norwich, gave away my pocket handkerchief to get a breakfast, and took shipping to New London, where we had three meetings that were large and tender. *One* who was *near* and *dear* to *me* did not come to see me, neither *durst* I go to see *him*, which caused me some pain of heart.

507. September 3rd. I went forty miles to Middletown, and had four meetings which were good and tender. At New Hartford, I hired a ball room, which cost me a dollar and a half. The man thought I was going to have a play, at first—many came to hear, to whom I spoke from, *After I have spoken, mock on.*—Some were tender, and some disputed, saying, all things are decreed, and they hoped they were Christians, and no man can be a Christian unless he is reconciled to God's decrees. I replied, if all things are fore-ordained, it was fore-ordained that I should talk as I do, and you are not reconciled to it, and of course are not Christians; but deceiving yourselves according to your own doctrine. The young people smiled, and so we parted.

508. Oh, when shall the time commence when the watchmen shall see eye to eye, and the earth be filled with God's glory?—Thence I went to my circuit, and continued round with my mind burthened, as when sailing up from New York; and have been

burthened and depressed whilst on this circuit ever since. I do not have such meetings as formerly, though the cause of God, and the worth of souls lies as near my heart as ever. What can be the cause, unless out of my sphere? I felt a pain in my right side, and on the seventh day, an ulcer, as I suppose, broke in my lungs, and I raised a putrified matter, and was forced to cut my labor short the next day through weakness of body. After this, I had hardly strength to keep up with my appointments; but frequently was obliged to lie upon the bed whilst addressing the people. At length, I got a little more free from my pain, and was in hopes that the raising would cease, and the place heal.

509. October 24th—25th. After quarterly meeting, I left this circuit, by G's. direction, and proceeded for Litchfield circuit, but did not ask for location, as I wished to go through the year if possible, considering my engagement, and the nature of my standing.

510. 26th. The Methodists being low and lazy here, I walked through the town, and gave notice for meeting, and invited the people; and some ministers, and lawyers, with the people, accepted. The second meeting, scores could not get in. At Milton, God has begun a good work. In Kent, the people are hard. New Milford, Washington, Woodbury, Goshen, Winchester, Bristol, I visited. Some were hard; some were prejudiced; and with some I had comfort; amongst whom were some seventh-day Baptists near the last place. In Farmington and Northington, religion seemed low, in the latter, harm was done by the minister opposing the work under brother M. In Granby and Barkhamstead, it is low. Hartland hollow, once a flaming place for piety, but seems to be diminished greatly, yet of late some small quickening. Colebrook and Winstead I visited; in the latter is a large society, but not so much engaged as they used to be. Thus I have got round the circuit—scarce any blessing on my labors, and my mind depressed from day to day.

511. Of late it hath lain upon my mind that I should not recover whilst I continued in this sphere of action; and that my ill health came in consequence of not doing what I had felt to be my duty, viz. to travel the continent more at large; and the only remedy to escape and recover from this decline, would be by a change of air and climate, &c., and as though Providence chose to make use of this means for my recovery, for some end unknown to me. And the more I made it a matter of prayer, that if it were a temptation, it might decrease; but if it were from Him, it might increase; and the more I think upon it and weigh it as for eternity, the more it increases, and cords of sweet love draw me on.

512. The thoughts of leaving the circuit without liberty, is somewhat trying, as I had done it once before; and some perhaps

may conclude there is no confidence to be put in me. The island of Bermuda, or *Georgia*, is what I had in contemplation.

513. November 21—22. Quarterly meeting was in Cornwall; I told brother *Batchelor* that my mind was under the above trials; he said he was willing I should go. But *Garretson*, my spiritual grandfather, would not consent; but offered me a location on the circuit, if I would say I could travel no longer; but would not consent that I should leave it on any condition at first. I could not say but what I could travel a space longer, and yet apparently but a very little while. At length, I strove to get him to say, if it was the opinion of brother *Moriarty*, that my health was declining, he would not charge me with disobedience at the next conference: he said I must then labor not in my usual way, but like the other preachers, viz. the regular appointments only, and thus indirectly it was left—so I continued on.

27th. My strength I think declines.

514. December 1. I reached my parents again, tarried four days, had two meetings, and told my parents of my intention of visiting the southern climes. They did not seem to oppose it as I expected; but said, once it would have been your delight to have been received and regularly travelling on a circuit, and now they are willing to receive you, you cannot feel contented to tarry on a circuit, which, if we were to have our choice, it would be to have you continue; then you will have friends, and can come and see us; but you must be your own judge in this matter; weigh it well, and act accordingly.

515. I left my horse, saddle, bridle and watch, in the hands of *Nathaniel Phelps*, and had some money of a neighbor, viz. my horse, with the man who came fifteen miles to see me, and gave me a dollar, when I was sick in the north country. *Peter Moriarty*, the assistant preacher of the circuit, being gone home to wait till God should send snow that he might move his family, it was uncertain when I could get his judgment respecting my decline, and there being no probability of my obtaining *Garretson's* consent, I was now brought into a straight. Being unable to fulfil the appointments with propriety any longer, I got brother *Fox* to take them in my stead.

516. My license being wrote in such form by Mr. G, it would only serve for the Dutchess and Columbia circuits, so that when he removed me to Litchfield it was good for nothing, so I destroyed it, and of course, now had no credentials to aid me in a strange land. The thoughts of going away under the above difficult circumstances was trying both to my natural desire, and to my faith; yet it appeared to me I was brought into this situation by my disobedience, and the only way would be to obey in future.

517. December 9. A friend, N. P. carried me to Hartford, and being disappointed of shipping, I set off on foot to New Haven, and though weak in body, I went twelve miles, and stopped at a tavern; but it being the freemason lodge night, they made such a noise I could not sleep, so I went to a farm house.

518. Set off at dawn of day, and a man in Meriden saw and knew me, gave me a breakfast and sent a horse with me several miles, so I reached New Haven that night, and spoke to a few. The next evening I spoke again, and God gave me favor in the sight of some. At length I set sail for New York, and making a mistake as the passengers divided when going on board, I carried away two bottles which belonged to the other packet where my things were; and on our arrival, I paid the damage of the porter, which the people drank up without my consent. However, they were so kind as to rummage my things and write in my journals some scurrilous language belonging to sea-faring people. After my landing, I went to my old home at the house of brother Jeffery. I took the advice of several physicians, whose advice it was to go. And finding a vessel bound to Bermuda, was denied a passage on account of my religion; but captain *Peleg Latham*, going to sail for Savannah, offered to take me and throw in a fifth part of my passage, considering the cause of my going.

519. Through Dr. *Johnson's* books, I had procured my horse, got some religious hand bills printed, containing *rules for holy living, &c.*, paid my passage, and had about one dollar and a half left me, eighteen dollars still being in G—'s hands. My friends made out my provisions. My cough and weakness increase. I am more than ever sea sick. I said, to tarry is death, to go I do but die.

520. January 3rd, 1802. I am in lat. 34 deg. 38 min., long. 76 deg. 2 min. My cough has almost left me; but my raising continues. The people are as kind and civil as I could expect from the circumstances. Natural and human prospects appear dark; what is before me I know not; my trust is in God. I have but one to look to or rely upon in this undertaking. My trials are keen—indeed it is a trial of my faith to go: but Jesus is precious to my soul on this roaring sea. The winds these four days past are contrary.

521. There is but one in all Georgia that I know. I have seen before, *Hope Hull*, my spiritual father: and to him I never spoke. My mind was tried by the enemy of souls; something within said, you will see such good days no more: the openings and favors you have had are now gone, and as it were death awaits you. But one evening, when thus tried, when lying down, a thought arose, why have I not as great a right to expect favors from God now, as in days that are past and gone. Immediately hope and faith

began to revive, and my heart to be drawn out in prayer. Soon after, the wind came fair, and we run from five to nine miles an hour, till we had run our latitude. On our way, a whale played round our vessel for an hour or two.

522. January 6. Saw land—it being foggy, did not venture into port. The night following found we had but about two fathoms of water, as we sounded to cast anchor upon a hollow shoal; it being then high water, the captain began to prepare the boats to flee; the noise awaked me up—I saw the people terrified and preparing to escape. I began to examine whether I was sorry I had come, or was prepared to die—felt great inward peace, and no remorse, and fell asleep again; but their ado soon awaked me. I dressed myself, sung an hymn, and lay down. I observed some praying, and one man reproving another, saying, it is no time to swear now—soon the vessel struck, the cable they cut off at five blows, and hoisted a sail, leaving the anchor, and the tide carried us through a narrow place into deep water, striking twice on the way—just before, was a smart breeze, but now a calm. Through this medium, by the providence of God, we escaped. Gladness appeared on every countenance, and soon drinking, cursing, swearing, and taking God's name in vain, appeared on the carpet. My heart was grieved to see this, and I could but reprove and counsel them. Oh, how frequently will people be frightened in danger and deny it afterwards!

523. 7th. Fog continued till afternoon, then got a pilot, and anchored in the river at night.

Friday 8th. I landed in Savannah, and walked through the town, I found a burying ground, and the gate being down, I went in, and spent an hour or two in thanksgiving and prayer for my deliverance, and a prosperous journey. Oh, the poor blacks! a boat of them with some white people came along side of our vessel: my heart yearns when I view their sable faces and condition. I inquired for Methodists, and found no regular ones in town. But one of Hammet's party, Adam C. Cloud, a preacher, whom I did not know at first, gave me the liberty of his preaching house that night, in which I spoke to about seventy whites and blacks, but to get them collected, I took upwards of a hundred hand bills, and distributed them through the town, and threw one into a window where a man was dying; and a Baptist preacher being present, read it to the family, as he afterwards told me, and that it was a solemn time. He, Mr. Halcomb, ever denied me his meeting house. On Sunday and Monday evenings I spoke in the African meeting house; it did my heart good to see the attentive blacks.—Andrew, the black preacher, had been imprisoned and whipped until the blood ran down, for preaching; as the people wanted to expel religion from the place, he being

the only preacher in town. The whites at length sent a petition to the legislature for his permission to preach, which was granted. Said he to me, "my father lived to be an hundred and five years old, and I am seventy, and God of late has been doing great things for us. I have about seven hundred in church, and now I am willing to live or die as God shall see fit." The whites offered me a collection which I declined, lest wrong constructions should be put upon it, and I deemed an impostor, as I was a stranger. I gave my trunk, &c. to the family where I tarried. In pouring out some crackers, I found two dollars, which I suppose my friends flung in at New York; this I stood in need of. As I was leaving town, old Andrew met me, and shaking hands with me, left eleven dollars and a half in my hand, which some had made out: So I perceived God provides for those who put their trust in him. I had not gone far before I fell in with a team; I gave the man a handbill, which he said he would not take half a dollar for, and bid me put my bundle in his cart: thus with help I got on about twenty miles that day.

524. The captain with whom I sailed, said, he discovered a visible alteration for the better in my health, previous to our parting, as my cough left me, I raised less and less, and my strength returned more and more, far beyond expectation. It was thought, when I sailed from New York, that I should not live to return.

525. The day after I left Savannah, a man overtook me who had heard of me, and said, "are you the preacher who has lately come from the northward?" I replied in the affirmative. Said he, "I heard you in Savannah, and desiring to find you, I saw one back in a wagon dressed in black, whom I asked if he was the man; he replied, no, sir, I love rum too well."

526. He took me on his horse, and carried me to old father Boston's, near Tukisaking. Here I was kindly received, and called in a few neighbors, to whom I spoke, and appointed meeting for Sunday. In the interval they began to interrogate me where I come from, and for my license or credentials; which, on the relation of my situation, caused them to think I was an impostor; but at length they found my name on the minutes, so their fears were in a measure subsided. A Methodist preacher on his way from conference, fell in there on Saturday, and behaved as if he thought I was an impostor; however, my appointment was given out and could not be recalled. And while I was fulfilling of it, the melting power of God was felt, and tears were rolling on every side. As I was leaving the assembly to go to my evening appointment, about ten miles off, several shook hands with me, and left pieces of money in my hand to the amount of some dollars, which I perceived increased the preacher's jealousy as I

refused the loan of a horse. I walked and fulfilled my evening meeting, where a collection was offered, which I refused, however, about four dollars were forced upon me.

527. 18. Continuing my course, I saw the sand hill or hooping crane, the largest kind of bird or fowl I ever saw ; also, a flock of geese flying over. Sure—instinct ! what is it ? or who can tell ? the power of attraction. Men are wise, yet the more they find out, the greater mysteries are presented to view, and the more puzzled they are relative to the book of nature. Oh, the wisdom of God ! The birds of flight know their appointed time ; and oh, that the children of men would consider theirs. I dined gratis at an inn.

528. 20. I reached *Augusta*, (the place seemed familiar, as if I had seen it before, when I came within sight of it, as I had four times dreamed of preaching in a similar place, and seen some similar people,) and inquired for Methodists, and the first direction was to go to the house of a Frenchman, where the family treated me with great ridicule and contempt. From thence I was directed to the house of a Calvinist, where I was treated with equal coolness. Thence to a house where the fashionable preachers put up, but got no encouragement to tarry ; but was directed to the common preachers' boarding house, where I was thought to be an impostor, and so was sent to a private boarding house ; I went there, but could not get entertainment for love nor money ; and espying a grove of woods at a distance, concluded to go and take up my lodging there that night ; and leaving a handbill, I set off and got about two thirds of the way out of town, when a negro overtook me with an express that his mistress wanted I should come back. I went back and tarried all night, and for my supper, lodging and breakfast, they would take nothing, neither would they keep me any longer, though I offered them any sum that they should ask for a week's board. Next night I offered a family pay for four nights lodging ; they said they would take me on trial ; I did not eat nor drink with them ; they kept me three nights for nothing, but they would not keep me the fourth. Next night, I went down on the bank of the river to take up my lodgings there, and whilst walking back and forth, meditating on my singular state and circumstances, a boat landed, from which came a negro, and called me by name : I asked him where he saw me ? he replied, I heard you preach in Savannah ; did you not in such a place ? He asked me where I lodged ; I told him I had no place ; said he, will you sleep where black people live ? I replied, if they be decent ones.—He went off, and after about half an hour came back, and piloted me to a black family, who lived in as good fashion as two thirds of the people in *Augusta*. I stayed all night and though I offered them pay, yet they would not receive any,

neither would they keep me any longer for love nor money. I procured my provisions and had them dressed at the house of Moses, a black man, who was a Baptist preacher. Whilst at his shop, I heard of a man who was friendly to the Methodists, to whom I sent a line, signifying that if he would make me an appointment, I would cross the river to Camelton, where he lived, and preach. He did as I desired, and I held three meetings.—Here I had a singular dream, which seemed to be as singularly fulfilled in some degree shortly after. I spoke in the African Baptist meeting house to some hundreds of blacks, and a few whites, the Methodist meeting house being denied me by the society, and the preacher, L. G., they supposing that I was an impostor.

529. 30. I tarried two nights at a plantation house, where the man was troubled with an uncommon disorder, which puzzled a council of physicians, who supposed it to be a polypus in the heart. In the night, I was seized with an inward impulse to set off on the Washington road, (my things not being arrived up the river,) so that my sleep departed; in the morning, when I arose, it was apparently gathering for a storm of rain, so I rejected the impulse as a temptation; but it returned with double force; and for the sake of peace of mind, I set off; but what I was after I could not tell, and when turning it over in my mind, I appeared like a fool to myself. And after travelling about ten miles, an old man between seventy and eighty, who was riding very fast, stopped of a sudden as he met me and said, young man, are you travelling? I answered in the affirmative, and gave him one of my hand bills; he, on finding the contents, shook hands with me, and said, I am a Baptist, but my wife is a Methodist; and invited me to his house, about seven miles off on the Uchee creek, and procured me a congregation the next day, among whom was a respectable family which attended, (Esquire *Haynes* and his wife) who got their hearts touched under the word, and invited me to hold meeting at their house, which I did the next day; and through this channel my door was open for visiting several neighborhoods, where the people seemed to be melted to tenderness; and so I was not examined for credentials. I begged two children of the above mentioned family, (only they were to have the care of them) which since have become serious. Appointments being sent on before me, I went from *Haynes's* to *Pieman's*—thence to Capt. *Thornton's*, on Upton creek.

530. February 10th. I got to *Hope Hull's* before sun rise, having walked nine miles that morning. I found him in a corn house. I saluted with, how do you do, father? His reply was somewhat cool; he agreed to make me an appointment in the court house, (he living above a mile from the town,) having influence amongst

the people. After breakfast, before he had started for town, I took a quantity of hand bills, and running through the woods, got to the town first, and distributed them among the people, and cleared out before he got to town, having scarcely spoken to any one. This made a great hubbub amongst the people, who I was, and where I came from; but when he came in to make the appointment, he unfolded the riddle; this brought many out to hear. Next night, I spoke again; it was thought I should get no hearers; however, the latter congregation was larger than the first; a young clergyman from Connecticut, at the first meeting, said I spoke many truths, but was incorrect, and was minded not to come again; however, he did; and after I had done, he voluntarily made a flowery prayer, in which he gave me a broadside.

531. I once had a sister who resided in this town; and her husband, who was a country lawyer, was ungenerously abused in a duel, afterwards died at Charleston; his life and death, when I reflected on his future state, caused me some tender sensations of mind. One night, in a dream, I thought he appeared to me, and replied, "it is better off with me in the other world than what you think—it is well with me; when I was dying, and so far expired that I could not communicate to others, I was convinced of the truths of religion, and sought, and found acceptance." When I awoke, my mind was greatly relieved.

532. *Hope Hull* said to me, the kindness you received in Ireland, might be accounted for on natural principles—the affection of the people taking pity on you; and if one was to come to this country, and behave well, would have the same kindness shown him: He entreated me to give over this mode of travelling, and to return to New England, and agree to take a circuit and wander no more; for, said he, though it appears that Providence hath been kind to you, yet you will not always find Dr. Johnsons in your travels; but said, he thought that trials and difficulties would devolve upon me, and involve me by and by. He mentioned that God suffered Balaam to go where he desired; likewise a young man that came to Charleston, who lay under a mistake on a certain occasion, and some other things similar to this; which, considering who he was, and my singular standing, and danger of running too fast or too slow, or going on one side or the other, discouraged me much, when I gave way to reasoning and doubting on the subject of my duty in so travelling; but when I put my confidence in God, and submitted the matter to him, I felt peace and happiness of mind, and an inward refreshment and courage to go forward: he said that he did not know, when travelling, that ever he felt it impressed on his mind to go to one place more than another; but said he, if I heard of a place opened, or a meeting

house vacant of a minister, or a wicked neighborhood, why reason said I should go. In reading *Alexander K—*'s life, I could not but remark his dream, page 96, about the pit and spring of water, &c.

533. H. H. gave me a paper where to call on certain families ; I cautioned him on what he did, lest he should be censured for opening my way : said he, I leave every man to paddle his own canoe. I left the house before the family was up, and walked nine miles ; at Washington, where H. lived, a contribution was offered, as well as at Uchee creek, and some other places, which I refused, knowing that example goes before precept, and that impostors are fond of money, and if I were not guarded, should be esteemed as such ; however, at the latter place, eleven dollars were sent from the people by Mr. H. and forced upon me.

534. I found the great Baptist meeting would take off the people, so I continued on my walk until I got about twenty miles from H's., (giving away handbills on the road,) where I sat down in the forks of the path and meditated what I should do to preserve my journals from an approaching shower. Just then a man, whom I had given a handbill to, came along and invited me to his house : he dismounted from his horse, and I got on, and soon arrived there, which was about a mile, when an awful shower of rain fell, I think as ever I beheld ; so my journals were preserved. This man had no religion. In the night I felt uneasy, and my heart bound upon the road ; the man perceiving that I was getting up, inquired the cause, and strove to discourage me ; but not prevailing, arose and taking two horses from his stable, carried me across two or three streams of deep running water, and by a tavern where was a sharp cross dog.—Soon as the day dawned, he went back, and I continued my course a few miles, and found a family of Methodists where I took breakfast ; but thought that they supposed that I was an impostor ; and being informed where a funeral sermon was to be preached, I quit them, and went to hear *Britain Caple*, who spoke in the power and demonstration of the Spirit ; after which, I asked and obtained permission and spoke a few words, as *Caple* thought I could do no harm, (I appeared so simple to him as he afterwards said,) if I could do no good. Thence I went to Greensborough, and held meeting that night, and the night following, and then concluded to go, not amongst the Methodists, unless it came in my way ; but principally around to the court houses, &c. and on my way to Oglethorp, I called at a house to rest, (having the night before travelled a considerable distance till two men overtook me, and on finding who I was, provided me lodging the remainder of the night ;) and the man began to find fault about the Methodists, (he not knowing who I was,) by which means I found one in the

neighborhood; went there and left some hand bills for the neighborhood; and as I was going off, the family found out who I was, and invited me to tarry and hold a meeting after they had enquired, and found that I was not one of *O'Kelly's* party. In the meeting a black woman belonging to *General Stewart*, who was brother to the man of the house, fell down and lay like a corpse for some time; and her hands seemed as cold as death; we were at prayer when she fell, and her falling had like to have knocked me over: after about an hour and a half she came to, and praised God: I gave her my pocket bible, with orders to carry it home, and if she could not read herself, to get the whites to do it for her. I had a meeting next night, and morning following; and thence proceeded to two appointments, which the family had sent on; one was at Lexington, at *Pope's Chapel*. About this time I had a singular dream which induced me to cross the Oconee river, and tarried with a kind Baptist family that night; next day I called on *Tigner*, a noted Methodist; and finding that the circuit preacher, T. C. would be there the next day, I left a parcel of handbills, and went on my way until evening, when I stopped for lodging; and hearing of a serious family, I called on them, but scarce knew how to introduce myself; however, the family on asking me various questions, invited me to tarry all night; and in the evening on finding out what I was, invited me to hold a meeting next day, which I accordingly did; this being in Clark County; and at night in Jackson old court house; where a few dollars were forced upon me; I was solicited to tarry longer, but felt my heart drawn to travel with expedition, over these interior countries and return to New England, as my health and strength had returned far, far beyond my expectation.

535. Monday 22. I walked thirty-five miles to Franklin, and had a meeting at night.

536. 23. Yesterday espying some drunken people, (apparently so) I left an appointment, which to day I fulfilled, and such attention is rare to be found.

537. 24. An opportunity presenting, I rode a number of miles and had meeting at night in Elberton, and the night following—I got an opportunity of sending some handbills to the Tombigby, where perhaps I may one day visit. What am I wandering up and down the earth for? Like a speckled bird among the birds of the forest; what is before me I know not, trials I expect are at hand, my trust is still in God, my trials are keen; my mind seems to be lead to return to the north by the way of Charleston.

538. 26th. I went to Petersburg, had a letter from Doctor *Lester*, of New York, to Solomon Roundtree there, who opened his house for meeting, and showed me the greatest kindness of

any man, since I came to the south; I went through the town and dispersed some handbills, which brought many out to meeting. I visited Vienna and Lisbon, and continued my course towards Augusta, though strongly entreated to tarry longer, with the offer of an horse to ride about sixty miles, but could not find freedom to tarry, or accept, yet about ten dollars I was constrained to receive, lest in attempting to do good, I should do harm.—Some good impressions appeared to be made. I called at a house on the road, where I saw a woman ask a blessing at the table, and I, to give her a sounding, talked somewhat like a deist; she was a Methodist, and was going to turn me out of doors, when a man said, he is one of your own party; which was the preventative. I tarried all night, which she would take nothing for, but gave me some advice; as she halted between two opinions who I was. Calling for some breakfast on the road, the old man insisted I should pay before I eat, which I did, and asked the cause of a collection of youths so early: the reply was, to revive the yesterday's wedding. After some talk, I gave them some handbills; the old man took one and began reading like an hero, when feeling conviction, could hardly go through: I prayed with them, and went on my way, and some of the young people who came for the resurrection of the wedding, (as they called it,) followed me out of doors, with tears, and the old man forced back the quarter dollar which I had paid for my breakfast.

539. Tuesday, March 2d. As I was sitting down to rest, by the forks of some roads, four persons were passing by me, and I overheard the word *meeting*; which induced me to ask, if they were going to meeting: but the answer was cool; so I followed after them, and going along to see what they were after, about half a mile out of my road, I came to a large assembly of people at a Presbyterian meeting house, waiting in vain for their minister; I gave them some handbills, the people read them, and then showed them through the assembly; and some persons present who had heard of me before, told it, so I was invited to speak, with this proviso, that I must give over if the minister came. I spoke nearly an hour on free salvation, but the minister did not come. I received an invitation to a Methodist meeting house, where I had two meetings, and some dated their awakenings and conversion from that time. From man, we may receive favors, and ask again and be denied with resentment; but the more we expect from God, the more we shall have in answer to faith and prayer, in sincere patience, in submission to the will of God; and the longer I pursue the course of religion, the more I am convinced of the truth of these scripture passages, that all things shall work together for good to them that love God: if we don't bring the trials on ourselves needlessly; and no good thing will God withhold from them

that walk uprightly. Lord increase my faith, I expect trials are at hand; the devil can show light, but not love, and in going in the way of love's drawings I generally prosper; but in going contrary thereto, barrenness, distress, burthens, and unfruitfulness, and sorrow, like going through briars and thorns; and as it is God's will to make us happy, it is our duty to go in the paths of peace, tender conscience, and melting joy, and in so doing, I don't remember the time I was sorry, though I perceive not the propriety of the thing immediately, yet I do afterwards; therefore, act as a mortal being who possesses an immortal soul, and expect to give an account at the bar of God, as if my eternal happiness depended on the improvement of my time. Improvement enlarges the experience, and experience enlarges the capacity; and consequently can know more and more of God; and God made us so that it might be the case with us, and if it were not so, we could neither be rewardable nor punishable, for there would be nothing to reward or punish, for one part of the punishment is bitter reflections, or accusations for misimproved time and talents, the natural consequence of which, hath brought them there, and this would make distress. As holiness constitutes the felicity of paradise, what nonsense it is for an unholy being to talk of going there; for it would rather tend to enhance their pain to behold the brightness of that sweet world; therefore I think they had rather be in hell; and the mercy, love, and goodness above, will in justice send them there, for it is the will and goodness of God, to send people or persons to the places suited to their nature, disposition and choice. Oh, may God teach me the things I know not—a forced obedience is no obedience at all; voluntary obedience is the only obedience that can be praise or blame worthy; all good desires come not by nature, but by the influence of God's Holy Spirit, through the mediation of Christ, which are given to make us sensible of our weakness and wants, that we may seek and have the same supplied: and of course, it is our duty to adhere to the sacred influence by solemn considerations, and a resolution to put in practice the same, by breaking off from that which we are convinced is displeasing and offensive in God's sight, and looking to him for the blessings we feel we want, in earnest expectation that he will bestow it through the merits of the Son.

540. Crossing Little River in a canoe, I held meeting at ten o'clock in the morning; and though the notice was short, sixty or seventy came out, and it was a tender time.

Sunday 7th. I arrived in the town of Augusta, and my things having arrived, I went through the town, distributing handbills from house to house; some I gave to black people, some I flung over into the door yards, and some I put in under the doors, or through the windows where the lights were out; and whilst doing

this, a negro came after me three times to go to his master's house, saying that Mr. Waddle (a Presbyterian minister) wanted me; I went and obtained a breakfast; he being about to leave the town, and hearing of me before, and being a candid man, was the means of removing prejudice, in some degree from that society. Then I went to the Methodist meeting house, where the preacher beckoned me to come up into the pulpit, which I declined until the third time, and then went: Said he, the *elder, Stith Mead*, will be in town this morning, and *he* wants to see you. He had got on my track, and some knowledge of my conduct, which had removed prejudice from his mind; at length, he came, and after preaching a funeral sermon, offered me, (if I desired it) liberty of the pulpit, and the privilege of giving out my appointment for the afternoon, which I accordingly did, and then went off to the Presbyterian meeting, and told them of it as soon as the meeting was dismissed; and the African Baptist likewise, and then to my room, (the people said, I was a *crazy* man.) The bell was rung to give the people notice; this was for the convenience of the Presbyterians. I spoke in my feeble way, and appointed meeting for the next evening. The Methodists said, you will have no hearers tomorrow evening, for *Mr. Snethen* was liked the best of any minister that was ever here, and he could not get but few hearers on a week day night. However, the people flocked out more on Monday evening than Sabbath, and I appointed for Tuesday, and told the young people, if they would come out, that I would give them *hymn books*, which accordingly they did, and the congregation was larger still; I proposed a covenant to the people, to meet me at the throne of grace daily in private devotion, which hundreds agreed to (by rising up) for a space of time, which I bound them by their *honor* to keep. I expected to leave town next morning, but *S. Mead* prevailed on me to tarry till the following Sabbath, considering the prospect of good. Solemn countenances were soon seen in the streets. On Wednesday evening we had meeting in Harrisburg; on Thursday evening, the man who had just finished a job about the meeting house, kept the key, so that it was with much difficulty that we obtained it for meeting in the evening; he assigned as the reason, arrearage of pay; we told the people of it; I mentioned that I esteemed it a privilege to have such a house to hold meeting in, and for my share felt willing to give ten dollars towards the deficiency; and if they would come forward and subscribe liberally, perhaps they might not feel the loss of it, for God might bless them accordingly. We got upwards of seventy dollars that night. I told the youth, if they would come to a prayer meeting next evening, I would give them some more books; about six hundred persons came out, to whom I gave seventy hymn-books more, making an hundred in all. Saturday

evening and next morning, I held meeting in the vicinity, and the work evidently appeared; for mourners came forward to be prayed for. In the afternoon I gave my last discourse in Augusta, and then I requested those that were determined to set out and seek God, to let me take their names in writing, that I might remember them in my devotions when gone; about seventy, who had been careless, came forward.

541. Last evening, we got about thirty dollars more for the meeting house—it was expected that I should have a contribution last meeting, for my labors, and well wishes to the town, &c., which I declined, and many thought it strange, yet five dollars I was constrained by my friends to take from a man out of society, lest my refusal should do harm. Next morning, Doctor Prentice, who had treated me as a friend, and was the first man that gave me an invitation to make his house my home in this place, sent his servant and chair with me nine miles; thence I continued on my way towards Charleston.

542. Wednesday 17th. I set off before sunrise, but was taken unwell, so I walked about ten miles, and whilst lying down under a pine, I reflected thus; how do I know but this weakness of body came by the will and wisdom of God, and in a way to do good, as afflictions happen not by chance nor come from the dust, but are God's mercies in disguise; presently there came along a Methodist backslider, who at times strove to reason himself into the belief of deism and universalism; but still he could not forget the peaceful hours he once enjoyed, yet the word preached would reach his heart, so that he but seldom went to places of meeting. I obtained a promise from him, however, that he would try to set out again; and as we parted he was tender. I spoke at night and next morning to a few, and some wagons coming along, I got liberty to ride in some of them by turns. My shoes heating my feet, I gave them away for some bread, having a pair of moccasins with me, which preserved my feet from the sand.

543. Friday 19th. I called at a number of houses, to get entertainment, but could not for love nor money, till about the middle of the night, when coming opposite to a house or cottage, an old woman opened her door, and as I saw the light, begged permission to tarry; which I obtained, and she gave me some bread, and said, I suppose the other families did not take you in; but supposed you to be some thief, as you did not appear to be in the character of a gentleman. I paid her for my lodging; but for the bread she did not require it. Next evening, I travelled till late, likewise inquired at almost every house for entertainment, but could not obtain upon any conditions. At length, I espied a light, but durst not venture near it for fear of the dogs, but found a convenient tree, where I could screen myself from the dogs, and

then alarmed the family. After some time, I was answered, and piloted to the house, where I found an old woman and her son, and she, to relieve my hunger, gave me such as her cottage afforded, viz. coffee and cake, gratis; however, I paid her, and next morning I went to Dorchester, and called on a Mr. Car, to whom I had a letter, and spoke in his house, where good seemed to be done, after that I had heard a Mr. Adams, an independent minister, in their meeting house.

544. Monday 22d. I came to Charleston, and found the preachers friendly, and yet shy, for fear of the censure of the conference; so the preaching house was shut against me. I called on Mr. *Matthews*, then one of *Hamet's* preachers, for some handbills, which were sent there by Adam C. Cloud, for me, (here I took the measles,) and distributed about twelve hundred of them through the town, and then obtained the liberty of the poor house, in which I held several meetings. *Matthews* invited me to supply an appointment for him in the great meeting house, which was built for the Methodists, and about which *Hamet* made crooked work, &c. When M. was gone out of town, I advertised the meeting, and about two thousand attended, to whom I spoke; it was thought to have been as still a meeting as had been known in that quarter, for such magnitude. A collection was offered to me, which I refused. A gentleman opened a large room in which I held several picked meetings; a collection was offered here, to which I declined; however, a few dollars I received from some, partly through constraint and the medium of Mr. *Monds*, who appeared loving and kind. The family here, where Jones the preacher had piloted me, expecting pay for my board, I found a little book here which I wanted, and when paying for it, left money in the man's hands, a sufficiency for my board, and quit the house, and took up my lodging with esquire Terpin, who was inclined towards the Friends or Quaker society, where I held several picked meetings: the *Hamet* Methodists were low—the *Ashbury* Methodists (so called) were shy. At length, I took my departure for New York. The measles appeared on my voyage, and the captain and all hands were unkind, and one passenger shot a pistol off near my head, in the small tight steerage, which seemed to injure me much in my low state.

545. April 8th. I landed in New York, (though on our way we had crossed the Gulph stream,) and about two days after, my life was despaired off by Dr. *Lester*, (as the inflammatory fever had set in.) Whilst I was confined at the house of brother *Quackenbush*, the Lord was precious to my soul—the sting of death was fled, and sometimes I turned my thoughts on future joys, and realized that some of my spiritual children had gone before, and I absent from Jesus: O how did my soul wish to be in those sweet

realms above ! But then turning my thoughts on time, I considered the value of souls, and that poor sinners were in the dangerous, blind, dark road—the question arose, which I would choose, to depart to Paradise, or spend twenty or thirty years more in this vale of tears, in laboring in the spirit of a missionary for the sake of my fellow mortals' salvation ; and after a short pause I felt such a travail for souls, that if it might be consistent with the Divine Will, I wished to recover for their sakes, and still to be absent from my crown of glory ; yet I felt resigned to go or stay as God should see fit.

546. After about twelve days confinement, I put on my clothes with help, though during that time I could sit up but a very few minutes at a time, and that not without assistance, to prevent fainting. The day that I got able to stagger abroad, the mistress of the house was taken ill : the Lord was good that we were not both sick together.

547. I went to the south, without consent : some of the preachers in the city appeared shy, who were dear to me, which hurt my feelings, not to be visited in my sickness, though one came at times for a morning walk, and at length another ; but perhaps there was a cause.

548. May 2d. God opened the way for my getting into the *state prison*, (which I had long before felt a desire to visit,) to hold religious meetings there. Brother *Kerr*, whom I had seen in Ireland, was one of the keepers, and obtained a verbal permit for a friend of his to hold meeting with the convicts, though in general written ones from two inspectors were required from those who are invested with powers to grant them. Two Calvinists preached there generally : but this Sunday one of them was called away to a sacramental meeting, and the other readily consented to give up his part of the day without examining who or what I was—(these three circumstances of the *one inspector* and *two preachers*, I perhaps view in a different light than what some do)—I thought predestination was poor stuff to feed these prisoners with, considering their conduct and state ; so I spoke upon particular election and reprobation and a free salvation, not out of controversy, but to inform the mind. I had held but one short meeting since my sickness ; and I was still so weak, that I scarcely knew how to stand ; yet I soon forgot myself and stood an hour ; and in the afternoon I stood about two, whilst speaking on deism, and the melting power of God seemed to be present, as we formed a covenant to meet each other at the throne of grace, &c. (I spoke at night in the poor house)—I believe there was between three and four hundred prisoners.

549. Monday 3d. I received a letter from one of the prisoners, who was condemned to imprisonment for life for the crime of for-

gery: he was a deist when put in: but now he seems desirous for salvation—he, in the name of a number, requested me to visit them.

550. Tuesday 4th. I visited the cells where some of the most impenitent were confined, and tears began to flow; through the iron gates, I spoke to others in the different rooms of the mechanics, (nailors excepted)—I spoke with some and prayed also, and all was still and attention; so my heart seemed to melt towards them in love. Then I visited the bad women, and it was observed that some of the worst of them were brought to bow. I obtained the favor of visiting the prison through and speaking to the prisoners on a week day: this I was informed had not been granted to any one before—they were going to petition the governor for a permit for the visit if I had not obtained it without, considering I could not tarry till the following Sabbath. Afterwards I was informed that a number became serious; and one who aided in burning Albany, who was deistical and a bad prisoner, got convicted and died happy soon after; which was a matter of consolation to me—the preachers visited the prison, and hearing of the impressions made on some minds, appeared more soft and friendly, and had thoughts of offering me the African meeting house; but feeling my mind bound for Connecticut, I could not feel free to stay. I got some religious handbills printed, and procured some books to give away; so I had not money enough left to carry me home; and giving away about seventeen hundred handbills over the city, I found a vessel bound for Middletown, and went on board just as she was going off, though the captain was a stranger to me; the vessel put into New Haven where I debarked, and the captain gave me my passage gratis, though he knew not but that I had plenty of money, which happened well for me. I held a few meetings in New Haven, which seemed not altogether in vain, though the devil was angry and a few stones flew from some of his children, or agents, one of which came through the window in the pulpit and struck just by my side. A young man of no religion left a dollar in my hand, which enabled me to take the stage, (though I still was feeble in consequence of my late illness,) thirteen miles and procure me a breakfast; then walking a few miles to Durham, I called at an inn to rest, and the landlord, who was a Methodist, knew me, and constrained me to tarry all night and hold two meetings. I then sent forward appointments into the neighboring towns and parishes, &c. in every direction, though I knew not how I should get on to fulfil them.

551. Thursday 13th. I arrived in Middletown, expecting the society would treat me cool, but was agreeably disappointed.—When in the south, I found some minutes of a conference held between the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist preachers;

twenty-five in number, to form regulations, &c. how the different societies might be on more friendly terms together, as the contentions between the different sects had been a great injury to the cause of religion in the unbelieving world : these minutes met my approbation, so I got hundreds of them reprinted, and sent them to ministers and preachers through the north ; and finding the congregation divided about an independent meeting house here in Middletown, and being informed that the parties were to meet, &c., I went in the dead of the night, and had some of my union minutes pasted on three doors of the meeting house. The next morning they were read by many. I suppose each party on the first sight concluded it was a threatening from the other, till they found its contents ; when they met, I sent in a petition for the liberty of its pulpit, &c., and afterwards the Methodists had it more frequent.

522. Oh, the mercy of God ! Oh, the rebellion of man ! discouragements are before me, but my trust is still in God.

553. Saturday 22d. Having had seventeen meetings the week past, which were as hard as thirty common ones, on account of their length, &c. a friend aided me with a horse, so I came to Eastbury about ten at night, where was a quarterly meeting : the preachers treated me with more friendship seven times than I expected, particularly *Broadhead* the Elder, who had wrote to me in Europe, a friendly letter, that many preachers and people in my native land would wish to see my face again, though I had never seen him before. I had laid out for the worst, and if I were disappointed it should be on the right side.

Sunday 23d. I was permitted to preach for the first time, at a quarterly meeting, and the melting power of God seemed to be present, and a quickening was felt amongst the people. I sent forward about three score appointments, in different parts of this state, from this meeting, though I saw no way how I could get on to fulfil them. However, Providence provided a way.—*Abner Wood*, one of the preachers, having an extra horse, offered it to me very reasonable, so I gave him an order on Mr. Garretson, for the eighteen dollars in his hands, and let him take my watch, (which a woman had sent me just as I was embarking for America) at what price it should be thought proper, &c. Brother *Burrows* gave me an old saddle, and one of the preachers, John Nicholes, gave me a whip.

Selling the gospel is not in so good a demand now as formerly, and bigotry through America, is falling fast, and God is bringing it down, and Christian love prevailing more and more. This visit, which I am now upon, was what I felt to be my duty when on my passage home across the Atlantic.

544. When I was on the Orange circuit, I felt something within that needed to be done away. I spoke to one and another concerning the pain I felt in my happiest moments, which caused a burthen but no guilt : some said one thing and some another ; but none spoke to my case, but seemed to be like physicians that did not understand the nature of my disorder : thus the burthen continued and sometimes felt greater than the burthen of guilt for justification, until I fell in with *T. Dewey*, on Cambridge circuit. He told me about *Calvin Woster*, in Upper Canada, that he enjoyed the blessing of sanctification, and had a miracle wrought on his body, in some sense. The course of nature turned in consequence, and he was much owned and blessed of God in his ministerial labors. I felt a great desire arise in my heart to see the man, if it might be consistent with the Divine Will ; and not long after, I heard he was passing through the circuit, and going home to die, I immediately rode five miles to the house, but found he was gone another five miles further. I went into the room where he was asleep—he appeared to me more like one from the eternal world, than like one of my fellow mortals. I told him, when he awoke, who I was, and what I had come for. Said he, God has convicted you for the blessings of sanctification, and that blessing is to be obtained by the simple act of faith, the same as the blessings of justification. I persuaded him to tarry in the neighborhood a few days ; and a couple of evenings after the above, after I had done speaking one evening, he spoke, or rather whispered out an exhortation, as his voice was so broken in consequence of praying, in the stir in Upper Canada ; as from twenty to thirty were frequently blest at a meeting. He told me that if he could get a sinner under conviction, crying for mercy, they would kneel down a dozen of them, and not rise till he found peace ; for, said he, we did believe God would bless him, and it was according to our faith. At this time he was in a consumption, and a few weeks after expired ; and his last words were, as I am informed, “ye must be sanctified or be damned,” and casting a look upward, went out like the snuff of a candle, without terror ; and while whispering out the above exhortation, the power which attended the same, reached the hearts of the people ; and some who were standing and sitting, fell like men shot in the field of battle ; and I felt it like a tremor to run through my soul and every vein, so that it took away my limb power, so that I fell to the floor, and by faith, saw a greater blessing than I had hitherto experienced, or in other words, felt a Divine conviction of the need of—a deeper work of grace in my soul ; feeling some of the remains of the evil nature, the effect of Adam’s fall, still remaining, and it my privilege to have it eradicated or done away : my soul was in an agony—I could but groan out my desires to

God—he came to me, and said, believe the blessing is now ; no sooner had the words dropped from his lips, than I strove to believe the blessing mine now, with all the powers of my soul, then the burthen dropped or fell from my breast, and a solid joy, and a gentle running peace filled my soul. From that time to this, I have not had that extacy of joy or that downcast of spirit as formerly ; but more of an inward, simple, sweet running peace from day to day, so that prosperity or adversity doth not produce the ups and downs as formerly ; but my soul is more like the ocean, whilst its surface is uneven by reason of the boisterous wind, the bottom is still calm ; so that a man may be in the midst of outward difficulties, and yet the centre of the soul may be calmly stayed on God : the perfections of angels are such, that they cannot fall away ; which some think is attainable by mortals here ; but I think we cannot be perfect as God, for absolute perfection belongs to him alone ; neither as perfect as angels, nor even as Adam before he fell, because our bodies are now mortal, and tend to clog the mind, and weigh the spirit down : nevertheless, I do believe, that a man may drink in the Spirit of God, so far as to live without committing wilful, or known, or malicious sins against God, but to have love the ruling principle within, and what we say or do to flow from that Divine principle of love from a sense of duty, though subject to trials, temptations, and mistakes at the same time. But it is no sin to be tempted, unless we comply with the temptation, for Christ was tempted in all respects like as we are, and yet without sin. James saith, count it all joy when ye fall (not give way) into divers temptations, which worketh patience and experience, &c. Again, it is no sin to mistake in judgment, and even in practice, if it flows from the principle of Divine love ; for Joshua wholly followed the Lord, as we read : for one sin must have shut him out of Canaan, as it did Moses ; yet we find he mistook in his judgment and practice, in the matter of Eldad and Medad, prophesying in the camp, thinking they did wrong, &c. which was not imputed as a sin ; and many infirmities we are subject to whilst in this tabernacle of clay, which we shall never get rid of till mortality puts on immortality. But nevertheless, as before observed, I think a man may have love the ruling principle, which is the perfection in Christ I contend for, and why may we not have it ? God gives us desires for it, commands us to pray for it in the Lord's prayer, and that in faith ; and commands us to enjoy it, and love him with all our heart, and his promises are equal to his commandments, which are, that he will circumcise our hearts to love him, and redeem us from all our iniquities ; and as death doth not change the disposition of the mind, what nonsense it is to expect a death or future purgatory—no, we should expect it now, as now is the time and day of sal-

vation, saith the Lord—Enoch walked with God three hundred years; the ancient disciples were filled with joy and the Holy Ghost, and John, and those to whom he wrote, were made perfect in love; David, when a stripling, was a man after God's own heart, but not when a murderer, for no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him, saith John, but after his confession God put away his sin; and Paul, in Romans vii. spoke to those who knew the law and rehearsed the language of one under it, when he said, I am carnal, sold under sin; but in the three first verses of the next chapter, he informs us, that himself was made free from the law of sin and death; if so, he could not be groaning under the bondage of it, unless you can reconcile liberty and bondage together, which I cannot do, because I cannot think that a man can be carnal, which is enmity against God, and yet be one of the best of men at the same time, because it is a contradiction, and a contradiction cannot be true.—A garrison may have inward foes bound, and armies without, perhaps three, and yet have peace among themselves, destroy some of the inward foes, and there are some left; destroy the whole, and there are none left within, yet there are some without, viz. the world, the flesh and the devil; and there is need for the garrison or person to keep up their watch afterward when the inward foes are destroyed, as well as before, or else the outward foes will come in, and then they will have inward foes again: therefore, you see that the blessing of sanctification is not only obtained by a simple act of faith, the same as justification, but kept likewise by a constant exercise of faith in God, as a man going towards heaven is like one rowing up a river, who when diligent, makes headway, but if he stops the tide will take him back; therefore, as a vessel, whilst a stream runs in it, will be kept full, if it be full; but stop the stream above, and it will grow empty by the outlet; so the Christian, whilst in constant exercise of faith, enjoys constant communion with his God; but if he does but neglect his watch, he will feel an aching void within. O Christian! can you not realize this, or witness to it from experience?

555. Tuesday 25th. I found my friends well in Coventry—held some meetings, and then proceeded to fulfil the errand or work, which I had felt to be my duty when coming home from Ireland, namely, to travel the continent at large, to speak on certain points, which I conceived to stand, or be in the way, to the no small injury of Christ's kingdom, which I had been persuaded to give over the year before, at the New York conference, and in consequence thereof, felt my mind distressed, and as if I was delivering my errand to the wrong people, until I arrived in Georgia, for a recovery from my decline, which I believed came in consequence of the distress of my mind, which originated from

undertaking to do that which I thought not to be my duty ; when giving up my judgment to the judgment of others, in a matter of magnitude and conscience ; though having to trust Providence for my daily bread in future, as when in Georgia and Ireland ; yet the peace of mind that I have, and do enjoy in this critical line of life, more than compensates for all the discouragements as yet, and my trust and hope is still in God, who hath helped and supported me hitherto.—Gilead and Hebron were the first of my visiting on this tour, and the power of God was to be felt. Lord, open my door, and prepare my way through the State.

556. 29th. I went to Lebanon, through the rain, and spoke ; and at Windham court house at night ; the people, except a few, were solemn and tender ; then tarried at a house where I called the first day I set out to face a frowning world, who then were prejudiced against me, but now more friendly. Oh cursed, hard prejudice, what hast thou done to benight the understanding, and prevent it from judging right ! it is the devil's telescope, and will magnify and deceive according as you look through it.

Sunday 30th. I spoke twice in Scotland, and twice in Canterbury.

557. 31st. I rode to Preston, and had one meeting, and three in Stonington, and a quickening seemed to run through the people. I feel the want of more faith.—Faith among the preachers and people causes good meetings from the presence of the Lord. I spoke at the head of Mystick river, and in Groton, and New London, to many hundreds of people.

558. My way was singularly opened in Georgia, and so it hath been since my return.—Glory be to God—who would not serve so good a Being as this ?

559. June 2d. I spoke at Quakerhill, and in Colchester, four times that day ; I trust not in vain.

560. The conference is sitting, and I expect to be as a leper shut out of the camp—yet I have broken no discipline, for I was only a preacher on trial, and never in full connexion, and of course cannot be expelled from the connexion, seeing I was never in.—And I never was a member of the quarterly conference, and of course am not accountable to any particular quarterly conference for my conduct : And the class that I once belonged to is now broken up ; and my standing happened to be such, that there was none in particular to call me to an account ; yet I had plenty to watch over me either for good or evil. If my standing had been any other from what it now is, I must have had my heels tripped up at this critical time.

Sunday 6th. I spoke in the congregational meeting house, in my native town.

561. Monday 7th. The dysentery took away my strength considerably. Wednesday, I visited one in despair of God's mercy, though a member of the congregational church; she had been the means of turning her son from pursuing religion, back into sin.

562. Friday 11th. I preached in Andover, to about an hundred, generally well behaved; this parish had been (something like Jericho) shut against the Methodists.

563. Saturday 12th. This day or two past, I have been somewhat distressed: I went to Thompson, and on my way the burthen fell, and was encouraged to go forward, as God's spirit seemed to run through the assembly.—I spoke in Pomfret, Brooklyn, Canterbury, Franklin, Norwich, and at the landing, where the people appeared serious, and many tender; at the latter place, one came to me and said, last August I heard you preach, and it was the means of my conversion to God, and one more also.

564. Tuesday 15th. I spoke in Sterling, where the Methodists had not spoke before, and in Plainfield; thence to Bozrah, and some adjacent places, and had meeting. About this time, I fell in with the bishops on their journey to the east. Mr. Asbury was more friendly than I expected—and said, he thought I missed it, that I did not tarry at the New York conference, adding, if I could have cleared up some things, (which I suppose was about my deserting the circuit, &c.) to the satisfaction of the preachers, perhaps I might have been ordained; and added further, that my name was taken off the minutes, as they kept none on but such as travelled regularly. Mr. *Whatcoat* said, we should join as one man to go forth as an army to hold each other up; but if you attempt to travel at large, you will meet with continual opposition from your brethren, (though some approbate you,) and this will have a tendency to discourage you, and weaken your hands, and wean you from your brethren, so after a while you will fall away.—See Appendix.

565. I visited New Salem, Chatham, Haddam, and Guilford, where one got religion*—thence to Wallingford, and Cheshire, where bigotry is great in the hearts of the people.

566. Tuesday 22d. I had four meetings, and having fulfilled the first appointment about sun rise, in Newington, I went to the second in Wethersfield, and when I had done, a woman who was a stranger, shook hands with me and left a dollar in my hand, which was the only money I had had for some time. On the way to the third meeting, my horse flung me in the city of Hartford, and ran, and I got him no more till November following; when I was falling, my horse started towards me as I was getting on, pitched me over him to the other side, which some people

* Who since has become a black preacher in the West Indies.

seeing, screeched out, supposing my brains would be dashed out against the pavement ; however, it so happened that I did not get entangled in the harness, and received no material injury, except a severe shock. How far angelic interposition is present on such occasions, we shall more clearly see in a coming world. The before mentioned dollar enabled me to take the stage, and go on my rout to Windsor. At the time I fell, I had about an hundred appointments given out, and about seven hundred miles to travel, all to be performed in five weeks, but how to get on, I did not know, as my horse was taken up and advertised, and got away again, and then not heard of for some time ; and the man in whose possession they were, would not deliver up my saddle and outward garment, unless I would pay him several dollars, after proving them mine ; so I left him to his conscience to settle the matter. However, my trust was still in God, whom I did think would overrule it for good, which accordingly took place ; for there were several neighborhoods which I had previously felt a great desire to visit, but prejudice and bigotry had entirely shut up the way until now, when the above incidents were overruled to the casting of my lot in those vicinities, where the door was opened, and I held meetings, the fruits of which, I expect to see in the day of eternity. I got assistance to Suffield, Westfield, Springfield, Ludlow, Wilbraham, Stafford, Ellington, East Hartford, Wapping, Hartford five miles, Mansfield, Eastford, Thompson, Killingly, Abington, Plainfield, Voluntown, Cranston, and Providence—where *Providence* opened my way, by raising me up friends to assist me to get from place to place, to speak to thousands of people. A few appointments were not given out according to my expectation, so I disappointed them, as they clashed with my own ; but those which were given out according to my direction, I fulfilled all, except one, which I withdrew, so none was disappointed. I visited Lyme, and several neighboring places. About this time, I lost my pocket handkerchief, and borrowing another at tea, forgot to return it as I arose from the table, and immediately went to meeting : from this circumstance, an idea was conceived that I meant to steal it. Oh, how guarded should we be against a spirit of jealousy ! which is as cruel as the grave ! however, I sent the woman money, as I had lost her's likewise, while riding. In ten weeks and two days, I rode about fifteen hundred miles ; and held one hundred and eighty-four meetings ; and feeling my mind drawn out to declare a free salvation, I frequently stood three hours, and generally near two. I received two letters from Dr. Johnson, which were a comfort to me.

567. Daniel O'Strander is appointed presiding elder of Connecticut : he gave me a recommendation for a local deacon's ordination, &c., but I observed a clause in the discipline that was

made whilst I was in Europe, that every local preacher should meet in class, and that if he did not he should forfeit his license, which made me rather suspicious about being ordained; as it would be impracticable to meet in a class and yet travel as extensively as what I expected, and if I travelled without meeting in a class, I should forfeit my license, (or rather credential,) and be excluded, &c., and to be so excluded without breaking discipline, as I only had been on trial and never in full connexion, and had a right of course to desist, as well as they to stop me if they chose, as a trial implies a trial on both sides; nor yet guilty of false doctrine, contrary to Methodism, or immoral conduct—I was unwilling to put a sword in the hand of another to slay myself—and though I had appointed a day to fall in with the bishop for that purpose, yet could not see my way clear to proceed, and so gave up my recommendation, lest it should be said, I converted it to a different use from what it was intended; not but what I was willing to be accountable for my moral conduct, if I could in any way, that I might follow the dictates of my conscience. I was fearful of hurting brother O'Strander's feelings by this refusal.—Some said that I construed that part of the discipline wrong; however I explained it as I thought it read, and afterwards asked *J. Lee*, who observed that he would have made use of that very passage to prevent one of his local preachers from travelling in my way, because a *local travelling preacher* is a contradiction in terms, and would be a bad precedent. Another time I wanted to cross a ferry, and thought, what shall I do for money to get over? I had none and could think of nothing I had with me to pawn, and as I was mounting my horse, a half dollar was put into my hand by two persons, so I was provided for; about this time I wanted a horse shod, and had given the last farthing of my money to have a school house lighted in Glastenbury, and knew not where to look: however, a way was provided in a strange congregation who knew not my necessity.

568. In Milton, Woodbridge, Stratford, Meriden and several other places, I found kind friends to aid me, and some appeared to believe more freely in a free salvation; and good I have reason to believe was done. At length feeling my mind free from Connecticut, I took water passage from Fairfield to New York, and having paid my passage and procured some provisions, I had no money left; and having a tedious passage, the last twenty-four hours I had no food to eat; however, I arrived in the city, and found some kind friends, who knew not my wants, for previous to my sailing my small clothes I had left to be washed, which were to have been brought to me, but was disappointed of their coming, so I had not a necessary change; however, God still provided for me. One day, as I was walking one of the streets, *Solomon*

Roundtree, from Georgia, (being here after goods,) saw me and knew me, and called me into the store to know if I wanted or needed any thing. He gave me a pocket handkerchief, a change of linen, kersimere for vest and pantaloons, and four dollars in money, for which may he be rewarded at a future day. The preaching houses were shut against me. I made application for, and obtained permission to hold meetings in the poor house school room, and then with much difficulty, obtained liberty of the Universalist's meeting house: they thought the Methodists had something against me of a bad nature, or why would they shut me out and keep me so distant? I spoke in the Universalist's meeting house to a large assembly, and one of their preachers attempted to answer my discourse afterwards, and gave notice of his intention that night.

569. *Mr. Sergeant*, one of the stationed preachers who had been opposed, now (as he there told me) became friendly; but *T. Morrell*, the superintendant, was still opposed, so I must do as I could, if I could not do as I would. I perceived by wrong information he had formed wrong ideas of me, as many others, through the same channel have done: therefore, as they mean well, though they lie under a mistake, it is not worth while for me to give them bitter retaliations, as many do who are opposed by the Methodists, and thus become persecutors. I ought to do right if other people do wrong, and the best way that ever I found to kill an enemy, was to love him to death; for where other weapons would fail, this hath had the desired effect, and I hope with me it ever may. After holding meetings in different private houses, whilst hundreds were listening in the streets, I at length felt my mind free from the city, though during my stay, I had walked thirty miles one day into the country, and had meeting at night, and likewise had obtained permission from the mayor to hold meeting in the Park, who sent constables there to keep order, and some said the mayor himself was there in disguise. I visited *Turkey* in New Jersey, and *Elizabethtown*, where the meeting house was open to me, and *Thomas M—*'s father, who calls himself a bible man, gave me a dollar.

I embarked and sailed for Newburgh, where I felt previously a desire to go. The captain gave me my passage, though a Calvinist, and admitted prayers on the way. I procured with some difficulty the liberty of an academy in which I held two meetings: the people complained to their minister that I had destroyed their doctrine, (as was said,) and he must build it up, or they would hear him no more; he replied, that it would take him nine Sabbaths to build up what I had pulled down. He spoke two Sundays and made bad worse; then calling in help, *they* disputed about construing scripture, got quarrelling, and it terminated in a

law suit, as one charged the other with heresy, and so was prosecuted for slander, &c.

570. I called on elder *Fowler*, whom I expected would keep me distant, but was agreeably disappointed; he gave me a horse, for getting it shod, to ride several days: So I visited Lattentown, where I was expected the day before; however, the disappointment was overruled for good, and being notified, more came out. I visited Plattekill, Pleasant Valley, Shawankunk, and several other places. At the Paltz, I was taken with a violent puking for several hours; but at length, I embarked and landed at Loonenburgh, and walked to Schoharie, and saw my brother in law *Fish* for the last time. I visited Halabrook, Schenectady.—Clifton Park, Niskeuna, Troy, and Half Moon, where I saw my friend *R. Searle*,* whom I had not seen for about eight years, except about five minutes. It seemed natural to see him, and brought past times afresh into my mind, when he and his sister were in our native land, who were the only young persons I had then to associate with on religious subjects. Our meeting gave me a tender sensation, but it appeared that he could not see the propriety of my travelling thus, so I thought it most advisable to retire that day, and went to another place and held meeting. Albany friends met me at a distance, and invited me to town to hold meeting, which I accepted; but the preacher, *Cyrus S.* would not consent for me to go into the meeting house, so hundreds were disappointed, as the trustees did not like to hurt his feelings; as he said, if they let me in, he should petition the next conference not to give them a preacher. The society, in general, appeared friendly, and *John Taylor* opened his house in which I held meeting; this *Cyrus* did not like: the Lutherans it appears would have lent me a meeting house, but supposed I was wicked, or why should Mr. Stebbins shut me out? so I went to him to get a paper that there was nothing against my moral conduct; which he refused to give, adding, that I trampled on the bishop's power, by travelling so independent, which if he was to do, he would have been cut off long ago; likewise, that it would be inconsistent for him to pave the way for me to obtain another meeting house when he denied me his own; and said, that he would rather have given ten dollars, than to have had such an uproar in the society and city as there was since I came; and ten to the end of that, if I could not have been kept away without—just after I began to travel, he appeared friendly, and his labors were owned and blessed of God, and then he was a noisy Methodist.†

* I have not seen him since—he has withdrawn and joined the Church of England.

† But now he has withdrawn and joined the Church of England.

571. In Cobuskill, we had a good time, and at Skenetimus Creek, where I saw some who were stirred up to become serious about the time I was in my native land; likewise an old uncle of mine whom I supposed was dead; I remember once some of his words when I was young, which made great impression on my mind in one of his visits.

September 15. A large meeting being appointed for all denominations in the country to worship God together in the woods, my brother in law and sister had strove to prevail upon me not to go, and at first prevailed; but feeling distressed in my mind, I went, (an awful hail storm happened in the way.) Hundreds collected, to whom I spoke; when others were coming on the ground, orders were given for all the official characters of the different religious orders to retire to a council room, to consult how to carry on the meeting; they went, but I did not *feel free* to go till their business was nearly over.—They agreed not to meddle with their *peculiarities*, but to be as near alike as they possibly could; but I was not there when they took the vote, so my hands were not tied. There were about two thousand people, and upwards of thirty ministers or preachers, of the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist orders, and took turns in speaking, and I spoke in the night; next day I had thoughts of leaving the ground, but got detained, and Calvinism came upon the stage; but the preachers' hands were tied so that they could not correct it; but I felt it in my heart to speak on certain points, which liberty I obtained, and began meeting without singing or prayer, and my text I did not tell until towards the close of the meeting—I stood near three hours, and after we were joining in prayer and rising up, when no one in particular was speaking, several persons observed that they saw something fall from the sky like a ball of fire, about the bigness of a man's hat crown; (I did not see it; however, just at that moment, a number fell like men shot in the field of action, and cried for mercy. The meeting continued nearly all night, and many found peace. The next day, as I was going off, the people were so kind as to give me a horse, saddle and bridle; so after visiting a number of places, and attending a quarterly meeting at Paris, went to Western with brother *Miller*, who hath no children, except an adopted daughter, (Peggy * * * * *). I visited several neighboring places, and spent a week not in vain. I had an oil cloth cloak given to me, and then took my departure for Upper Canada.—I swam my horse across Black river, and arrived at Kingston, through a black deep soiled flat country, and so muddy that my

* Who since has become my companion in life.

horse could but just walk, and for miles together seeing nothing but the wild beasts of the desert. I visited several neighborhoods within forty miles of Kingston westward. I had several dollars offered me, which I refused, lest the circuit preacher (who was supposed to be sick, as he had disappointed a number of congregations) should think I hurt his salary, and this be brought against me at a future day. I went down about an hundred and twenty miles, holding meetings as I went, and frequently only on mentioning *Calvin Worster's* name, and the blessing he was to me, people who had here felt the shock of his labors were stirred up afresh, and some would even cry out, &c. I saw the grave of a distant relation of mine who had been a great traveller, but ended his life on an island at the mouth of Lake Ontario; thus I see we must all die—Oh, the solemn thought—but when I cast a look beyond the bounds of time and space, I see, methinks, a beautiful place where saints immortal dwell, and where I hope, by God's grace, one day safely to arrive.

572. I recrossed St. Lawrence river, from Cornwall to St. Ridges, and passing through an Indian settlement, who live in the English fashion in some degree, I came into Shadigee woods, so through to Plattsburgh, missing the road by the way; however, I was not hurt by the *wild* beasts, and found good places to cross the rivers, and my road brought me nigher than the usual road. I called at a house where two of my spiritual children lived, who were awakened on Cambridge circuit; but could rally nobody, so I turned my horse in a pasture, and took up my lodging under an hay stack for the night; but towards day I heard a child cry, so I gave another alarm, and was cordially received in—I held meetings about here, and saw my friend J. Mitchell—I went to the Grand Isle, and had two meetings, then riding three quarters of a mile through the water on a sand bar, I came to Milton—thence to Fletcher, and saw the man that took my horse when I was going to Europe; thence to Hardwick, (being now in Vermont,) where my brother *Bridgman* and two sisters lived;—my youngest sister seemed to have lost her desires in a great measure, and I could not prevail on her to set out again; this grieved my heart; I told them I could not bid them farewell, unless they would endeavor to set out and seek God afresh, though I wished them well.

573. I visited several neighboring places, and souls were blessed by God. Thence leaving Vermont, I came over Connecticut river, into New Hampshire, where I met *Martin Rutter*, going to form a circuit; I had felt a desire he should go into that part where he had set out to go; I gave him the names of some families where to call.

574. I saw Elijah R. Sabin, who had been a zealous useful preacher, but was now broke down and married, and about to locate. I had meetings in Haverhill, then rode to Plymouth, and Holdness, and Meridith, and Gilmingtton, and the melting power of God seemed to be present in many places.

575. I met one who wanted my horse, by the name of Sealy; I told him he might take him, if two impartial men would prize him, &c.; the two men could not agree, so they called a third, who judged in such a manner that this bargain which was in connexion with two others, was about two hundred dollars damage to me.—It was my intention to have sailed for the south, which was the cause of my putting myself in the way whereby I was cheated as above. (I believe God suffered these trials to befall me, for not being more submissive to go to the south by land, &c.) However I proceeded on foot, being a stranger in this part, until I came to old Almborough in Massachusetts, where I saw *Stephen Hull*, with whom I once was acquainted: he went out from near my native place to travelling, but at length quit the connexion, assigning as the reason, his family, &c., and that he could not get a support amongst the Methodists. I observed his wife was a pious young woman, when with her father *Col. Lippet*, in Cranston, but now appears to be in a cold uncomfortable state. Here I observed Mr. *Wilson* of Providence, and *John Hill*, who now are congregational ministers, though once *Methodists*, and once could kneel at prayer, but now I observed they stood; they compared themselves to "*fixed stars*" and me to a *comet*, which is supposed to connect systems, I neither felt freedom to eat or stay long, having arrived there at night, and went off in the morning before they were up, though I expected to have had the privilege of a meeting-house, if I had tarried. I thought of the words of Judas, "What will ye give me and I will deliver him to you," &c.

576. I took the stage at Haverhill, and came to Boston; and *Thomas Lyell*,* who had been chaplain to Congress, and was the stationed preacher, would not suffer me to hold meeting in the meeting-house, or any where else; but said, if I did, he should publish me accordingly, saying, I was not a travelling preacher, nor a local one, and of course he could not suffer meeting consistently; and if I would leave the town in peace without meetings, he would let me depart in peace; he asked me if I was needy, and provided me with a breakfast, and offered me an old coat, &c. I hired my board and lodging, and no vessel going out soon, my money failed me, so I was

* He hath withdrawn and joined the church of England!

obliged to leave the town on foot, and then took stage and came to Worcester that night, then walked eighteen miles by moon light to Charlton.

577. November 7th. I had a meeting at Dudley. 8th, at Sturbridge, Woodstock, and Ashford. 9th, I saw my parents, and my *mother for the last time*. 10th, I left my parents, and walked about twenty miles, and rode in a wagon eighteen more; and as we were crossing a toll bridge, one began to run the rig upon me, asking me how much money I had got, and wanted to swap purses with me, and he considering himself a gentleman, I reached him mine with a few shillings in it, though I had but six cents left; he gave me his purse, but was sure to take out the contents in season. I thought he felt some conviction, he offered to swap back; but I said a bargain is a bargain. Then a friend went a distance to where I had about twenty-eight dollars due, so I took an old mare, and my bridle, and an old saddle being given to me, and set off for Georgia, having one quarter of a dollar in my pocket.

578. About this time I heard that the horse which had flung me in the summer, was found, and the man of whom I had him had got him again, so went and got the same mare which I had let him have for it, and then sold her for a watch and spending money; and collecting about five dollars, in the name of the Lord I set forth, not knowing what was before me.

579. I had an appointment to preach, and making a mistake in the meeting house, I went up into the pulpit, but was *soon drove out by the sexton*, it being another man's meeting; however, when he had done, I got a peaceable hearing in another place.

580. In Reading, the Lord blessed the people, and at North-Castle, White Plains, New Rochelle, Turkey Hoe, Tarry town, Singing, and several other places. Then crossing North river, I preached at brother Smede's in Harvestraw, where some dated their awakening and conversion.

581. Thence to Pequest and Asbury, and then to Philadelphia, where *Mr. Cooper* and elder *Ware*, hatched me in such a manner, as I never was before, *without* bitterness. They reasoned and criticised on me as if they were determined to search me out from centre to circumference. I did not think proper to answer all their questions, neither to assign all the reasons I had for my conduct. *Mr. Cooper* said, your European brethren oppose you, and your American brethren oppose you; and you say our rules are good, and yet you go contrary to them, and two opposites cannot be right, and consequently one must be wrong—do you think you are wiser than all the rest of the world? Lorenzo Dow has set up his will in opposition

to his brethren, and is wiser than they all—he then said, that woe is to him by whom offences come, and that I offended my brethren. He then gave me a pair of scales to weigh in, and put my arguments in one side, calling them a feather, and his arguments in the opposite side, calling them ten thousand pounds, then see which will weigh heaviest, a feather or ten thousand pounds; and so left it ringing in my ears, a feather or ten thousand pounds. I told him, that in matters of opinion barely, we should give up our judgment to the majority; but in matters of tender conscience before God, we must be our own judges; for if by harkening to the other in giving up my conscience, I am brought into trouble, how can I expect to be acquitted at the bar of God? He asked me, if I did not think the preachers were as conscientious as myself? I replied, that I did not like to answer that question; but thought some went more by reason, and that was better known to themselves than me, I must answer for one, and of course act for myself.

582. So went on my way to Wilmington, and called on a preacher who treated me coolly, so I put up at an inn: however, what *Ware* and *Cooper* said, discouraged me much; but the Lord after I had submitted the matter to him; comforted my soul; for he had previously warned me in a dream of the night, that trials awaited me in Philadelphia, which I had told to brother *E. Wolsey*. I went on into Delaware, and came to a village which appeared familiar as though I had seen it before. A collection was offered me, which I refused, and went to Cokesbury; saw a preacher, and then went to Baltimore; after I held a meeting, and saw brother *S. Coate*, who was friendly, and suffered me to improve in a prayer meeting; an old man gave me two dollars, which I needed, as I had but one dollar and an half left me.—*Wells* the assistant was out of town that time.—*H—y* a preacher, refused to tell me where the Methodists lived that way to the southward, yet I set off, and rode about thirty miles to a place where I found a family said to be Methodists, and held meeting—and likewise in the neighborhood (being detained by a snow storm) several others.—Thence I proceeded on my way, and met bishop *Whatcoat* just as I had crossed Georgetown ferry; he treated me with love and tenderness, and after he had inquired my journey, I inquired his welfare, and he told me where to call and put up in Alexandria and Dumfries; so I found brother *Brien* and the assistant preacher, brother *Roan*, to treat me kind. Thence on to Culpepper, where I spent Christmas, and received a dollar and an half, which with two dollars I received at Alexandria, were of great service to me; though they knew not my wants. Thence to Louisa county, where my mare was taken sick, so I left her

and went on to *Cumberland* county on foot, and while at breakfast, I turned in my mind, what an apparent enthusiast I am! Yet I felt peace, and said in my mind, that my late misfortune should turn to the glory of God, and I felt within myself, that I should yet see good days in *this* weary land, where I am *now* a stranger. Thence to Prince Edward county. On the way I called to dine, and paid the man before hand, but the family were so dilatory, that I went off without waiting for it to be got ready; so crossing Coal's ferry, I came to Danville, (I spoke in Halifax by the way, where I was thought to be an impostor :) here a man overtook me with a horse which he led, lame and bareback; he suffered me to ride it about sixty miles; so I came to Statesville, Iredell county, in North Carolina. My money being nearly all gone, I wanted to sell my watch for spending money. I got the watch low, at eighteen dollars, and offered it for nine, if I could have supper, lodging and breakfast with it. A watchmaker came in and said it was a good one, so the inn keeper offered me nine dollars, or eight and a half with supper, &c. I took the latter, and while I was asleep, the mistress of the house was so good or bad as to send all round the neighborhood, (as I was informed,) to notify the people that a horse thief was at her house, and if they did not lock up their horses, must expect one to be gone before morning.

583. Next day, I had my feeling in this strange land, and retired in private, and renewed my covenant with God, that if he would suffer the Providences to open before me as in time past, I would give up to suffer his will; for I felt as if I was not quite so resigned to travel, and pass through trials as in time past. My soul was refreshed to put my hope in God, and look forward. I got a few together, and spoke in the court house—likewise at a Methodist house, where I was thought an impostor. Having a letter, I went to where it was directed, and the man of the house happened not to be at home, which was well for me; so I got a meeting, and the people were so well satisfied, that I got liberty and an invitation to speak again. About the same time, *Philip Bruce*, an old preacher, and presiding elder, came home from Virginia, and arrived at his father's about six hours before his father died; he felt hurried in his mind to hasten on the road—it appears that his father expected to see his son Philip by a conviction in his mind.

584. *Philip Bruce* heard of me, and charged his friends to be aware of me; but on hearing of my having related some of my past experience, recollected to have heard of me before, and retracted his first charge, and wished them to receive me if I came to their house, which was a means of opening my way. A day or two after, I fell in with him, he treated me as I would wish to be received by the influential considerate servants of God, while my

conduct is as becometh the gospel of Christ. Here lived some who were called Presbyterians, which I called Presbyterian Methodists, or Methodist Presbyterians.—They had the life and power of religion. They gave thirty-three dollars of their own accord, and eleven more were subscribed. *James Sharp* took the money, and let me have a horse, and trusted me for the remainder, though he had no written obligation, and some said he would lose it.

585. An opportunity presenting by a traveller, I sent on a chain of appointments towards Georgia. After holding several other meetings in Iredell, I set off, and had meeting at Major M'Claray's, Spartinburgh, Enore, Abbeville court house, so to Petersburg in Georgia, where I arrived on the 2nd of February, 1803, having had some trials, and experienced some providences by the way. I felt the want of credentials, as the Methodists for hundreds of miles had treated me cool. However, as soon as I entered Petersburg, a lad knew me, and soon word flew over the town that the *walking preacher* had got back, and I spoke to an assembly of magnitude that night. A society of Methodists was raised here when I was walking this country last year, though religion was cold. Now it seemed to flourish, my way was opened, and I sent appointments, and visited the country extensively as Providence enabled me to succeed.

586. At Rolem's meeting house, and at Thompson's, Cunningham's, Powelton, Sparty, Rehobeth, Washington, Sardis, Indian Creek, gen. Steward's, Burk's, gen. Dickson's, Baker's, Carrell, Redwine's, Paine's, M'Daniel's, Coldwater, Stenchcomb's, and Sest's neighborhoods, &c., I held meetings.

587. A camp meeting, the first I ever attended, was held on Shoulderbone creek, where I arrived on the third day of its sittings, about the dawn of it. I spoke several times, and the Lord was with us; ten persons came forward, and testified that they had found the pardoning love of God, among whom was Judge STITH, who had been a noted deist. In this quarter God gave me favor in the sight of the people, and some were raised up to supply my wants, among whom was doctor B. and S. Roundtree, doctor Lee, &c., and another gentleman, who gave me a cloak; for these favors, may God remember those who administered to my necessities.

588. I visited Handcock, Clark, Jackson, Oglethorp, Franklin and Elbert counties, quite extensively; the congregations were exceeding large, so that I mostly spoke under the trees, and the Lord overshadowed us with his divine presence: the fruit of this visit I expect to see in a future world. Though it was by a very sweet drawing that I undertook to wander here by land, yet it was trying to my flesh and blood, to leave my friends and acquaintance in the north, and wander so many hundred miles amongst

strangers, considering what I had passed through before amongst strangers; yet something within would say, go and you shall see peace, and I went and saw it, so I do not grudge all my toil.—However, I was not without my trials here, considering the cause of God, for many of the Baptists supposed me to be a Baptist preacher when I was on foot through this quarter at first, and now flocked out by crowds to hear me, as I had said but little about names or parties when here before, and was coolly received by those whose friendship I wished to retain: the Baptists, (of whom many are pious,) were sorely disappointed in me now, when they heard my doctrine, or ideas on *election* and *reprobation*; and instead of owning me now for a Baptist, reprobated me to the highest pitch, and several church meetings were held on the subject, the result of which was, that they should hear me no more. Some of their preachers spoke hard against me in public and in private, behind my back; and some things I was informed they said which they could not prove; and all this, because I endeavored to show the evil of that doctrine which had been such a curse to me, and for preaching up a free salvation; which caused brother *Mead* to say (as they now preached up eternal decrees more than usual,) it will be the means of drawing out the cloven foot to cut it off—meaning, it would cause the people to know their sentiments more fully, which they frequently kept hid, and so deceived the people, by preaching an offer of mercy when only a few, the elect, could possibly have it. And as some of them said that I preached or held to things that were false, brother *Mead*, and a number of others, advised me to prepare for publication my *Thoughts*, or *Chain*, on different religious subjects.

589. I visited Augusta, and found a good society formed there; also Wanesborough, Sandersville, and many other adjacent places, together with Louisville, the capital, where the governor offered me money, which I did not feel free to accept; but was thankful for his good wishes.

590. March 25th, 1803. Camp meeting came on at *Jones's meeting house*, and lasted until the 29th. Some were convinced of error of sentiment, and some of sin, and a goodly number found peace in the blood of the Lamb, and the world's people were brought to acknowledge that something out of the common course of nature must have produced the effect in two instances. I found the people here kind, for as Hope Hull mentioned to them, that I was about to go to the western country, and perhaps I might want some spending money, &c., upwards of an hundred dollars were given me, so I found the Lord to provide, who put it into the heart of gen. *John Stewart* to get me a pass on parchment from the governor, under the seal of the State, to pass through the Indian country.

591. My horse not being good for travelling, I sold him on credit, and a Methodist (so called) had one for sale, and offered him to me for an hundred and fifty dollars: and this man who was called a Methodist, did not show me the kindness to wait, as another man of no society and of no religion, did; for the latter was bound for me, though he had not seen me before—and he also carried the money a distance for nothing; so I see that the hearts of all men are in the hand of God, and he can and doth work by whom he pleaseth.

592. Feeling my soul refreshed by my visit, and my work done here for the present, and my horse paid for, and I well equipped for travelling, and my heart drawn to the west, and a number of letters being given me to give to the people, I was resolved to go to the westward: I accordingly told brother *Mead*, who was going to Virginia, that if he was minded he might give out a chain of appointments for me, through that country, to which he agreed. (During this visit, I had a *narrow escape* from a raving heifer.) I felt a desire to hold meeting in a certain house of quality people; but knew not how to accomplish it. But a thought struck my mind; so I got one to go and deliver an errand in such a way as to provoke the man to say, I'm willing if my wife is, and the woman to say, I'm willing if my husband is; which was effected by the errand being delivered to them separately. I then published the appointment, but it so happened, that the family were all from home, except the blacks at the time of meeting; so I spoke before the gate in the road, and had a good time: but I received a few lines from one of the absentees, expressing grief on their side at the circumstance.

593. April 19th. Being provided with necessaries, I crossed the Oconee river, and there meeting some persons, set off for Tombigby; but I had not proceeded an hundred yards, before I found that one on whom we depended as a guide, knew nothing about the road; of course, must depend on my own judgment. I had procured a map of the road, an hundred and thirty miles to the Chatahocha river, and a pocket compass, &c. A young man from Connecticut, who was acquainted with some of my relations, was feeding mules in the woods, so we followed him a few miles, and then encamped in the woods for the night. Next day a woman and a child got flung from a horse, and thereby were ducked in the Oakmulgee river. So we proceeded on, frequently seeing Indians, (which a black woman of the company was much afraid of,) till we came to Flint river, when we hired an Indian to lead a horse through, and himself wade before it. Some of the land over which we passed, was miserable, and some was preferable to any I had ever seen in the south. We frequently saw wild game, among which were deer and turkeys. The Indians frequently

came to our camp, and while we had our evening devotion, they would be solemn and mute : we could talk together only by signs, and I desired to know if they knew what we were about ; they replied, that we were paying our addresses to the *Great Man* above, who is the author of breath, &c. Thus all intelligences have some idea of divinity, futurity, and rewards and punishments. And what causes such universal acknowledgment, but an universal teacher ? which must be God ! I broke my umbrella, and likewise lost my whip, the latter while buying corn, and hiring a pilot.

594. One day a couple of us thought to get to the agent's house before the company, to get provision, but had not gone far before an Indian alarmed us much, shooting a deer through, and the ball struck near us, which made us suppose some hostile intention was against us, till we saw the mistake. We left a man and woman in the woods, who were going to trade with the Indians, as they travelled slow.

595. *Hawkins*, the agent, treated us cool, so we quit him and went on. Next day, we missed our road, or rather Indian path, which we were convinced of by some swamps and water courses, and turning a little back, one of the company being a good woodsman, took the lead, and striking across, we came to the path, which divided the minds of the company at first, but at length we agreed to strike across it further through the woods, and that afternoon found a path which proved to be the right one. We at length found a man hunting horses, who piloted us to the first house in the settlement, which we made in thirteen days and an half from the time we set out, having travelled about four hundred miles.

596. The company supposed that they could save thirty or forty miles travel, by swimming across the Alabama river, and forcing a swamp, which they attempted to do, and got detained by rain two days ; but I left them, and went down the river ten miles, and stayed with an half bred Indian, who charged me a dollar and an half for the night. I then left an appointment for Sunday, in the Tensaw settlement, and went over the Alabama by the Cut-off, to the west side of Tombigby, through a cane brake or swamp, seven miles, and found a thick settlement, and then a scattered one seventy miles in length, through which I sent a chain of appointments, and afterwards fulfilled them, and the fruit I expect to see at a future day.

597. The river Tombigby, like the Nile, overflows once a year, is also a flood tide river only once in twenty-four hours ; it is navigable for vessels, and will one day become the glory of the south part of the United States, as the trade of Tennessee, &c., will pass through it.—The inhabitants are mostly English, but

are like sheep without a shepherd. Whilst under the Spanish government, it was a place of refuge for bad men; but of late, since it fell to us, seems to be in a hopeful way, and there is still room for great amendment. A collection was offered to me. I did not feel free to accept it; and I left the settlement, procured some corn, and had not a cent left. Three of my travelling companions fell in with me again, and accompanied me through the Choctaw nation, to the Natchez settlement, which we reached in six days and an half, being about eight hundred miles from Georgia; on the way, we met with a man going alone to Georgia; and in the sixth town, I gave my saddle cloth to the Indians for corn to feed my horse with.

598. Here I was called to another exercise of my faith, having no money, and a stranger in a strange land, but my hope was still in God who hath helped hitherto.—The master of the house, to which I first came, was once a Methodist; he happened to hear of my coming the week preceding, by some travellers, and received me and the three men kindly, and the next day got me a meeting, and good I trust was done. The night after, I held meeting at the house of a Baptist, then rode on towards the town of Natchez, and parted with my three companions by the way, who were going to West Florida, to see their father.

599. I called on a man who was said to be a Methodist, but found he was not; so I went to another house where they were called Methodists, but met with a cool reception at the first, until I showed them the governor's passport, and likewise two papers, one from brother *Mead*, and one from *Hull*, that I was an acceptable preacher of moral conduct, &c., then they were more kind, and kept my horse about two weeks. Brother *Moses Floyd* met me the same night, and having received letters by me from Georgia, was friendly, then the above family became more so; the governor, to whom I had an introductory letter, was also friendly.

600. I held two or three meetings in the assembly room, with the permission of the mayor, though with difficulty obtained.—The man on whom I called, and found he was not a Methodist, reflected how far I had come to see them through the woods, and felt his heart inclined to lend me an horse to ride more than a hundred miles, so I went to Kingston, and procured a spot of ground (by selling my watch) for a meeting house; and then to the heights and Pinckneyville, and held meetings. I stopped at a house in the edge of West Florida, and sold my cloak. Thence I returned and visited several neighborhoods, and God's power was to be felt in some of them.

601. My horse was now taken lame, so that he was not fit to ride to Tennessee. I spoke at the Pineridge meeting house, and at Washington, Sulsertown, and at Calender's meeting house

where some were offended. Here quarterly meeting was held. Thence I went to Wormsville, Biopeer, and Bigblack, and preached the funeral sermon of a neice of the Rev. *Tobias Gibson*, and the Lord was with us. I left my horse with brother Gibson, and took a Spanish race horse, which he was to be responsible for, and I was to remit him the money by post, when it should be due on my arrival in Georgia in November.

602. June 20. Having got equipped for my journey through the woods of Cumberland, which was several hundred miles, and having been informed that a party of men were that morning to start into the wilderness, I intended to go with them, but on my arrival found they had started the day before; so I must either wait for more, or go and overtake them. To wait I durst not, as my appointments had gone to Virginia. A Kentuckian had some time before, as I was informed, struck an Indian who shortly after died; and the other Indians supposed that his death was in consequence of the blow; and they complained to the governor, and the Kentuckian was tried and acquitted: wherefore the Indians, according to their custom, were determined to kill somebody, as they must have life for life; and they had now become saucy, and had shot at and wounded several on that road, but had not killed any one yet, and it was supposed that some one must shortly fall a victim.—However I set off alone, and rode the best part of twenty miles, when I saw a party of Indians within about a hundred feet of me: I was in hopes they would pass me, but in vain, for the first Indian seized my horse by the bridle, and the others surrounded me. At first, I thought it was a gone case with me, then I concluded to get off my horse and give up all, in order to save my life; but it turned in my mind, that if I do, I must return to the settlements, in order to get equipped for another start, and then it will be too late for my appointments. Again it turned in my mind, how when I was in Ireland, somebody would frequently be robbed or murdered one day, and I would travel the same way the day before or the day after, and yet was preserved and brought back in peace; and the same God is able to preserve me here and deliver me now as then—immediately I felt the power of faith to put my confidence in God; at the same time I observed the Indians had ramrods in the muzzels of their guns as well as in their stocks, so it would take some time to pull out the ramrods, and get the gun cocked and prepared up to their faces, ready to shoot; at this moment, my horse started and jumped sideways, which would have laid the Indian to the ground, who held the bridle, had it not slipped out of his hands; at the same time, the Indian on the other side, jumped seemingly like a streak to keep from under the horse's feet, so that there was a vacancy in the circle; at the same time, I gave my horse the switch, and leaned down

on the saddle, so that if they shot I would give them as narrow a chance as I could to hit me, as I supposed they would wish to spare and get my horse. I did not look behind me until I had got out of sight and hearing of the Indians. I was not long in going a dozen or fifteen miles; so I overtook the company that day, and told them what I had passed through; they said, that they had met the same Indians, and a Chickasaw trader who was with them, told them that two Chickasaw Indians with him said, that the Choctaws which I met informed them, that if the Chickasaw trader was not with these Kentuckians, they should have taken their provisions from them. When I heard this I reflected, if such a small preventative was the only means of saving a party from being plundered, what danger was I exposed to? And I felt more solemn afterwards, than when in the midst of dangers.

603. About forty-eight hours after, a party of twenty-five men were attacked by some ruffians, driven from their camp, and plundered of some thousands of dollars, and some of them came near starving before they got in.

604. I travelled on several days with the company, but they proceeded so slow, that I resolved to quit them; and thinking I was within about forty miles of the Chickasaw nation, set off alone one morning in hopes of getting in the same night, so I travelled on all day as fast as I could conveniently, stopping only once to bait, until I came within about twenty miles of the settlements, and about ten at night, came to a great swamp, where I missed the trail, and was necessitated to camp out without any company, (except my horse) fire, or weapons of defence; and as I dismounted to fix my bridle and chain together, for my horse to graze while fastened to a tree, I heard a noise like the shrieks of women, and listened to know what it might be; and it occurred to my mind, that I had heard hunters say, that the catamount or panther would imitate the cries of women; at first, I felt some queries or fears in my mind, but I soon said, God can command the wild beasts of the forest, as well as he can command the Indians; and I kneeled down and committed myself to the protection of kind Providence, and then lay down, and had a comfortable night's rest. The next morning I went on, and joined the settlement about ten o'clock, and got some milk and coarse Indian bread for myself, and corn for my horse; then went on about twenty miles further, and through the good Providence of God, I did not miss my road, though there were many that went in different courses. At length I saw a man dressed like a gentleman; he came up and shook hands with me, and after some conversation, invited me to his house, about a mile and a half off: I tarried with him a few days, and had two meetings, with some reds, blacks,

whites and half breeds, and good I think was done in the name of the Lord. The post came along, and I left Mr. *Bullen*, the missionary, whom I spent my time with, and set off with him; and in three days and an half we travelled upwards of two hundred miles, and came to the settlements of Cumberland; and having a letter, I called on major *Murray*, who treated me kindly.—I gave away the last of my money and my pen-knife, to get across an Indian ferry, I sold my chain halter for two dollars, and brother *Murray* lent me an horse to ride to Nashville, where I got two or three letters, which I consider as the hand of Providence, as it was the only means of opening my door. I inquired for Methodists, but found none—I strove to get a place for meeting that night, but all in vain; so I went about six miles and called upon a local preacher, who treated me with friendship, so I tarried all night. Next day early, I returned to Nashville, and tried to get the court house, and several private houses, but all in vain. Then I went to a grog house and began to talk ironical; as if I was one of their company, and soon the man offered me liberty of his house for what I would choose to give him, he supposing that I was not in earnest; but I let him know that I was, by giving him a dollar, and told him as a man of honor, I should expect the room of him. I then went out and told the post master, who advertised it for me, as he knew by the superscription of my letters that I was no impostor. I returned to major *Murray's*, and delivered up my horse, where was a class meeting; the circuit preacher was cool, but Mr. *Cannon*, a local preacher, being a man of consideration, prevailed, and I met the class, and the Lord being with us, we had a good time; so my way was opened through the country. The grog house in Nashville would not contain the people, and somebody prepared the market house for me, and I spoke and described the characters of a Christian, a gentleman and the filth of the earth, which were the subjects of my discourse, and some fearing of coming under the class of filth, behaved well. I appointed meeting again, and in the court house if it should be opened, if not, on the public square, or in an adjacent grove, as might best serve. The court sat in the mean time, and they ordered the court house to be opened, and I spoke to hundreds, Contributions were offered me, which I refused; however, several dollars were forced on me by some gentlemen. The cause of my refusing the above was this, I did not wish to put myself in the power of another, nor to give satan a sword to slay me, or power to hedge up my way, as the eyes of hundreds were upon me. A camp meeting was held, but I believe that good was prevented by their not following the openings of Providence.

605. I visited several other places, and then went to *Kentucky*, and visited, *Beardstown*, *Frankfort*, and *Lexington*; some Methodist local preachers treated me cool, and strove to shut up my way; but God opened my way, by means of a Baptist at *Beardstown*; and at *Frankfort* I got the *state house*: and at *Lexington* I got first the court house, then a play house, and afterwards, the Methodists opened to me their meeting house—in several meetings, God was with us. Thence I steered to *Virginia*. On the way, I was informed of an old salt well being found and a large bed of ashes by it, and pieces of earthen kettle, denoting their size to be larger than pot ash kettles, and also a vessel of stone like a salt cellar, which must have belonged to the ancients.

606. At an inn, I offered the man pay over night, but he refused, saying, he would be up in season in the morning; however he was not, so I left what I supposed would be his demand, on the table, and went on; he afterwards reported that I cheated him. At another place, all my money was gone to one dollar, and the landlord attempting to accuse me of passing counterfeit money, would not exchange my dollar for my fare, but thought to injure me, until another man changed it for me. At length, I met two men, who told me that my appointments were made in *Virginia*, at *Abington*, where I arrived August 21st, about three hours before meeting time. I was now dirty and ragged, as my pantaloons were worn out, my coat and jacket worn through, as also my moccasins. I had only the smallest part of a dollar left: however, some gentlemen gave me seven dollars, and then a collection was made, which I refused, until they hurt my feelings and forced it upon me; some others held back their liberality. I had a convenient stage erected, and we had a solemn time. I left an appointment when I would be there again, and in the neighboring counties, and went on to *Fincastle*; then to *Bedford county*, where I spoke in the town of *Liberty*; from the *Age of Reason* I took my text, and some went off before I had cleared up the point; they supposed me to be a deist, but afterwards were sorry. I spoke in *Lynchburg*, *New London*, and at *Carmel court house*, and a number of adjacent places, and left hundreds of appointments for the spring. I saw *Dr. S. K. Jennings*, and found him to be a man of strong powers of mind, and great acquired information, and very pious. Oh, may he fill up that sphere of life, which he is qualified for!

607. In *Cumberland county*, *John Hobson, jun.* got awakened, and found peace, as he fell down while I was speaking: his dear companion was laboring under great trials of mind, for the loss of all her offspring, till God cast my lot in their quarter, when she got reconciled to the same, by the sanctifying influence of God's Holy Spirit—his mother, who was upwards of eighty years old,

also found peace. I visited several other places, and the Lord was with us:—Then I went to Richmond, and by the governor's consent, spoke in the capitol, which somebody had advertised in the *Argus*, and afterwards in the Methodist meeting house, several times; also in Manchester, and at *New Kent* quarterly meeting.

608. I rode twenty miles to Petersburg, in the rain, and seeing a man, inquired of him if he knew *Jesse Lee*? he replied, he is my brother, and took me to his house; and as soon as I passed the gate, I saw *Jesse* standing in the door, and I sat still on my horse, though I was wet through, (with a bundle of books under my arm;) I had no outer garment on; and there was not a word spoke for some time between us: at length, said he, come in—I desired to know whether it was war or peace: said he, come in—said I, is it war or peace? said he, come in—I made the same reply: said he, *it is peace*; so I dismounted and went in, and he, after some conversation, went and procured me a large assembly that night, in the Methodist meeting house. I spoke there several times, and God was with us. Oh, how different was I received, from what I was formerly! Surely I was agreeably disappointed in my reception; and there must have been the hand of God in this. I visited several neighboring places not in vain. I got five hundred pamphlets printed, and as I was going to the office for them, a stranger called me out one side and put ten dollars into my hand (though he knew not my necessity) which was just the sum I wanted for the printer.

609. I had much offered me in my travel through the state; but was unwilling to give Satan any ground to hedge up my way, and of course declined the most of it. One day, I had an appointment to preach, and then started for S. Carolina, through a part of some hundreds of miles, where I never was before, and had only a few cents at my command: however, my trust was still in God, who put it into the hearts of some, as we were parting and shaking hands, to leave about seven dollars in my hand; so I went on and saw some more providences of God; also I saw some evils. Near *Raleigh*, N. Carolina, a petty constable attempted to take me up as an *horse thief*. Col. Paul Rushian of Chesterfield county, S. Carolina, took me up also, and examined my private writings, and gave some of the most abusive dirty language that I ever met with in my life. I found brother *Daugherty*, the presiding elder had given me out a chain of appointments through his district, of several hundred miles, which I fulfilled, and arrived back to Petersburg, in Georgia, according to *appointment* when going *away*. Here my wants were relieved, mostly by major John Oliver, who came and called me his spiritual father, and so did several others, and I saw a great alteration in the inhabitants.

RULES FOR HOLY LIVING.

610. **SERIOUS** *consideration* upon the value of thy **SOUL**; with the shortness and uncertainty of **TIME** and the *duty* that you owe to **GOD**—with the awful consequence of *living* and *dying* in **SIN**.

REMEMBER that by *nature* you are a fallen *degenerate* creature, therefore ye must be *regenerated* and **BORN** of the **SPIRIT**—for without holiness no man shall see the **LORD**!

Consequently be persuaded, and *resolve*, through grace, to *begin* and *spend*, and *close* every day with **GOD**, forsaking all known sin, with unnecessary wicked company: Having your heart drawn out after **GOD**, in a praying frame, with your mind solemnly staid upon **HIM** in quest of truth—that you may enjoy **HIS** favor here, and experience **HIS** benedictions forever in **CHRIST JESUS**!

EXEMPLIFIED EXPERIENCE.

PART THE SECOND.

611. OCTOBER 28th, 1803. After an absence of about seven months, I arrived back in Georgia; having travelled upwards of 4000 miles. When I left this state I was handsomely equipped for travelling by some friends whom God had raised me up, in time of need; after my trials on my journey from New England. My equipment was as follows: my horse cost 45*l*. a decent saddle and cloth, portmantua and bag, umbrella and lady's shove whip; a double suit of clothes, a blue broad cloth cloak, (given me by a gentleman,) shoes, stockings cased hat, a valuable watch, with fifty-three dollars in my pocket for spending money, &c. &c. But now on my return, I had not the same valuable horse; and my watch I parted with for pecuniary aid to bear my expenses. My pantaloons were worn out; my riding chevals were worn through in several places.

612. I had no stockings, shoes, nor moccasons * for the last several hundred miles; no outer garment; having sold my cloak in West Florida: My coat and vest were worn through, to my shirt: my hat case and umbrella were spoiled by prongs of trees, whilst riding in the woods. Thus with decency I was scarce able to get back to my friends as I would. It is true I had many pounds and handsome presents offered me in my journey, but I could not feel freedom to receive them; only just what would serve my present necessity, to get along to my appointments, as I was such a stranger in the country; and so many to watch me (as an impostor) for evil; and but few to lift up my hands for good.

613. As I considered that the success and opening of many years depended on these days, I was not willing to give any occasion for the gospel to be blamed; or any occasion to hedge up my way. For it was with seriousness and consideration that I undertook these journeys, from conviction of duty, that God required it at my hands. And (knowing that impostors are fond of money) I was convinced that Satan would not be found want-

* An Indian shoe.

ing, to whisper in the minds of the people, that my motives were sinister or impure.

674. Major John Oliver came and took me by the hand, calling me father; saying, "when you preached in Petersburg last, your text was constantly ringing in my ears, for days together, whether I would deal kindly and truly with the master, &c. So I had no peace until I set out to seek the Lord; and since, my wife and I have been brought to rejoice in the Almighty."

615. He gave me a vest, pantaloons, umbrella, stockings, handkerchief, and a *watch*, &c. Another gave me a pair of shoes and a coat; and a third a cloak; and a few shillings for spending money from some others. Thus I find Providence whose tender care is over all his works, by his kind hand is still preserving me; Oh! may I never betray His great cause committed to my charge!

616. I visited the upper countries and had refreshing seasons amongst my friends, from the presence of the Lord. General Stewart informed me of a remarkable circumstance, of a man who heard the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation preached up; the devil told him that he was one of the reprobates; which drove him to despair: so he put an end to his life by blowing out his brains. An A-double-L-part minister, who held the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation, preached up good works, saying it would do no good to preach his sentiments, which caused my spiritual father (in the gospel,) to observe to him, "that a doctrine which is not fit to be preached is not fit to be believed."

617. I held a meeting in a republican meeting house, i. e. one free for all denominations. I spoke on A-double-L-partism; and an A-double-L-part preacher present being asked how he liked the preaching, he replied, that he held, and preached no contrary sentiments himself; but afterwards he did his utmost to cut my doctrine to pieces; and blacken my character. I preached in George town, and set out at eight at night for Augusta; and travelling nearly all night, I came to a camp where some negroes were *toting** tobacco to market; and I stopped with them until day; and one gave me some corn for my horse.

The next day missing my road, I gave away my pocket handkerchief for a pilot.

618. November 20th, I arrived at camp meeting at Rehoboth. I took *Master* "I AM" for my text; with observing that he offered a great reward for runaways; whose marks I would describe:

* The mode of toting tobacco to Market, is by rolling it in casks, with a wooden axle through the midst, on the ends of which are fasted the shafts for the horse to draw it by. 15 or 16 hundred weight may thus be pressed and carried to Market.

The auditory amounting to about 5,000 sunk into a solemn silence; whilst I described the diabolical marks of sinners; and the reward for their return, &c.

619. About fifty souls were born to God. There were 44 tents; 8 wooden huts; 48 covered waggons; beside carriages, &c., of various sorts. Many I parted with here (whom perhaps I shall never see more; and set off for St. Mary's, in company with several of the preachers; and as we hove in sight of a town, I enquired its name; and felt an impulse to stop and hold meeting; which I did; intending to overtake my company next day: but leaving Warrington late at night, I rode several miles and stopped to enquire the road: the man within knew my voice, and persuaded me to alight and tarry until morning; when he accompanied me to meeting, in Bethel meeting house; where I was drawn particularly, to speak on the subject of murder and murderers; after which brother *Mead* observed, that two murderers were supposed to be present.

620. November 23. I spoke in *Louisville*, to as many as could conveniently get into the state house: Brigadier General John Stewart was then present: I attacked A-double-L-partism and proposed a covenant to the auditory, to meet me at the throne of grace, for a limited period of time; which the gentlemen observing General Stewart to arise, followed his example, as a sign of their compliance with the proposal; which I observed they were bound by the principles of honor and veracity to keep.

621. Whilst I was preaching, I pointed out the duty of rulers, as stewards of God and guardians of the people; that vice might be suppressed; and virtue encouraged. Whilst speaking, also, I perceived the chair on which I stood on the writing table, to move twice or thrice, the cause of which I could not then ascertain; but set down to prevent my falling: After meeting a young German having observed a Baptist preacher to put his foot on my chair twice or thrice, apparently with a design to tilt me over and set the house in a laughter, (who was an A-double-L-part man) went and shook his fist in his face, intimating that (if he had him out of doors) he would pay him for his insult to the stranger.

622. The A-double-L-part man being a member of the Legislature, complained of the young man to the House for having insulted him: The House ordered the young man to prison, and the next day to trial; as no member might be insulted whilst sitting in the House: The young man pleaded that the member was not sitting at the time and so was acquitted: This cost him about 30 dollars, and the State about 600; as the trial lasted two days: It was a few days after this, that I received a recommendation, as a preacher of the gospel to the world of mankind, signed

by the Governor, Secretary, and twenty-eight members of the Legislature with the great seal of the State.

623. Bishop Asbury's appointments being given out, and it being uncertain, whether he would attend; Stith Mead, who was presiding elder of the district, thought proper to send me on his own appointments, to St. Mary's Quarter meeting; whilst he intended taking the Bishop's plan.

624. The high waters retarded; but to prevent disappointing the people, in my circuitous route I made the greatest speed: and a gentleman traveller, supposing (from my speed) that I was some murderer, clapped spurs to his horse and pursued me to a meeting, where God's power was manifested amongst us.

625. 26th. I held a two day meeting at Union meeting house; where there was some quickening; but the A-double-L-part people were in this part also raking my character.

626. Hence to Kenootchy creek; and so to Tabor's creek; and Captain Mitchell (in whose house I held meeting) so interrupted, that we removed into the street: then he ordered me down from the stage; so we retired to a neighboring plantation: but he took his horse and pistols, and interrupted us here also: Oh! the sin of drunkenness, which leads to murder!

My evening appointment was not given out, near the Goose ponds, and I found it almost impossible to get a place to lodge.

627. December 3d, I crossed the Altamaha, and met brother Isaac Cooke; who came missionary from conference here; the most dismal marshy part I ever was in; I found he had good success; though he was not without his enemies; but God for his indefatigable labors gave him upwards of a hundred members this year; and he had two meeting houses erected, for the connexion.

A clear conscience, is like a clear sky without a cloud; Oh! may I never live to be useless: I remember Doctor Johnson said, "thou hast an ulcer or defect in thy liver, with which thou wast born in the world; and if thou livest high or intemperate, or bringest slight condemnation or burthen on thy mind, or dost not labor hard, &c. &c.; the nature of thy disorder is such thou wilt be in danger of being suddenly cut off; but if thou art prudent, &c., thou mayest live as long as most others, unless some contagious disorder shall lay hold on thee:" the propriety of these remarks, I am convinced of from experience.


628. We took our departure from Savannah, where we parted; and I spent a few days. The curse of God seems to rest about here since the days in which they treated John Wesley ill, and confiscated the property of George Whitfield, which was appropriated to religious and charitable purposes.

Hence to Tuckissacing, where old father Boston lived, who received me as I left Savannah the first time I came to Georgia. Last night as brother Cooke was preaching, a black woman was struck under conviction, with the power of God: Her body was cold as a corpse, and laid aside sixteen hours as in a sweet sleep or state of insensibility; and no symptoms of life except a regular pulse. Some thought that she would never come to: however she revived, praising God. I spoke; and we had a refreshing time in the woods.

629. I sent an appointment to Lanear's ferry on the Ogeechee river: on my arrival I found a stage erected in the woods; and a vast concourse of people; few of whom had ever seen me before.

As I began meeting, I perceived a man uneasy; he got up and sat down and up and down again, and walked round; which denoted some unusual uneasiness in his mind.

After meeting I set off for my evening's appointment: several were going the same way: I abruptly spoke to one, "are you not sorry you came to meeting?" (not recollecting him to be the above man:) He replied, "Yes, and I believe it would have been better for me to have stayed at home and my horse eating grass." I understand, said he, you can tell fortunes: and if you can tell what is to come, you can tell what is past: tell me, did I ever kill any body? if I did I'll confess it before the people!

Thus he twice or thrice strove to make me answer the question: it made a solemn impression on my mind; so that I did not speak: but looking him in the face as we rode a distance, viewing if necessary to be guarded in my conduct, as the company were strangers to me; I inquired his name as we parted at the forks of the road: however it made such an impression on my mind, that I could not but relate it to the congregation in Springfield court house: after meeting, the gentleman where I lodged informed me that this Squire H— was supposed to be concerned in a murder, with a man who was under sentence of death: it appears from the best accounts I could collect, that this H— was an A-double-L-part man, and believed, once in grace and always in grace; which brought me to reflection, (from the horrible circumstance,) what dangerous sentiments these are; not only in a religious point of view, to lull people to sleep, but also in a civil and political respect: for if one falls into public scandal and retaining an idea of being secured unchangeably in the favor of God, he cannot be under the influence of the principles of honor; nor yet the idea of future reward and punishment; and of course hath nothing to restrain him; wherefore he is a dangerous citizen and subject:  This is the truth and it cannot be confuted.

I left my horse and cloak, expecting they would be sent to me, and with difficulty I reached the town of Augusta, where the Conference was beginning to sit.

630. Here I met *Dr. Coke*; he replied, "how do you do, Brother Dow? I am glad to see you; your warning to the people of Dublin, had like to proved too true."

Here *Stith Mead* brought me the parchment of recommendation from the Governor, &c., and I gave him a testimonial of my sincerity and attachment to the Methodist body, and my approbation to the general tenor of their conduct, &c. Here I was talked over in Conference; and after some conversation the doctor observed, that I had done the Methodist Societies no injury that he knew of; but in sundry instances to the reverse.

Bishop Asbury directed the preachers to publish for me to preach in the meeting house during the sitting of Conference; which was done, and I gave my farewell to the people: and also my thoughts on different religious subjects; (which were published under the title of, *The Chain of Lorenzo, by the request of his friends, as his farewell to Georgia*.) as a present to the meeting house which was in debt.

The cause of this publication originated from the false reports, and dust which the A-double-L-part people had raised against me: but my friends advised me to it, that the unprejudiced might judge for themselves, where the truth lay, and so thus the doven foot be drawn out, and cut clear off: that when God had killed the old stock, there should be none to carry the news, and thus A-double-L-partism be driven from the land; which concern had drawn me from Ireland, that precious souls might escape as from the snare of the fowler.

I sold my watch for printing some religious hand bills, *Rules for holy living*; which I distributed around the town: and got some also printed on silk for the higher class, (lest paper would be too much neglected:) one of which I had framed, and the doctor tied it up for me in paper and superscribed it for his *Excellency the Governor*, which I left with an attorney to deliver, as I delivered one of my silk bills. Thus I left the Conference, (*who had agreed not to hedge up my way*.) with weeping eyes and aching heart; and took my departure for South Carolina. With difficulty I crossed Savannah river; and a man who crossed with me, took me behind him on his horse, and carried me over several runs of water: I got assistance to where my horse was; having several good times and the A-double-L-part people looked sour. A fresh had been in the river, so I could not get my cloak; neither had I a second shirt at this time: but my trust is in God, who hath helped me hitherto.

631. On my way to Charleston, I spoke in an old Methodist meeting house; and at Cossahatchee: here was Mr. C., once an itinerant sensible preacher, but now cold in religion: Mr. B. heard me also; but has quitted the Methodists, and preaches A-double-L-part.

632. Monday, January 9th, 1804. I rode 52 miles, and arrived at Charleston late in the evening; and put up with W. Turpin, Esq., who received me when I first was in this place; and procured me picked meetings at his house: I find Mr. Hamet has gone to a world of spirits, to answer for the deeds done in the body. As it respects his division it appears his motives were impure, arising from a desire of popularity; in consequence of which, there was a breach of confidence by him as respected the incorporation of the house: awful to relate, it appears he died drunk.

I spoke in his house called Trinity Church; also in the Methodist meeting house. Here I saw Dr. Coke; who informed me that he saw a recommendation for me at the house of Brother John Harper, signed by some of the members of the Legislature and the Governor of the state; which has not yet fallen into my hands; the cause I know not, though I have sent for it repeatedly.

Friday 13th, I left Charlestown, crossing a ferry; and rode thirty-three miles; keeping up with the mail stage.

633. 14th, I crossed a bad ferry of several miles; in consequence of a fresh in the river; which took three hours, with the stage. Hence we went on to Georgetown, where I held a few meetings; and then rode forty-three miles to Kingston; leaving brothers Mallard and Jones behind; the former was blessed in his labors here last year; and Hamet's conduct had done injury; Jones soon after was found drowned in a creek; supposed to have been seized with a fit of the epilepsy, which he was subject to: but the verdict of the Coroner's jury was that he had died drunk; though he was exemplary for temperance and piety.

634. I put up at a tavern, (though a Methodist preacher lived near,) hired a room for a meeting; and called in the neighbors. Next day I fell in with brother Russel, who was going to his station; so we crossed a ferry together, and continued on upwards of eighty miles, until we came to Wilmington, where I found religion low; and bigotry so prominent, particularly in the leading local preacher, that had not Mr. Russel been with me, who was stationed here, I should have been shut out. I held several meetings, and got some religious handbills on paper and silk printed, *Rules for holy living*, which I distributed to the people of the town; and took my departure for Newbern: But this being so far north, and near the sea board, at this cold season of the year, that I almost perished with the cold, frost and snow; having no outer garment and my clothing thin.

635. I held a few meetings in Newbern and proceeded to Washington; where I had like to have been chilled in crossing a ferry; but after getting somewhat warmed and refreshed with a cup of tea I proceeded to meeting; where God made it up to me.

636. 25th, I spoke at Tarborough, then at Prospect. 27th, at Sampson's meeting house: Jones's at night; being now in North Carolina, near Virginia. Hence to Raleigh, and spoke twice in the State house. Here the petty constable who took me up as a horse stealer near this, did not meet me according to expectation: My appointments were not given out according to direction.

From hence I proceeded to Iredell county, to the house of a man, of whom I had bought an horse, when on my way from N. England to Georgia. Some people mocked him for giving me credit; saying, "you have lost your horse;" but now their mouth was shut; as I paid him his demand, although he only had my word.

637. I visited several places around, and took my departure for Tennessee; having a cloak and shirt given to me. My money is now almost out; my expenses have been so enormous, in consequence of the unusual floods, &c.

638. In crossing the Celuda mountains, the way was narrow; whilst precipices were on one side, the other arose perpendicular; which rendered it dangerous travelling in the night, had not the mountains been on fire, which illuminated the heavens to my convenience.

639. February 14th, I spoke in Buncomb to more than could get into the Presbyterian meeting house; and at night also; and good I trust was done. The minister was not an A-double-L-part man; but pious. Next day I rode forty-five miles in company with Dr. Nelson, across the dismal Allegany mountains, by the warm springs; and on the way, a young man, a traveller, came in (where I breakfasted gratis at an inn) and said that he had but three sixteenths of a dollar left, having been robbed of seventy-one dollars on the way; and he being far from home, I gave him half of what I had with me.

640. My horse having a navel gall come on his back, I sold him, with the saddle, bridle, cloak and blanket, &c. on credit for about three-fourths of the value; with uncertainty whether I should ever be paid:* thus I crossed the river French broad in a canoe; and set out for my appointment; but fearing I should be behind the time, I hired a man, (whom I met on the road with two horses,) to carry me five miles in haste for three shillings; which left me but one sixteenth of a dollar. In our speed he observed, there was a nigh way, by which I could clamber the rocks,

*Lost it forever.

and cut off some miles : so we parted ; he having not gone two-thirds of the way, yet insisted on the full sum.

641. I took to my feet the nigh way as fast as I could pull on, as intricate as it was, and came to a horrid ledge of rocks, on the bank of the river where there was no such thing as going round ; and to clamber over would be at the risk of my life, as there was danger of slipping into the river ; however, being unwilling to disappoint the people, I pulled off my shoes, and with my handkerchief fastened them about my neck ; and creeping upon my hands and feet with my fingers and toes in the cracks of the rocks with difficulty I got safe over ; and in about four miles I came to a house, and hired a woman to take me over the river in a canoe, for my remaining money and a pair of scissors ; the latter of which was the chief object with her : so our extremities are other's opportunities : Thus with difficulty I got to my appointment in Newport in time.

642. I had heard about a singularity called the *jerks* or *jerking exercise* which appeared first near Knoxville, in August last, to the great alarm of the people ; which reports at first I considered as vague and false ; but at length, like the Queen of Sheba, I set out to go and see for myself ; and sent over these appointments into this country accordingly.

When I arrived in sight of this town, I saw hundreds of people collected in little bodies ; and observing no place appointed for meeting, before I spoke to any, I got on a log and gave out an hymn ; which caused them to assemble round, in solemn attentive silence : I observed several involuntary motions in the course of the meeting, which I considered as a specimen of the jerks. I rode seven miles behind a man across streams of water ; and held meeting in the evening ; being ten miles on my way.

643. In the night I grew uneasy, being twenty-five miles from my appointment for next morning at eleven o'clock, I prevailed on a young man to attempt carrying me with horses until day, which he thought was impracticable, considering the darkness of the night, and the thickness of the trees. Solitary shrieks were heard in these woods ; which he told me were said to be the cries of murdered persons ; at day we parted, being still seventeen miles from the spot ; and the ground covered with a white frost. I had not proceeded far, before I came to a stream of water, from the springs of the mountain, which made it dreadful cold ; in my heated state I had to wade this stream five times in the course of about an hour ; which I perceived so affected my body, that my strength began to fail : Fears began to arise that I must disappoint the people ; till I observed some fresh tracks of horses which caused me to exert every nerve to overtake them ; in hopes of aid or assistance on my journey, and soon I saw them on an emi-

nence. I shouted for them to stop, till I came up; they inquired what I wanted, I replied, I had heard there was meeting at Seversville by a stranger, and was going to it; they replied that they had heard that a crazy man was to hold forth there; and were going also; and perceiving that I was weary, they invited me to ride: and soon our company was increased to forty or fifty; who fell in with us on the road, from different plantations: at length I was interrogated, whether I knew any thing about the preacher: I replied, I have heard a good deal about him; and had heard him preach; but I had no great opinion of him: and thus the conversation continued for some miles before they found me out, which caused some color and smiles in the company: thus I got on to meeting; and after taking a cup of tea gratis, I began to speak to a vast audience; and I observed about thirty to have the *jerks*; though they strove to keep still as they could, these emotions were involuntary, and irresistible; as any unprejudiced eye might discern. Lawyer Porter, (who had come a considerable distance,) got his heart touched under the word, and being informed how I came to meeting, voluntarily lent me a horse to ride near one hundred miles and gave me a dollar, though he had never seen me before.

644. Hence to Mary's-ville, where I spoke to about one thousand five hundred; and many appeared to feel the word, but about fifty felt the jerks: at night I lodged with one of the Nicholites, a kind of Quakers who do not feel free to wear coloured clothes: I spoke to a number of people at his house that night. Whilst at tea I observed his daughter, (who sat opposite to me at the table) to have the jerks; and dropped the tea cup from her hand in the violent agitation: I said to her, "Young woman, what is the matter?" she replied, "I have got the jerks." I asked her how long she had it? she observed "a few days," and that it had been the means of the awakening and conversion of her soul, by stirring her up to serious consideration about her careless state, &c.

645. Sunday, February 19th, I spoke in Knoxville to hundreds more than could get into the court house, the Governor being present: about one hundred and fifty appeared to have jerking exercise, among whom was a circuit preacher, (Johnson) who had opposed them a little before, but he now had them powerfully; and I believe he would have fallen over three times had not the auditory been so crowded that he could not, unless he fell perpendicularly.

646. After meeting I rode eighteen miles to hold meeting at night: the people of this settlement were mostly Quakers; and they had said, (as I was informed) the Methodists and Presbyterians have the *jerks* because they *sing* and *pray* so much, but we are a still peaceable people, wherefore we do not have them:

however, about twenty of them came to meeting, to hear one, as was said, somewhat in a Quaker line: but their usual stillness and silence was interrupted; for about a dozen of them had the jerks as keen and as powerful as any I had seen, so as to have occasioned a kind of grunt or groan when they would jerk. It appears that many have undervalued the great revival, and attempted to account for it altogether on natural principles; therefore it seems to me, (from the best judgment I can form,) that God hath seen proper to take this method, to convince people, that he will work in a way to show his power; and sent the *jerks* as a sign of the times, partly in judgment for the people's unbelief, and yet as a mercy to convict people of divine realities.

647. I have seen Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, Baptists, Church of England, and independents, exercised with the *jerks*; Gentleman and Lady, black and white, the aged and the youth, rich and poor, without exception; from which I infer, as it cannot be accounted for on natural principles, and carries such marks of involuntary motion, that it is no trifling matter: I believe that those who are most pious and given up to God, are rarely touched with it; and also those naturalists, who wish and try to get it to philosophize upon it are excepted: but the lukewarm, lazy, half-hearted, indolent professor, is subject to it; and many of them I have seen, who when it came upon them, would be alarmed and stirred up to redouble their diligence with God; and after they would get happy, were thankful it ever came upon them. Again, the wicked are frequently more afraid of it than the small pox or yellow fever; these are subject to it: but the persecutors are more subject to it than any, and they sometimes have cursed, and swore, and damned it, whilst jerking: there is no pain attending the jerks except they resist it, which if they do it, it will weary them more in an hour, than a day's labor; which shows, that it requires the consent of the *will* to avoid suffering.

648. 20th. I passed by a meeting house, where I observed the undergrowth had been cut up for a camp meeting, and from fifty to one hundred saplings, left breast high; which to me appeared so slovenish that I could not but ask my guide the cause, who observed they were topped so high, and left for the people to jerk by: this so excited my attention that I went over the ground, to view it; and found where the people had laid hold of them and jerked so powerfully, that they had kicked up the earth as a horse stamping flies: I observed some emotion, both this day and night among the people; a Presbyterian minister (with whom I stayed,) observed, "yesterday whilst I was preaching some had the jerks, and a young man from N. Carolina mimicked them out of derision and soon was seized with them himself, (which was the case with many others) he grew ashamed and on attempting to mount his

horse to go off, his foot jerked about so, that he could not put it into the stirrup; some youngsters seeing this, assisted him on, but he jerked so that he could not sit alone, and one got up to hold him on; which was done with difficulty: I observing this, went to him and asked him what he thought of it? said he, "I believe God sent it on me for my wickedness, and making so light of it in others;" and he requested me to pray for him.

I observed his wife had it; she said she was first attacked with it in bed. Dr. Nelson said, he had frequently strove to get it, (in order to philosophize upon it,) but could not; and observed they could not account for it on natural principles.

649. I called at a gentleman's house to get some breakfast, and enquired the road; the gentleman observing my tin case in my pocket (containing my credentials from the state of Georgia, and supposing me to be some vile character) took it out and examined the contents without asking my consent; when he had got half through, he looked at me, I observed he appeared pale: he gave me what I wanted, and treated me as a king.

I had not been long gone from the house before a runner on foot overtook me, and another servant on horseback, with a request that I should go back and preach: I did, (to many of the neighbors, who were called in;) the mistress deserted during the meeting; which to me, she denied, until the servants affirmed that she was in the negro house.

I observed to her, that I considered her absence a slight as they had called me back, and to make it up with me, desired she should let me know the cause of her absence. She replied, she was afraid of the jerks more than of the small pox or yellow fever.

650. Next day he gave me some money and sent a horse with me several miles; and then I took to my feet and went on to Greenville, and so on to Abingdon in Virginia: the last jerks that I saw was on a young woman, who was severely exercised during meeting. She followed me into the house, I observed to her the indecency and folly of such public gestures and grunts; and requested (speaking sternly to make an impression on her mind) if she had any regard for her character, to leave it off; she replied, "I will if I can." I took her by the hand, looking her in the face and said, "do not tell lies." I perceived (by the emotion of her hand) that she exerted every nerve to restrain it, but instantly she jerked as if it would have jerked her out of her skin if it were possible; I did this to have an answer to others on the subject, which I told her, that my abruptness might leave no bad impression on her mind.

651. These appointments had been given out rising of six months, with the days and hours fixed; I replied in Abingdon, (as I was dismissing the auditory,) that on such a day thirteen

months, such an hour, I should be in town to hold a meeting God willing: and steered westerly on a circuitous rout to Turswell; where I preached in sunk hole formed by nature, to a vast auditory; being accommodated thus far by an attorney's horse; here I saw a gentleman, a stranger, of whom I purchased a horse at a word; and proceeded across the mountains of Clinch, which were tremendously high, and covered with snow, and having no outer garment, I felt as if I should freeze; however all was made up at good meetings on the other side: so I came to With court house; hence to Grayson, and the Lead mines, thence to New river, so to Montgomery, to Salem, Fin-castle, Lexington; where I spoke in the Presbyterian meeting house; Woodstock, Rocktown, so on to Newtown, where God was graciously with us: hence to Winchester, where I spoke in the Methodist chapel, and a champion bully of an A-double-L-part minister was present; for whom the Methodist preacher's heart did ache; next day he went from house to house amongst his friends, to represent me as crazy man, but three of his pillars were shaken, one of whom replied to him, "if a crazy man will talk so, what would he be if he was in his right mind?" which seemed to confound him. I preached at Frontroyal, and crossed the Blue Ridge in the night, in order to get on to my next day's appointment: a deist was present; on hearing me observe, "that no man was a deist who would not dare to take an oath to relinquish all favors from God through Christ:" he began to examine whether he would be willing, and something replied "no not for ten thousand worlds." Thus his foundation shook and conviction ensued.

652. An A-double-L-part man (who had followed up my meetings,) perceiving the man to be shaken, appointed a time to answer my discourse; but whilst attempting to answer it, forgot one of the heads of the discourse; which so confounded him, that he complained of being unwell, and concluded his meeting; and so sunk into disgrace.

653. I spoke in Culpepper court house, and then rode fifty miles or more to Charlottesville. near the Presidents's seat in Albemarle County; I spoke to about four thousand people, and one of the President's daughters who was present, died a few days after.

654. Hence I went circuitously to Lynchburg, where I spoke in the open air, in what I conceived to be the seat of Satan's kingdom.

655. From thence to New London, where I began speaking in the court house; when *Papa* and *Mamma Hobson* came in, and we had a gracious time. Hence I fell in with brother *Stith Mead*, and we went on to the camp meeting which I had appointed last August.

656. March 22d. Several families came about twenty miles, and encamped on the ground, though there were but few Methodists any where short of that distance; the weather was chilly, the clouds appeared threatening and the prospects before us very gloomy; however we poured out our compliant to God, who graciously heard our cry, sent off the clouds, and gave us a beautiful sun,

23d. About fifteen hundred people appeared on the ground, and the Lord began a gracious work that day, which I trust hell shall never be able to extinguish.—One soul found peace before night; and another in the night.

24th. About three thousand people attended; the solemnity and tenderness, and prospect of good increased.

25th. Sunday. About five thousand on the ground, and in general good attention: Colonel Callaway and a number of respectable gentlemen used their endeavors to protect our peaceable privileges.

Monday 26. About three thousand appeared on the ground, and the rejoicing of old saints, the shouts of young converts, and the cries of the distressed for mercy, caused the meeting to continue all night; until we parted on Thuesday morning 27th.

About fifty during this meeting professed to have found the pardoning love of God; from hence the work went home with the people and spread over the country, as may be seen from the following letters sent by William Heath, Methodist preacher, to Ezekiel Cooper, one of the Book stewards to the Connexion; and the Rev. *Stith Mead* to *Bishop Asbury*.

Richmond District, April 4th 1803.

"I have been in the habit of communicating to you, the remarkable occurrences which have fallen in my way from time to time; but your being kept from us in the south by sickness, I have been at a loss where to direct my intelligence. Being informed you shortly will be in Baltimore, I shall endeavor to throw the following narrative in your way; but passing over a great number of pleasing scenes which might be noticed, for brevity sake, I shall confine myself to the giving you a list of the camp and other meetings of magnitude, with their immediate effects, and then, in an aggregate, the consequences of the meetings will be seen on a more enlarged scale; though still much of their fruit will be unnoticed, being scattered generally over the circuit.

| <i>Dates of
meetings.</i> | <i>Places.</i> | <i>Converted.</i> | <i>Joined.</i> |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1804. | | | |
| March 23—27 | Bedford County. | 50 | |
| April 21—23 | Campbell County. | 24 | 40 |
| — — — — | Goose Creek. | 16 | |
| — — — — | Lynchburg. | 16 | |
| May 5—11 | Tabernacle. | 100 | |
| — — — — 12—15 | New Hope Chapel. | 100 | 49 |
| — — — — 17—21 | Tabernacle. | 150 | 140 |
| — — — — | Flat Rock. | 20 | |
| — — — — 30 — | Lynchburg. | 50 | |
| — — — — 31 } — | New Hope Chapel. | 40 | 49 |
| June 1 } — | Tabernacle. | | 48 |
| — — — — 3 — | Charity Chapel, Pouhauta. | 100 | 60 |
| — — — — 8—12 | Bethel Chapel. | 50 | |
| July 20—24 | Leftwich's Chapel, Bedford circuit. | 100 | 60 |
| — — — — 28—29 | New Hope. | 30 | 19 |
| Aug. 3—7 | Bottetourt. | 50 | |
| — — — — 8 — | Fincastle. | 20 | 7 |
| — — — — 1—21 | Ebenezer Chapel, Bedford. | 50 | 17 |
| — — — — 3 } — | Tabernacle. | 20 | |
| Sept. 8 } — | Oaks, Amherst. | 40 | 13 |
| — — — — 8—1 | Brown's Chapel, Campbell. | 30 | 12 |
| — — — — 21—25 | Chesnut Chapel, Franklyn, | 10 | 11 |
| — — — — 28 } — | | | |
| Oct. 1 } — | | | |
| 1805. | | | |
| Mach 29. April 2, | Oarleys Chapel, Bedford. | 20 | 13 |
| | | 1036 | 538 |

"In this great and glorious work, it may be observed, that at the close of two months, I numbered six hundred converted, and five hundred and twenty added to the church: and in six months, and that principally at the meetings, the number converted amounted to eleven hundred and seventy-six, and eight hundred and fifty joined the Methodist Episcopal church. With the preachers in the five circuits, Bedford, Bottetourt, Amherst, Cumberland and Franklin, each having one or more camp meetings, hundreds are brought to God, and into his militant church; and other denominations have shared largely the fruits of our labors.

"In this work it may be remarked, that I have baptized near one hundred adult believers, from ten to twenty at a time; and after giving them the choice of the mode, there has not been one instance wherein they have chosen immersion; and the blessing

of God has visibly attended the ordinance by effusion; and there are but a few who have joined, but what professed saving religion previous to their joining. Persecution has raged in proportion to the revival; but hitherto the Lord has helped us—and we can say with the apostle, 2 Cor. vi. 6. *By honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report, as deceivers and yet true: as unknown and yet well known: as dying and behold we live: as chastened and not killed: as sorrowful yet always rejoicing: as poor yet making many rich; as having nothing yet possessing all things.*

STITH MEAD."

Extract of a Letter from WILLIAM HEATH to EZEKIEL COOPER.

Lynchburg, July 25th, 1804.

"To you, I suppose, it will be a matter of joy, to hear of the prosperity of Zion in these parts of the Lord's vineyard.

"The camp meetings, which have been usual, in the south and west for some years never began with us till last spring.

"On the 23d of March, a camp meeting was held by L. D.* in junction with a number of other preachers and ministers; at which fifty souls professed to find peace with God; from this the work of God spread in almost every direction, for many were awakened at this meeting, who afterwards found the pearl of great price. At the several meetings which were held at Flat-creek meeting house, by the 16th of April twenty-four souls professed converting grace; and the work has continued more rapid at that place ever since: forty have joined the church there; and sixteen in the neighborhood above that have professed conversion and planted a society among us. In the town and vicinity, from the beginning of the work in April until now, from six to twelve and sixteen, at a meeting, have professed to find the pearl of great price; so that from a class of twenty members, we have now one hundred and sixty. Bless the Lord, O my soul! and let all the people magnify his holy name!

"On the 5th of May, a meeting was appointed at a place fifteen miles above us, called the Tabernacle, to be held three days; but the work was so great, that it continued five days, day and night, with very little intermission: in which time one hundred were thought to obtain true conversion. From the 12th to the 15th of May, at a place called New-hope, five miles from town, we had another meeting, which continued also day and night, at which, there were about one hundred professed to get converted; and many are daily added to our numbers. From the 17th to the

*Lorenzo Dow.

22d of May, meeting again, at Tabernacle meeting house, at which place, the people encamped on the ground, and continued preaching, praying, and other godly exercise, night and day, for the five days, in which time, one hundred and fifty were thought to be savingly converted; and one hundred and forty joined the Methodist church at that time and place. From the 8th to the 12th of June, another camp meeting was held at Charity Chapel, Powatan, at which one hundred souls were thought to obtain saving conversion, and sixty joined the Methodist church. From the 20th to the 24th of this month, we had a camp meeting in Bedford, at Leftwich's meeting house, at which one hundred and ten came forward, and gave testimony of their faith, that God had converted their souls. Very many are the prayer, class, and preaching meetings, not mentioned here, at which the Lord pours out his spirit in a wonderful manner. Considering the low ebb of religion among us, before the revival began, I can truly say, that I never saw or read of greater times: true, the times mentioned by brother Cox, in his letter to Bishop Coke, 1787, were great; but I was in the whole of that revival, as well as this, and it is my opinion, that this revival far exceeds that.

"The glorious work is spreading in various directions, and extensively. It is chiefly among the Methodists; though our Presbyterian brethren are very friendly, and labor mightily with and among us. Indeed my brother, we hope, and at times are almost led to believe, that the glorious millenium is ushering on! Proclaim at your pleasure the contents of this, or any part.

"I am in the best of bonds,
Thine, &c.

WILLIAM HEATH.

657. I was unwell the latter part of this meeting, from an unusual incident, but after the meeting broke up, I rode in a walk thirty miles, and lay down upon a table with a blanket and pillow, and spoke to several hundreds in the open air at night. I had been necessitated to alight several times, and rest laying upon the ground in the course of the day.

658. 28th. I rode in great misery eleven miles and spoke to hundreds, an hour by sun in the morning. Thence to Franklin court house at twelve o'clock, and some were offended, but good I trust was done. In the evening I spoke twelve miles off; but was grieved with the family: could not eat with them, but next morning quitted them betimes, and went to Henry court house; spoke to about fifteen hundred people; and stayed with General Martin at night, where we had a good time.

659. 30th. I started this morning an hour before day, and rode thirty miles to Pittsylvania court house.—Here were several of

my spiritual children, amongst whom was Polly Callaway, whom I once had pointed at whilst preaching, the first time she had ever saw me, and God struck her under conviction; she ran away thirty miles to a camp meeting, where God set her soul at liberty; and almost the whole of her father's family have been brought to God; and her brother is become an itinerant preacher. One soul was set at liberty to-day, some mocked and caused interruption, but good was done during the three meetings.

660. It is eight years this morning since I parted with my parents, on the errand in which I am now engaged. I still feel "*woe is me if I preach not the gospel.*" Hitherto I have been preserved (through the providence of God,) by land and sea, through storms and afflictions, with the temptations of friends and foes; but the Lord hath kept me, *glory to his holy name!*

31st. I held meeting sun half hour high, and then rode eighteen miles to Wilson's meeting house; these were tender times—eight miles hence I spoke at night.

661. Sunday April 1st. I spoke at Rockingham court house, N. Carolina, to fifteen or sixteen hundred people, who appeared in general solemn and well behaved, considering the inconvenience of standing in the freezing air and falling snow, more than two hours. I rode twelve miles and spoke at night.

2nd. I spoke in Danville to about two thousand: this was the seat of Satan's kingdom, yet I believe I shall one day see good times in this quarter. Some children were brought forward, for me to pray for them, instead of offering them up in baptism, which I had never seen before.

3d. I rode thirty miles to Halifax, Virginia, where I spoke to about two thousand, and in general good attention. A family of A-double-L-part people without any knowledge or consent, appointed me a meeting, and (to excuse the matter,) said they would pilot me a road five miles shorter to my next day's meeting. To prevent disappointing the people I complied, but on my arrival before I entered the house, I inquired whether I might feel at home whilst I stayed? they replied, "yes." I then observed, that I had come forty miles, and would be glad of a cup of tea or coffee, as I could not take food without them. They took their dinner, and prepared not mine, until it was time to begin meeting; but as I would suffer nothing to clash with my appointments, and finding the people talkative, I got on a table by the porch out of doors, in the dark unseen; and with a stamp, as if I would have stove the table through, and clapping my hands at the same instant with all my might, I cried with exertion, "*Hush,*" which caused a solemn silence amongst the people, and then began meeting; having told the family if my food was ready, I would take it when I had done.

662. When I had finished, I found it not ready and cold; and being so weary I was unable to sit up, and retired to rest, observing, I must be off betimes in the morning, and they must accommodate my breakfast accordingly, which however was not ready until I had got on my horse, neither did they procure me a pilot; thus I went twenty-three miles to Charlotte court house, got some breakfast, and spoke.

663. The above family after I was gone, told lies about me, and one of their preachers appeared friendly to my face, but acted like them behind my back; saying, that I said, "Jesus Christ was a liar, &c." Next year when I came this way again, this family had made another appointment for me; but as it happened, before the son, who had come to meeting, delivered his invitation, I prayed to God to have mercy on those who had told lies about me, which caused shame to prevent him from doing his errand: so they had to look to the disappointment themselves.

664. April 5th. A Presbytery was sitting at Prince Edward, and many lawyers were here; (it being court time,) I spoke to about three thousand people, (standing upon the stocks or pillory,) on the subject of predestination and deism, showing the one to be the foundation of the other. The court adjourned whilst I spoke. I added, "a man present hath some books, which contain the essence of what I spoke, if any of you should desire to procure them." A minister (observing the attention of the great and small, and also the sale of the books,) replied, that the stocks were the fittest place for me; which showed the bitterness of his heart, and procured him no small disgrace amongst his friends.

665. Lynchburg was a deadly place for the worship of God, but my friends asked, what shall be done with the profits of your Chain? which they computed at five hundred dollars; I replied, "I give the profits to build a brick chapel in Lynchburg, for the Methodists, reserving only the privilege of preaching in it when not occupied by them, and whilst my conduct shall continue as unexceptionable as it now is."

666. 6th. I spoke at Tarwallet, (a church) in the day time, and at night at John Hobson's, junior, whom I called my Papa, and his wife my Mama. His mother, (who is near ninety years of age,) as I asked her if she prayed, thought what should I pray for unless it be to get home safe from meeting; but in the night, whilst she meditated upon the above thoughts of her mind, reflected, what have I been about all my life time? I am near one hundred years old, and never considered upon my future state: here conviction seized her mind: she went in the morning to her son's, and desired prayer: in about a week she was brought to rejoice in God.

667. 7th. Papa took me in a chair to Cartersville. The first time I visited this place, I sent to an innkeeper to preach in his house, who replied, (as was said) he would first meet me in hell; he shortly after died, and shocking to relate ———

668. No one offered a place, except one man a room, which would contain about a dozen; at length I got the liberty of a tobacco shed or ware house, where I spoke to about five hundred. One man rode into the company, and continued on his horse about two hours, until I had done; it rained so tremendously that the people who were mostly excited by curiosity, were compelled to stay until I finished. So I left the town without eating or drinking; but now there was a stage erected for me, and I spoke to about two thousand.

I observed to the people their former coolness, and told them, that I would neither eat nor drink with them this time; but intended to clear my skirts from their blood; several were brought under conviction, and since are brought to rejoice in God. I received several invitations, but would not break my word, which gave great offence.

The third time I visited this place, God gave me favor in the sight of the people: prejudice seemed to be removed, and we had a gracious time.

669. 8th. I spoke under some shades at Powhatan, about two thousand present; we had a good time, except one drunken man, and some few took offence.

9th. I addressed an auditory on some boards, at Chesterfield court house, and in Manchester at night.

670. 10th. I spoke in Richmond to about two thousand. Here I found several spiritual children, the fruit of my first visit. Here the posts of the gallery sunk two inches, crushing the brick on which they stood, and two inches more would have let down hundreds of people upon those beneath.

671. 11th. I returned to Cumberland to prepare my *Address to the people of Virginia* for the press.

I communicated my thoughts to Papa and Mama Hobson, who after seriously weighing circumstances, gave their advice and consent concerning my marriage.

Sunday 15th. I came to Petersburg, some were noisy, and some were tender in meeting.

672. 16th. A young gentleman carried me in a gig to Osborne church, he a few days after was flung from the gig and soon expired. Oh! how uncertain is life! Oh! the necessity of being always ready!!

I spoke under the federal oaks to about seventeen hundred,—we had a melting time. Trials I expect are at the door; the

cloud seems gathering fast, and to none but a Divine Providence can I look, as an interposing friend.

I am taught to use all men as friends, and yet to put myself in the power of none, but to make God my only friend, and put my whole confidence in him: for whom else can I rely upon? The fable saith, that the snake to oblige the porcupine suffered him to come into his den out of the cold, the latter growing warm, began to bristle up and stir about, and the quills to prick the snake; which caused him to request the other to begone, or else behave. He replied, "I'm well enough off, and if you do not like the place, you may seek rest elsewhere."

Brother Mallard writes thus. "I am out of hell, thank God, Christ was rebuked by Peter, his friends thought him beside himself; Joshua thought it wrong in those who prophesied in the camp. Aaron and Miriam rose up against Moses; and John with others forbid one who was casting out devils in the name of Christ; because he followed not with them; and ignorant brethren cause trials, (though well meaning) beside those from false brethren, hypocrites and backsliders." There are trials enough daily, without borrowing trouble from the morrow. All is well now, to morrow may take thought for itself.

673. I spoke at Prince George court house, and though there were but few religious people, it was a tender time notwithstanding it was muster day. I rode fourteen miles and spoke in the afternoon in Jones's whole church to hundreds. A Quaker girl (who was excited hither,) was brought under concern of mind, in the meeting; and had no rest until the Lord spoke peace to her soul. The next time I saw her, she was rejoicing in God.—Here I met *Jesse Lee*, and rode with him to his father's, whose house had been a preaching house most constantly for thirty years, and I suppose one of the oldest in America.

674. I communicated my intention to publish my journal, and apply the profits towards building a meeting house in the city of Washington, as a gentleman had offered to give me a spot of ground for that purpose. J——L—— said that he had no objection if I told the whole truth, and gave the meeting house to the Methodists; which was then my intention. But one of the Conferences making some objection at my building meeting houses for them, I afterwards altered my mind, and gave what I conceived to be the profits, to some Methodist trustees, still in the district of Columbia, which contains ten miles square, and includes the cities of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria.

18th. I had meeting at Sussex court house; then to Jones' meeting house, where I met five travelling preachers, on their way to general Conference.

675. 19th. Had meeting at Hall's meeting house, and Dirwiddie court house, and appointed a camp meeting to commence on the 8th of March following.

21st. I spoke at the camp meeting ground, and next day at Brunswick court house, and at night at Ellis' meeting house, to about one thousand. One professed to find peace. Ira Ellis is one of the old travelling preachers, and Drumgoole also, who live in this country. It inspires me with a sympathetic reflection, when I fall in company with those who were the first in the planting the infant Methodist church in America; when I reflect how some have backslidden, others retired in oblivion, a few still engaged, and the rest gone to glory.

I spoke at Hicke's ford in the court house, and at a widow's in the night; I stood upwards of three hours in these meetings, and it was a happy time to me.

676. 24th. I rode to Jones' church, and from thence to Jerusalem, a place noted for wickedness; I spoke in the court house, but none asked me either to eat or drink, which was the greatest inhospitality I had met with for some time. This town was beautifully situated on a river.

26th. I held meeting at Suffolk, and Jolly's chapel; some A-double-L-part people took offence, but good I trust was done.

27th. I spoke at Portsmouth to more than could get in the house. Without there was disturbance, within was peace. At brother Green's also, we had a good time, whilst some fell to the floor and raised the people in the street.

28th. I spoke in Norfolk, and Portsmouth; and some souls were set at liberty. I refused some money, and got some hand bills printed, and then had a sufficiency left to pay my ferriage; however some one slipped some money into my pocket which answered the end; so I still perceive that the calls of God's Spirit and the openings of his providence go hand in hand.

29th. The Church minister and Baptist gave over their meetings, which gave me a fine opportunity of addressing the people, both in the Methodist chapel, and in the church; in the latter of which one fell as in the agonies of death. I feel as if my work in this country was drawing towards a close, and my heart drawn towards England. Oh! how easy some people can rest, even ministers, and see so little fruit of their labour.

677. 30th. I rode to York-town, where Cornwallis was taken prisoner, and the cave to which he retired during the siege still remains, being cut on purpose for him in a rock. The effects of the siege and shot still remain; the town is since of little consequence. I spoke in the church to what I could, but I doubt if

there be one white, a Christian in the place. I crossed York river to Gloucester side and spoke again.

May 1st. I spoke at Mount Zion, had a good time, saw some of *brother Mead's* spiritual children seven years old. Hence to Bellamy's chapel; stood about six hours this day, but I and my horse but little to eat till night, having travelled about thirty miles.

2nd. Had meetings at Shacklesford chapel and the new church.

678. The *Church of England* was once the established religion, (by law,) in this state; the clergyman was allowed sixteen thousand pounds weight of tobacco yearly, as his salary from the parish. When the war commenced between England and America, the Legislature of this state thought it unreasonable to compel a man to pay, and so deprive him of his natural privilege of showing his voluntary liberality; and also to compel one to pay to the support of those in whose ministry he did not believe.

These clergy, supposing the Virginians would be conquered after the above act, and their arrears made up to them, continued their attendance for a while; but after the taking of Cornwallis, they deserted the churches, and left them vacant, which caused the legislature to permit other denominations to use them, &c. and many scores of the best buildings in this state are now going to ruin.

679. 3d. I spoke at Pace's meeting house, and also in the Baptist's chapel.

Benjamin Pace had borne an unblemished character as a preacher, and at length fell into a decline, which he bore with christian fortitude, calling for his shroud and grave clothes, dressed himself in them as some great hero on an important expedition; then bade his wife, son and daughter farewell, with orders to have the society notified; "I am done fighting, my soul is in glory,"—and with his hand fixed in a proper attitude, went off triumphant. This is a match for an infidel.

4th. I spoke four hours lacking thirteen minutes, under the shades between two trees at Cole's Chapel, to a crowded, serious, attentive auditory. In the midst of my discourse, I observed a man on the other side of the trees, whom I considered as a backslider; it ran repeatedly through my mind to ask him before the people, if the language of his heart, was not contained in these words.

"What peaceful hours I once enjoy'd!
How sweet their memory still,
But they have left an aching void
The world can never fill."

And at length I proposed the question, after telling the congregation the cause, and requested him if it was, to give me his hand; which he did, to the surprise of the people; he was a Baptist as I afterwards was told; and continued uneasy in his mind for some weeks, till some of his people plastered him up with the old doctrine, "*once in grace always in grace.*"

5th. I rode forty-two miles to Port Royal, and had a solemn time.

680. 6th. I spoke in Frederickburg four times, and collected upwards of forty pounds for the benefit of a free school: the little boys who heard me preach, next day went all over town, spelling "A-double-L-part—few—elect—some—small number, &c." which diverted some, and exasperated others.

7th. I spoke in Stafford and Dumfries court houses.

8th. I gave my last here; and spoke in a church on the way to Alexandria, where I spoke at night, and next morning

9th. I spoke in Georgetown.

681. 10th. I went to Montgomery, but finding my appointment not given out, I pushed on to Baltimore, making about sixty miles, and heard a sermon at night. Here brother Daniel Ostrander brought me heavy tidings, the death of my mother, the first that ever died out of my father's family. It gave me a tender sensation, but I could neither weep nor mourn; whilst these words were in my mind, "Oh! is my mother gone! is she gone, never to return!"

The last time I saw her, she requested that I should come and see them once a year, whilst she should live, which was my then intention; but God so wonderfully opened my way in the southern climes, that I could not find my way clear, although I had felt unusual exercise when I parted from her last, (which I remarked to my friends;) and also about the time of her disease; though it was near five months after she died before I heard of it.

11th. I received a letter from my father, giving me the particulars of my mother's dissolution and triumphant end; which was a little more than twelve months from the time I parted with her last. He also informed me of the death of my brother Fish, which took place a few weeks before her's. When I saw him last, he was backslidden from God; it appears he was reclaimed in his last illness, and made a happy exit.

682. Jesse Lee advised me to preach in the market, and published it from the pulpit, and also prepared an advertisement for the public paper, for me to preach there a second time; there was a large concourse of people at the last meeting, and near one hundred preachers present, it being now General Conference time; I had come here to see if they intended to hedge up my

way. Brother Ostrander informed me, that the New York Conference had conversed me over, and some were minded to block up my way, whilst others objected, saying, "he does us no harm, but we get the fruit of his labor," whilst the former urged my example was bad, for perhaps fifty *Dows* might spring out of the same nest: so they agreed to discourage giving out my appointments; and it appears that some came to this Conference with an intention to have a move to block up my way at one stroke, but on seeing the southern preachers and hearing of my conduct and success, their prejudice deserted them, and their opinions and views of things concerning me altered, (as several of them told me) and became friendly, though before cool and distant.

633. Stith Mead, who was on his way from Georgia to *General Conference*, when we met at the camp meeting, got detained on account of the revival which then broke out, and spread as fire on a mountain, in all directions. He wrote to Baltimore conference, and also to me, that he conceived his presence would not be necessary there on my account.

Nicholas Snethen I here heard preach in the life and power of the Holy Ghost; Oh! what an alteration in the man for the better! He once was a pleasant speaker to the ear, but little energy to the heart, until God knocked him down twice at a camp meeting, and gave him such a Baptism as he never felt before; however spiritual blessings may be abused through unfaithfulness to the Divine Spirit, and what need there is of our practising the apostle's caution, "*if any man think he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall.*"

The preachers as a body seemed unprejudiced, yet a few individuals are excepted, amongst whom R—— and W—— of ancient date, which I desired might be done away, and requested an interview for that purpose, but though one of them invited me to breakfast, yet they both went out before the time appointed, without acquainting the family, which caused me to feel awkward and abashed when I came.

634. I had felt a desire to visit Boston for some time, but never saw my way opening until now. George Pickering, who was presiding Elder in Boston district, invited me to his jurisdiction, which I esteemed as a Providence, expressed my gratitude, quitted Baltimore and returned to Richmond, where I put some manuscripts to press and visited some neighboring places.

635. I saw a man executed for the horrid crime of murder; having spoken to him through the grate the preceding day; some trifled when this awful catastrophe was exhibited.

Papa Hobson met me here, but my appointments would not admit of my returning with him in the gig; and I had sold my

horse to pay for printing, and how to get on I did not know, being unwell a day or two after; however, a gentleman who had been excited by curiosity to come near twenty miles to hear me at Cartersville, was there brought under concern; and with his servant was now on his return from Petersburg, where he had been to purchase a coach to accommodate his family to meetings. He hearing of this appointment, delayed on his journey twenty-four hours, and then in his coach carried me home to Cumberland.

686. 26th. I have a bad cough, which some think denotes my approaching dissolution: I feel unwell, out of employ these few days past, though I have had but very few rest days for seventeen months; but have generally preached from two to five times a day, riding from thirty to fifty miles.

Sunday 27th. I spoke at Charity Chapel preparatory for camp meeting. We had a shout; two found peace; and some ungenerous persons struck the negroes, who were rejoicing in God, to the shedding of blood.

687. Friday, June 1st. Camp meeting commenced near Poplar-spring church, in Gloucester county. *Brother Mead* (who had ordered me to appoint it) did not come according to expectation.—No preachers were on the ground, and hundreds of people were assembled; this, indeed, was a trial of my faith among the strange people; however, in the *Name of the Lord*, I went up the stage and began the meeting: and besought God for a token for good; and soon a poor woman, who had come thirty miles on foot, under distress, was delivered, and clapping her hands shouted for joy: upon this three or four preachers appeared. These things began to revive my heart, but a shower of rain expelled us from the woods into the church, where six or eight souls found peace. The next day was a good time also.

Sunday 3d. Some thousands assembled, and whilst I was speaking from a stage, a storm seemed coming up, which put the people in motion, but I requested the people to be still and raise their hearts to God, if perhaps He would send off the clouds; and soon the threatening grew favorable and the clouds went round.

Monday 4th. Our meeting broke up; about thirty found peace; a number of backsliders were reclaimed; scores were awakened, and good was done in the *Name of the Lord*.

5th. I replied to an A-double-L-part discourse, delivered against me in my absence by Bob S. who had heard me preach, which I think was unmanly.

688. Thursday 7th. I met *Brother Mead* at *Papa Hobson's* who informed me that the work in Bedford county has greatly spread: six hundred found peace; and five hundred and twenty, he had taken into society, and the flame was still going on.

689. Friday 8th. Camp meeting came on at Charity-chapel, Powhatan county. The Lord was precious; but the wicked strove to trouble us.

Sunday 10th. About five or six thousand were on the ground: The work went on, and the opposition increased. Twenty-five combined together to give me a flogging. They ransacked the camp to find me whilst I was taking some repose. This was the first discovery of their project; as I went out of the tent, one was seen to cock a pistol towards me, whilst a voice was heard, "there he is! there he is!" My friends forced me into the tent: next day I had one of the young men arrested, and two others fled before they could be taken. The young man acknowledged his error and promised never to do the like again: so we let him go.

The law was read from the stage, and after that we had peace. Satan was angry, and brought to hush with only growling what should be done by way-laying me on the road:—I defied them to do their worst. The work went on, and continued all night, and next morning, when we were parting, we had good reason to believe that one hundred souls were brought to liberty: some were minded that I should go off in a covered coach, which I refused, but with *Brother Dunnington* went off in a gig, believing that they had no power to hurt me. What enraged them so, was my showing their improper behaviour in their striking the blacks, &c.

13th. Last night I spoke at friend Baker's, in whose family God has begun a gracious work.

I purchased a grave suit for the dead, and sent it to Betsey M——; and took my departure to Petersburg.

The stage coach not going, I was detained twenty-four hours behind my intention.

690. Friday 15th. I arrived on the camp ground, about an hour by sun in the evening; three found peace; some attempted interruption; but the magistrates were on our side. I continued on the ground, until Monday 18th, in which time about sixty professed to have found peace, and about one hundred awakened. Brother Cox wrote me that about thirty found peace after that I left the ground. Some blamed me for appointing this meeting: however the devil's kingdom suffered loss in the ISLE OF WIGHT, and I will rejoice.

I gave one hundred dollars worth of books towards building a chapel; and spent a few days in Norfolk and Portsmouth; and several souls were set at liberty while I staid.

691. Sunday 24th. I embarked for New York;—We had some contrary winds, horrible squalls, and calms; however, in eight days, I spoke with some friends in New York, having

quitted the vessel, and by way of Elizabethtown came to the city.

N. Snethen is stationed here, and seems not so lively (by the account of his friends) as he was some time ago. He is lately married.—Cyrus Stebbens objected to my preaching where he was stationed, though the trustees were mostly friendly. He withdrew from the connexion soon after, which showed what spirit he was of.

692. I put my trunk on board a vessel for Middletown, and a friend took me in a chair, near forty miles, whence I continued on foot until I came near Connecticut line, when about sixty yards off, whilst raising my heart to God, to open me a way for provision, as I had but a few cents in my pocket, I met Aaron Hunt, a preacher, who told me where to call and get some refreshment; I did so, and held two meetings in the neighborhood; then came to Danbury, and pawning my watch, took stage for Hartford.

693. July 10th. Walking twenty miles I came to my father's house, which appeared empty. Things seemed pleasant round about; but my mother is no more—I cannot mourn, my loss is her gain. I trust to meet her in the skies, where sorrow and parting are no more.—The rest of my friends are well in body, but low in religion.

694. I went to Middletown for my trunk, and found the contemplation for a meeting house like to fall through, although six hundred dollars were subscribed. I offered them eight hundred dollars worth of books to aid therein, provided they would give me assistance in putting my journal to press. Here brother Burrows met me, and went to Hebron, where we saw brother Wood. We agreed on a camp meeting, to commence the last day of May following; which when known, was ridiculed as enthusiasm, to think that I could get people to go into the woods, and encamp night and day in this populous part, where elegant meeting houses were so numerous. I was now called to another difficulty: a young horse being dead, and some money miscarried which I had sent for his keeping and a coat; my appointment had gone on to Boston, and how to do I saw not my way clear; but here that same Providence, whose kindness I had experienced on many interesting occasions, was manifest. A letter from a motherly woman, who had never seen me but once, came to hand, in which was enclosed a bank note.—This enabled me to pay what I owed and take stage from Springfield to Waltham. A paper maker agreed, if I would pay one hundred down and give him bonds for the remainder, he would accommodate me; but how to accomplish this I did not know, until I fell asleep at brother Pickering's father-in-law's in Waltham, when I dreamed how and where I could get the money, which I observed to P——, who replied,

"A dream is a dream." I said, "true; but I intend to see the result."—I wrote to my Middletown friends and succeeded accordingly. I spoke several times in Boston, and once on the common, where two caused interruption; but shortly after God called them to *eternity*!

Some dated their awakenings and conversions from this visit.—Thence I took stage and returned to Springfield, where I arrived about twelve at night, and lay under a hay-stack until day; when I called on the paper man, and a friend met me from Middletown, so we completed our bargain; when I went with the friend to Hartford, and completed our agreement with the printers and book-binder.

I now had a tour of about six thousand miles laid off before me, to be accomplished against my return in May, and not a cent of money in my pocket; however, in the name of God, I set off on foot from my father's house, though no one knew my situation; doubting not, but that the Providential hand, which I had experienced heretofore, would go with me still. I walked to Hartford river, telling the ferry-man my case; he carried me over, saying, "pay when you can," (it being one cent.) I sold some books, and continued my walk to Litchfield, falling in with a wagon of Quakers, who suffered me to ride some on the way.

635. Thence I took stage to Danbury and redeemed my watch; held a few meetings, and came to New York. A friend who had employed me to get him some printing done, not making remittance, I had liked to have been involved in difficulty; but Providence delivered me from this difficulty also. Brother Thacher had consented for my holding a Camp meeting in his district; but reconsidering the matter, recoiled with prohibition. Yet to prevent my disappointment from being too great, suffered four appointments to be made for me by a local preacher, not choosing to give them out himself, considering the agreement at last conference. These appointments were given out wrong end foremost, considering the line of my journey, which caused me much more travelling; however, with a heavy heart, I fulfilled the appointments, in each of which I could but remark with tears, that some persons had accused me with being of a party spirit, to strive to get a separation, which thing was false, and I did not expect to trouble them any more in that part, until there was an alteration and God should further open my way.

As I was going to take the stage, a man brought up an horse, saddle and bridle for me, with orders to pay when convenient. I considered this act as christian kindness; but Satan strove to raise a dust as I did not make remittance very speedily, having no safe opportunity for some months.

I passed through my old circuit, the Dutchess, and saw some who retained prejudice, but I continued my journey, putting up at the inns, being unwilling to screw any thing through the devil's teeth,

When I arrived in Albany, the preaching house doors which had been shut in *Stebben's* time, were now open. As the stationed preacher was out of town, and one or two others, who were expected, not coming, the people were like to be disappointed, which to prevent, gave rise to the opening, which I embraced as providential, and held a number of meetings. Here I have always found some kind friends, particularly brother Taylor.

I took my departure to Weston, where I saw *Smith Miller*, his wife Hannah, and PEGGY; after an absence of nearly two years.

696. August 31st. Camp meeting began, and the people were entirely strangers to the quality and magnitude of this kind of meeting. Several Methodist preachers came as spectators, intending, if the meeting did well, to take hold, heart and hand with me, but if ill, to leave it as they found it; and let the blame devolve on me. A stage being erected, I addressed the people thereon, from Luke xxi. 19. An awful solemnity came over the people: several mourners came forward to be prayed for; and some shortly found comfort, and the Lord began to move in the camp; however, the preachers were minded we should disband to private habitations; but I replied, "if I can get twenty to tarry on the ground I would not go off until the meeting broke."—Soon the Lord began to move among the people, and many were detained on the ground, and souls were born to God. Next day the congregation and work increased, and so in the course of the night likewise.

Sunday, Sept. 2d. It rained (I was sick) and the people were punished, by getting wet in the shower, through not coming better prepared for encampment, &c., which I was glad of, as it taught them a useful lesson against my return: it cleared up and the sun broke out, *when* I addressed them. Being informed of some ill designs among the youth, to bring a stigma on the meeting, I observed three companies in the woods: I got on a log in the triangle, and began relating a story concerning a bird's nest, which my father had remarked represented his family, that would be scattered like these young birds who knew not the getting of things, but only the fruition of provision, and not parental affection until they become to have children of their own; which remarks had made great impression on my mind. The rehearsal to them had the desired effect, and gathered their wandering minds into a train of serious thinking, and prepared their hearts for the reception of good advice: several of them desired I should pray with them; soon nine were sprawling on the ground, and some

were apparently lifeless. The Doctors supposed they had fainted, and desired water and fans to be used: I replied, "Hush!" then they to shew the fallacy of my ideas, attempted to determine it with their skill, but to their surprise their pulse was regular; some said, "it is fictitious, they make it:" I answered "the weather is warm and we are in a perspiration, whilst they are as cold as corpses, which cannot be done by human art."

Here some supposing they were dying, whilst others suggested, "it is the work of the devil:" I observed, "if it be the devil's work, they will use the dialect of hell, when they come to:" some watched my words, in great solemnity, and the first and second were soon brought through, happy, and all in the course of the night, except a young woman, who had come under good impression, much against her father's will, thirty miles. She continued shrieking for mercy for eight hours, sometimes on the borders of despair, until near sun-rise, when I exhorted her if she had a view of her Saviour, to receive Him as appearing for her: her hope revived; faith sprang up; joy arose; her countenance was an index of her heart to all the beholders; she uttered a word, and soon she testified the reality of her mental sensation, and the peace she had found.

About thirty found peace; and I appointed another Camp meeting, to commence in May.

697. When I was in Ireland, I saw the first pair that I thought were happy in marriage, or showed a beauty in their connexion as the result of matrimony. I heard also of a young man, who made a proposal of marriage: the young woman possessing piety and consideration, agreed to make it a matter of fasting and prayer, to know the Divine will on the subject; she also told a considerate friend, who gave her advice on the subject. At the time appointed they met, to return their answers upon the subject. The man said he thought it was the will of God they should proceed, and the two women's opinion was the reverse.—It was then submitted for my opinion, why I thought the young man's mind differed from theirs: I replied, that many persons desire a thing, and wish that it might be the will of God it should be so, and from thence reason themselves into a belief that it is His will, when in fact it is nothing but their own will, substituted for God's, and so stand in their own light and deceive themselves.

It appears to me, concerning every person who is marriageable, and whose duty it is to marry, that there is some particular person whom they ought to have; but I believe it to be possible for them to miss of that object and obtain one who is not proper for them.

Some people have an idea, that all matches are appointed, which I think repugnant to common sense, for a man will leave his

wife, and a woman her husband; they two will go to another part and marry and live as lawful man and wife.—Now can a rational creature suppose that God appointed this match, whose *revealed* will sayeth, “*Thou shalt not commit adultery.*”

Again. I have seen some men and women in courtship, put the best foot foremost, and the best side out; and from this their ways would appear pleasing, and fancy would be conceived and taken for *love*; but when they got acquainted with each others weaknesses, after the knot was tied, the ways which once appeared agreeable are now odious: thus the *dear* becomes *cheap*, and the honey is gall and vinegar; but, alas, it is too late to repent.—Their dispositions being so different, it is as much impossible for them to live agreeable and happy in love together, as for the cat and dog to agree. Thus a foundation is laid for unhappiness for life.—*Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God*, is the language of the scripture; therefore, as Christ saith, without me ye can do nothing: and as Paul saith, through Christ who strengthened me, I can do all things. We are to look to God for help in whatever we undertake, as all things are sanctified through faith and prayer; therefore whatsoever we dare not pray to God for his blessing upon, we have no right to pursue: it is forbidden fruit: but as there is a Providence of God attending every person in every situation in life, and no such thing as mere chance, it is my opinion, if people were but resigned to the dispensation of Divine Providence, instead of being their own choosers, their will resigned to his disposal, &c., that they would find His Providence to guide and direct them to the object proper for them, as the calls of His Spirit and the openings of His Providence go hand in hand.

I was resolved when I began to travel, that no created object should be the means of rivalling my God, and of course not to alter the situation of my life, unless a way seemed to open in the way of Providence, whereby I might judge that my extensive usefulness should be extended rather than contracted.

S—M—, of Western, came to a big meeting in the woods, and heard that *Crazy Dow* was there, and after some time sought and found me. He accompanied me to my appointments, consisting of about one hundred miles to travel. He kept what some call a *Methodist tavern*, i. e. a house for the preachers, &c. One of my appointments being near his house, he invited me to tarry all night; observing his daughter would be glad to see me. I asked if he had any children! he replied a young woman I brought up I call my daughter. I staid all night, but, so it happened that not a word passed between her and me, though there were but three in the family. I went to my appointment where we had a precious time; but whilst preaching, I felt uncommon

exercise (known only to myself and my God) to run through my mind, which caused me to pause for some time. In going to my evening appointment, I had to return by the house, he being still in company with me. I asked him if he would object if I should talk to his daughter concerning matrimony? he replied, "I have nothing to say, only I have requested her, if she had any regard for me, not to marry so as to leave my house."

When I got to the door, I abruptly asked his wife, who had been there, and what they had been about in my absence: she told me, which made way for her to observe, that *Peggy* was resolved never to marry unless it were to a preacher, and one who would continue travelling.—This resolution being similar to my own, as she then stepped into the room, caused me to ask if it were so? she answered in the affirmative; on the back of which I replied, "do you think you could accept of such an object as me?" she made no answer, but retired from the room; this was the first time of my speaking to her. I took dinner; asked her *one question more*——and went to my neighboring meetings, which occupied some days; but having a cloak making, of oiled cloth, it drew me back to it: I staid all night, and in the morning, when going away, I observed to her and her sister, who brought her up as a mother, that I was going to the warm countries, where I had never spent a warm season, and it was probable I should die, as the warm climate destroys most of those who go from a cold country; but (said I) if I am preserved about a year and a half from now, I am in hopes of seeing this northern country again, and if during this time you live and remain single, and find no one that you like better than you do me, and would be willing to give me up twelve months out of thirteen, or three years out of four to travel, and that in foreign lands, and never say, do not go to your appointment, &c. For if you should stand in my way, I should pray to God to remove you, which I believe he would answer, and if I find no one that I like better than I do you, perhaps something further may be said on the subject; and finding her character to stand fair, I took my departure. In my travels I went to the Natchez country, where I found religion low, and had hard times, but thought this country one day would be the garden of America, and if this family would remove there, it would prove an everlasting blessing (as it respects religion) to the inhabitants, considering their infant state.* It lay on my mind for some weeks, when I wrote to them on the subject, though I had no outward reason to suppose they would go, considering the vast distance of near two thousand miles. But now I found she was

* Provided they should be faithful to God—but many good things fall through for the want of humble and faithful perseverance under God.

still single, and they all willing to comply with my request, which removed many scruples from my mind, knowing that it was a circumstance that turned up in the order of Providence, instead of by my own seeking; so our bargain was drawn to a close, but still I thought not to have the ceremony performed until I should return from Europe; but upon reflection, considering the circumstance would require a correspondence, my letters might be intercepted, and the subject known; prejudice arise, jealousy ensue, and much needless conversation and evil be the result; wherefore to prevent the same, a preacher coming in we were married that night, though only we five were present, this being the third of September, 1804.

698. 4th. Smith Miller set off with me for the Natchez early in the morning, as my appointments had been given out for some months. I spoke at Westmoreland and Augusta that day.

5th. We rode fifty miles, I spoke once on the road, and saw a spiritual daughter, who was awakened when I travelled the Pittsfield Circuit.

6th. We rode fifty miles, and stayed with a family of Methodists; near the east branch of the Susquehanna river, the man was kind, but the woman was as she was.

7th. Rode thirty-four miles, spoke at night at Sugar-creek.

8th. Thirty-five miles to Lycoming.

9th. Twenty-five miles to Amariah Sutton's, and found *Gideon Draper* preaching, who was awakened when I was on Cambridge circuit. Oh! how these things refreshed my soul, to see the fruit of my labor, hundreds of miles off, years after. I spoke when he was done. He accompanied us ten miles where I spoke again.

10th. Thirty-three miles to P——p Antisse's.

11th. Forty miles, stayed with a Dutchman who was reasonable in his charges.

12th. Thirty-four miles across part of the Alleghany mountain to Welsh-town.

13th. We crossed the Latural hills, and though we lost some miles by false direction, yet we came near to Dennistown, and stayed with a friend.

14th. We went to Greensborough, where I spoke in the evening, and then rode thirty-two miles to Pittsburg, where we arrived about the dawn of day; I found my appointments were not given out accurately.

Sunday 16th. I spoke in Pittsburg, and Washington.

17th. Brownsville and Union-town, where I heard that the Bishops *Asbury* and *Whatcoat* were sick twenty-five miles off.

18th. Spoke twice in Washington.

19th. Spoke in Steubenville in the State of Ohio.—I have now been in each of the seventeen States of the Union.

20th. Spoke in Charlestown, and some were offended.

21st. Spoke to hundreds, beginning before sun-rise; and then to Wheeling. Spoke at ten o'clock to a large concourse and so went on our journey.

23d. Spoke to a few in Zanesville on the Muskingum river; I could not but observe great marks of antiquity, ridges of earth thrown up so as to form inclosures of various forms, on which three or four might easily ride abreast; some of these I think would contain near one hundred acres more.

24th. Came to New Lancaster where I spoke.

25th. Came to Chillicothe, held four meetings, some of the A-double-L-part people were offended, stayed with the Governor two days; in him are connected the christian and the gentleman. I think this State is laid off in townships, six miles square, and then into sections of one mile square, containing six hundred and forty acres; and half sections: the title of this is obtained from government, at nine shillings English per acre, for ever, in four annual payments, or if the money be paid down the interest will be deducted. No slavery can be introduced here. There are lands laid off for schools in great magnitude: and I consider the form of the constitution superior to that of any other in the Union.

Near the Ohio river people are sometime troubled with fevers, but uplands near the heads of the streams, the country is far more healthy.

699. Monday October 1st. I found Mr. Hodge, a Presbyterian minister had failed in giving out my appointments; however I fell in with the Western conference, which was now sitting in Kentucky, and God was with them and the people. I saw the jerks in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and this State on this journey. Several of the presiding elders called me into a private room; and after some interview we parted in friendship. Next day I spoke under the trees, nearly the whole Conference being present; I thought I could discern every countenance present and tell the Methodist from the A-double-L-part people, and never before observed that present impression would cause the countenance to be such an index to the mind, of pleasure and pain, especially in an auditory. From thence I went to Lexington, held a few meetings, and saw one whom I had known in Dublin, but he was not as happy now as once. I here experienced some kindness, and also spoke at Paris by the way: an A-double-L-part man being convinced that A-double-L meant *all*, caused great uneasiness among the Presbyterians. First, several preachers formed themselves into an association, by the name of the *Springfield Association*,

and then made a *will* and voluntarily died, and instead of being a distinct party, sunk into union with all Christians.

700. Sunday 7th. I spoke in Herodsborg and Springfield. As I was getting up, I found my clothes had been moved during the night, which caused me to arouse the family; my jacket was found in the piazza, and all my money gone except one cent.

Thence I went to Tennessee, but found my appointments were not given out. I spoke in Clarksville and Nashville, and many other places over the country, until I came to a brother Canon's who had been the means of opening my way (under God) before.

701. Friday 19th. Camp meeting commenced at Liberty: here I saw the *jerks*; and some danced: a strange exercise indeed; however it is involuntary, yet requires the consent of the will, i. e. the people are taken *jerking* irresistably, and if they strive to resist it, it worries them much, yet is attended with no bodily pain, and those who are exercised to dance, (which in the pious seems an antidote to the jerks) if they resist, it brings deadness and barrenness over the mind; but when they yield to it they feel happy, although it is a great cross; there is a heavenly smile and solemnity on the countenance, which carries a great conviction to the minds of beholders; their eyes when dancing seem to be fixed upwards as if upon an invisible object, and they lost to all below.

Sunday 21st. I heard Doctor Tooley, a man of liberal education, who had been a noted Deist, preach on the subject of the *jerks* and the *dancing exercise*. He brought ten passages of scripture to prove that dancing was once a religious exercise, but corrupted at Aaron's calf, and from thence young people got it for amusement. I believe the congregation and preachers were generally satisfied with his remarks.

The Natchez mission had almost discouraged the western Conference, having made several trials with little success; however *Lawner Blackman* and *Brother Barnes*, finding that I was going thither, offered as volunteers and fell in with me for the journey.

702. Tuesday 23d. We started from Franklin, (where I received some kindness,) and riding thirty-two miles, encamped in the woods; it rained and apparently we could get no fire, but some moving families from N. Carolina, got affrighted by some *Indians* and were returning, being fearful to venture on their way. They showed us the remains of their fire where they had encamped the preceding night; and with difficulty I prevailed on them to stay with us, until I let them know my name, which they had heard of before, they intended travelling on all night to the settlements, being fearful of being massacred by the Indians.

24th. Travelled about thirty-five miles, and saw one company of Indians on the way.

25th. The Post and a traveller passed by us early, but we overtook them, and continued together to Tennessee river; the wind was high, and none did cross except the Post, and he with danger.

26th. We crossed, paying a dollar each, where was a small garrison, and some few half-bred Indians.

27th. We gained the suburbs of Bigtown of the *Chickasaw*; I am now beside the fire, the company laying down to rest, and our horses feeding in a cane brake and provisions nearly out.

Sunday 28th. Two of our horses were missing, but were returned early in the morning by a negro and Indian, who, I suppose, had stolen them to get a reward. One of our company was for flogging the negro, which I opposed, lest it should raise an uproar, and endanger other travellers by the Indians, who are of a revengeful temper. This day was a hungry time to us: We thought of the disciples who plucked the ears of corn on the Sabbath.

At length we came to another village where some whites lived, and one Mr. Gunn (who was touched under the word, when I was here before) received us kindly. We tarried two days in this settlement, held some meetings, and received gratis, necessaries for our journey, took our departure. Having a gun with us, we killed some turkeys, which were numerous in flocks: from what we saw, there were bears, and plenty of wolves and deer in these woods. The canopy of heaven was our covering by night, except the blankets we were rolled in: we kept fires to prevent the wild beasts from approaching too near. The Post we saw no more; the man who was with him continued with us, and being seized with derangement for some hours in the woods, retarded our progress.

703. November 4th. Crossed the ground, where I had the providential escape from the Indian, and arrived at the settlement of Natchez. We were glad to see white people, and get out of the woods once more: stayed at the first house all night.

5th. Called on Moses Floyd, a preacher, on Bigblack; here brother Barnes tarried to begin his rout: Blackman went with us to Col. *Barnet's*, on Biopeer; next day we went to *Randal Gibson's*, on Clarke's creek, got some washing done, and the *Miller* staid; and *Blackman* went with me to squire Tooley's, father of the Doctor; where brother Harriman, a missionary, was at the point of death; however he recovered: our presence seemed to revive him.

8th. I visited Washington and Natchez, and some of the adjacent parts: Here I must observe the truth of the maxim, "give the devil rope enough and he will hang himself." A printer extracted a piece from the Lexington paper, as a burlesque on me,

which, however, did me no harm, though it circulated in most papers in the Union: he had just got his types set up before I made application for the insertion of a notice, that I should hold meeting in town on Sunday; this following the other, made impression on the people's minds; and excited the curious to attend meeting.—When I was here before, I found it almost impossible to get the people out to meeting any way, and had my scruple whether there were three Christians in town, either black or white: but now I spoke three succeeding sabbaths, and some on week days.

704. 12th. This day I am twelve years old: *Brother Blackman* preached a funeral sermon. I spoke a few words, and God began a gracious work.—Here by *Washington*, we appointed a camp meeting: there is ground laid off for a college; and Congress, beside a handsome donation, hath given twenty thousand acres of ground, &c. This country is now dividing into townships and sections, and sold by government, as in the state of Ohio; and though only a territory now, yet will be incorporated into a state, when the inhabitants shall amount to sixty thousand. They now had a small Legislature; the governor is appointed by the President. One representative goes to Congress.

705. Sunday 25th. I spoke for the last time at Natchez. I visited Seltzertown, Greenville, and Gibson-port.—This last place was a wilderness not two years ago, but now contains near thirty houses, with a court house and jail. We held quarterly meeting on Clarke's creek; some supposed I would get no campers, but at this Q. M. I wanted to know if there were any backsliders in the auditory, and if there were, and they would come forward, I would pray with them: an old backslider, who had been happy in the old settlements, with tears came forward and fell upon his knees, and several followed his example: a panic seized the congregation, and an awful awe ensued: we had a cry and shout; it was a weeping tender time. The devil was angry, and some without persecuted, saying, "Is God deaf, that they cannot worship him without such a noise?" though they perhaps would make a greater noise when drinking a toast. This prepared the way for the camp meeting, and about thirty from this neighborhood went thirty miles or upwards, and encamped on the ground: the camp meeting continued four days: the devil was angry at this also, and though his emissaries contrived various projects to raise a dust, their efforts proved ineffectual; in general there was good decorum, and about fifty were awakened, and five professed justifying faith; so that it now may be said, the country which was a refuge for scape-gallows, a few years since, in Spanish times, is in a hopeful way, and the wilderness begins to bud and blossom as the rose, and the barren land becomes a fruit-

ful field. I crossed the Mississippi into Louisiana, and visited several settlements, holding religious meetings: I believe there is a peculiar providence of such a vast territory falling to the United States, as liberty of conscience may now prevail as the country populates, which before was prohibited by the Inquisition. We got some things fixed to our minds; procured three Spanish horses, which had been foaled wild in the woods, and had been caught out of the gang, by climbing a tree and dropping a noose over the head, it being made fast to a bough, &c. We got letters from home, with information that they were well, and the work going on.

706. December 16th. Our horses being tamed, and taught to eat corn, by forcing it into their mouths, and we prepared with a tent and provisions, bid the settlement on the Mississippi adieu, and betook to the woods for Tombigby, having two others in company. We had not gone far before the saddle turned on the pack mare; she took fright, which affrighted the one S. M. rode and they both set to rearing and jumping, which endangered his life; however he held them both until he dismounted, and they got settled. If they had got away there was little prospect of catching them again. Twenty-three miles to the Indian line, on the main branch of Homachitti, we encamped for the night, it being cloudy and rainy: we spread our tent, kept a good fire, hobbled the fore-legs of our horses together, leaving a long rope dragging from their necks: here was plenty of grass, and a cane brake.

20th. Thirty-five miles; encamped a little off the road, lest the Indians should steal our horses.

21st. We arrived this afternoon at Pearl, or half-way river: the ford last year was good a number of yards wide, but now not more than five or six feet, which we knew not; a man who knew the ford (being much among the Choctaws) attempted to cross first and succeeded, though his horse made a small mis-step; the next man's horse erred a little on the other side, but still knew not the danger; I proceeded next, leading the pack mare, but there not being sufficient ground for both horses, the water running like a mill tail, carried me down the stream two feet, whilst my mare could swim but one towards the shore; she struck the bank which gave way, however, she being an excellent swimmer and springy, made a second effort and got out. I lost my hobbles, and our tea, sugar and coffee, &c. got injured; and I being much chilled by the wet, we went on till we came to a convenient tarrying place, and encamped for the night to dry our things, &c. N. B. The river was muddy: I could not swim: and had not the mare struck the bank where she did, I must have lost my life, as the trees and brush filled the shore below.

22d. I met some people from Georgia; at night I was taken with a strong fever, but drank some water and coffee, and got a good night's rest.

Sunday 23d. Feel somewhat better; it snowed some, and the sun hath shone scarcely ten minutes during these five days.

24th. We rode about forty miles through Six-town of the Choctaws, and whilst we were passing it, I observed where they scaffold the dead; and also the spot where the flesh was, when the bone-picker had done his office. The friends of the deceased weep twice a-day for a term, and if they cannot cry enough themselves, they hire some to help them: it was weeping time, and their cries made our horses caper well. I was informed of an ancient custom which at present is out of date among them; when one was sick a council was held by the Doctors, if their judgment was that he would die, they being supposed infallible, humanity induced the neck-breaker to do his office. An European being sick, and finding out his verdict, to save his neck, crept into the woods, and recovered, which showed to the Indians the fallibility of the doctors, and the evil of the practice; therefore, to show that the custom must be totally abolished, they took the poor neck-breaker and broke his neck.

25th. We came to Densmore's, agent for Indian affairs; our provisions were gone, and with difficulty we procured relief: some people, who were dancing in a neighboring house, came in to hear me talk: I held a meeting with them, and then lay down to rest.

26th. After breakfast we came near the trading road, from the Chickasaws to *Mobile*, where we encamped near a spring and cane-brake: the leaves of the cane are food for cattle, &c.

27th. We started betimes and came to the first house on the Tombigby settlement, within four miles of fort St. Stephen, where there is but one family, but it will be a place of fame in time. We had met the man of the house where we stayed, who told us to call; his wife made a heavy charge; we paid her, and S. M. said, "tell your husband never any more to invite travellers to be welcome for his wife to extort." The river was high and swamp not fordable, which necessitated us to go down the river about seventy miles to the Cut-off; which is a channel from the Tombigby to the Alabama river, about seven miles from their junction, where they form the Mobile: the island contains about sixty thousand acres, which are commonly overflowed by the spring flood, as Egypt is by the Nile. I held meeting during the six days of my tarrying in the settlement; and took my departure for Georgia, but was necessitated to keep on the dividing ridge, between the streams, to prevent being intercepted by creeks. There were ferries at the above river. In the settlement there was not a pre-

cher of any society; my appointments were given out in Georgia, with the days and hours fixed. In consequence of the high waters we had to lose much travelling.

707. Jan. 4th, 1805. We fell in with a camp of whites, where we were informed of some whites having been murdered by Indians, and one Indian killed by a *white*, and another wounded: the wounded Indian was determined to kill some white in revenge. The whites had hired a chief to pilot them around to avoid the danger; but my time being limited obliged me to take the highest cut, which was through the village where the wounded Indian lived. Here we parted from all the company, and set off by ourselves, having four hundred miles to go.

8th. We fell in with an *Indian trader*, who was out of provisions: we gave him some, and tarried at his habitation that night; he made us some returns the next day; then we pursued our journey: this being in the Creek nation, we had some difficulty in finding our way, there being so many *Indian by-paths*; however, we came to Hawkins' old place that night.

10th. Our charges were eleven shillings, though I think not worth the half. We left the place about an hour by sun, having the prospect of a pleasant day before us; but we had not gone many miles before it gathered up and began to rain and sleet, which made it tremendous cold; so we stopped to let our horses feed, and pitching our tent, kindled up a fire to warm us; but the weather appearing more favorable, we proceeded on through a bad swamp, meeting two travellers by the way: at length we perceived it began to grow dark, which convinced us that it was later than we thought: we halted, hobbled out our horses immediately, (finding some grass present on the hill) and proceeded to kindle up a fire, but every thing being so wet, and covered with sleet, and our limbs benumbed with cold, it was next to an impossibility to accomplish it. Things appeared gloomy; the shades of a dark night fast prevailing, death appeared before: in consequence of my being robbed I had no winter coat, but only my thin summer one at this time; however, at length, we succeeded in getting prepared for the night: our tents spread, which kept off the falling weather, and a good fire at the door soon dried the ground: we prepared our kettle of coffee, and partook with gratitude, and found we here could sing the praise of God, not without a sense of the Divine favor, considering our situation a little before; we lay down to rest as under the wing of the Almighty in this desert, inhabited only by wild beasts, whilst the wolves were howling on every side. Next day we passed the settlement where we considered the danger was, and continued our course till we came to Hawkins', on Flint river; having seen an Indian point his gun at us by the way. We stayed with Hawkins a night:

he was kind and hospitable, and hath had some success, though with difficulty, in introducing civilization and cultivation amongst the Indians; first they despised labor, saying, we are warriors; and threatened him with death if he did not depart, (they being prejudiced, supposing him to be their enemy, as if to make slaves of them like the blacks) and cast all the contempt on him imaginable; but being afraid of *Long-knife*, (i. e. Congress) refrained from violence: however they would not accept of tools or implements of agriculture, but would go directly opposite to his advice; e. g. He said scatter and raise stock; but they would live more compact: two years elapsed with less rain than usual, causing the crops to fail; some died with hunger; a chief asked, "have you power with the *Great Man above*, to keep off the rain?" H—— replied, no, but the *Great man* sees your folly and is angry with you. H—— wanted pork and corn; the Indians accustomed to sell by lump would not sell him by weight or measure, apprehending witchcraft or cheaterly: a girl bringing to him a hog to sell, asked one dollar and three quarters, which they call seven chalks, he weighing the pig gave her fourteen, she supposed the additional seven were to buy her as a wife for the night, it being their custom to marry for a limited time, as a night, a moon, &c.— Another girl bringing a larger hog, demanded fourteen chalks, which came to twenty-eight, which the other girl observing, supposed herself cut out, began to murmur, and flung down the money; but an old chief seeing the propriety of the weight, explained the matter; this gave rise to its introduction and reception among them. An old squaw receiving by measurement more than her demand for corn, laughed at the *Indians* who had refused to sell in this manner: thus measures were introduced.

I met some travellers, who showed me a paper containing the advertisement of my appointments published by brother *Mead*, beginning six days sooner than I appointed.

703. Thursday 17th. We reached the settlement of Georgia, near *Fort Wilkinson*, and falling in with Esquire *Cook*, whom I knew, we went home with him, and had a meeting: he lent me a horse, and I went on to camp meeting, and got there the very day I had fixed some time before.

We had a good time; Brigadier General John Stewart and his brother, the Captain, in Virginia, had agreed to join society, which the latter had done, and as brother *Mead* had taken him and their wives into class, the General, to the surprise of the people, came forward in public, and requested to be taken under care also.— My ny had heard of my marriage, but did not credit it, until they had it from my own mouth, the particulars of which, to prevent fruitless and needless conversation, I related in public; for many

said, "I wonder what he wants with a consort?" I replied as above, to enable me to be more useful on an extensive scale.

Hence I spoke at the Rock meeting house, Comb's meeting house and Washington.

January 25th. I spoke at Scott's meeting house, and Jones' at night; here Smith Miller fell in with me again. In my sleep I viewed myself as at Papa Hobson's with my companion, and shortly separated at a great distance, and found myself with an horse upon an high hill from whence I could espy the place where she was, although there intervened a wilderness with great rivers flooded into the swamps; I felt duty to require my presence there, and descended the hill the right way for that purpose, after I had set my compass; however, I soon got into the dale, on a winding circuitous road, where I could not see before me; discouragements seemed almost insurmountable, yet *conviction* said I must go; *Faith* said it might be accomplished by patient diligence, resolution, and fortitude; as well as some other things I had succeeded in, &c.

I had a similar dream upon this, from which I inferred that some severe trials are at hand, but by the grace of God through faith I may surmount them.

709. Sunday 27th. I spoke three times in Augusta, and had some refreshing seasons. I found the first cost of my Journals would amount to between two and three thousand dollars; the profits of it I designed to aid in erecting a meeting house in Washington, the Federal City. A person had promised me the loan of one thousand dollars, to assist, (if necessary) but found it inconvenient to perform: also about two hundred guineas worth of books were miss-sent and not accounted for about this time: so that my prospects of pecuniary means were gloomy.

710. 28th. Bidding farewell to Georgia, I spoke at Jetter's meeting house and twice at Edgefield court house.

29th. I spoke at the cross roads and Buffington's.

30th. At Edney's meeting house in the morning; at noon at Newbury court house, where were Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Universalists, and Nothingarians.

31st. I spoke at Mount Bethel, in the Methodist academy to hundreds of people, and addressed the scholars in particular, who amounted to about sixty; and at night in Clarke's meeting house.

Feb. 1st. I crossed the Enoree, and spoke at Fish-damford meeting house; then riding across Broad river through danger, I spoke at Ester's at night.

2d. Spoke at Chester court house to many hundreds in the open air, and at Smith's at night.

Sunday 3d, was excessively cold, however, I rode twenty miles to Esq. Fulton's, and had a gracious time, though twice inter-

rupted by a deist. This winter is the coldest of the four which I have spent in the south, and the oldest people say it is the severest they ever knew.

711. 4th. Went twenty-five miles to Devenport's meeting house; and finding a fire, round which the auditory were warming themselves, I availed myself of the circumstance for the sake of agreeable convenience, and gave them a preaching, which surprised them as a singularity. At night I stayed at a private house where I held meeting, having just got through S. to the edge of N. Carolina; here the family either as a *put* or for convenience, were guilty of improprieties, considering I was a stranger, but God will judge between them and me.

5th. I spoke at Charlotte court house, but some A-double-L-part people strove to kick up a dust. S. M——r met me here again, and we were entertained at an inn gratis.

6th. Twenty-six miles in the rain to Sandy-ride, where we had a comfortable time, but S. M. felt a bad effect from the rain: thence we rode to Salisbury, and I spoke in the air, as it was court time; but in the evening in the court house, from Solomon's *irony*; a man, who had been careless about religion, was so operated upon, that God opened his heart to give me cloth for a winter coat, which I greatly needed.

8th. I spoke twice in Lexington, but a drunken man interrupted us, and when he became sober, he made acknowledgement.

9th. Early this morning I parted with S. M. (my father-in-law so considered) who started for Mr. Hobson's, and I rode twenty miles to Salem, and spoke to about three thousand people in the open air; in general good attention: whilst I was speaking about our sorrows ending in future joy, it appeared like going to heaven with many, whose countenances were indexes of their sensations. I being a stranger on entering the town, it appeared providential in my choice where to stand whilst speaking, being contiguous to an economy-house of the Moravian sisters, as, were it otherwise, they would not have heard me.

Sunday 10th. I spoke in Bethany to about three thousand; at night at Doub's, who has the most convenient room, with a pulpit and seats, of any I have seen in the south.

11th. Stokes' court house, three thousand, a solemn time; left my mare, and procuring a horse, proceeded to Mr. M——'s; felt awfully, delivered my message as in the presence of the dread Majesty of Heaven, which greatly shocked the family, considering some circumstances in the same.

12th. Three thousand in the woods by Meacomb's, and good, I think, was done in the name of the Lord: at night, at Mr. Wades', Henry county, Virginia; he gave me some cloth for over-alls.

13th. At Dr. French's, whose wife is my spiritual daughter, and sister of Mrs. Jennings.

14th. Spoke at the court house at night, at Henry Clarke's, but was interrupted by some drunkards. I have spoken to so many large congregations in the open air of late, and not one day of rest since I got out of the wilderness into Georgia, that I feel considerably emaciated, and almost broken down: these appointments were made without my consent, and contrary to my orders, so that some of my intentions were frustrated.

15th. I feel unwell this morning; my horse is missing; things appear gloomy, but my hope is in God, who hath been my helper hitherto in trials past: some more cloth given to me: as I am still unprepared for winter, neither have I had it in my power to get equipped with proper clothing for the inclemency of the weather, since I was robbed in Kentucky, but have the same clothes now which papa Hobson gave me last spring.—Spoke at General Martin's, in the door; what is before me I cannot tell; my heart feels drawn and bound to Europe, where, I believe, the Lord will give me to see good days, in that weary, disturbed, distressed land: Lord! increase my faith, to put my confidence in Thee, and feel more resigned to Thy will and disposal, that when I come to die, I may be able to lay my hand upon my heart and say, "I have spent my time as I would try if I were to do again."

Many think that ministers have no trials. I am confident this is a mistake; there is no life more trying, yet none on earth more happy; as Nancy Douglas said, "it is not the thing itself that is the trial, but the impression it hath upon the mind;" for some have great disappointments and yet but little trials, whilst others with less misfortunes break their hearts with grief: therefore what a fine thing is faith in the order of God, and submission to His disposal, *who* can and will overrule all our unavoidable trials for our spiritual and eternal good; but, alas! where shall the wicked and careless find strength and repose from danger in the time of trouble? Lord! how dismal is the thought to have no God to rest upon, seeing cursed is he that trusteth in the arm of flesh.

16th. My horse was brought to me; rode twenty miles, to Watson's meeting house, where I spoke to a listening multitude: the bench on which I stood, suddenly let me down out of sight of the people; recovering dexterously, I observed it was a loud call to sinners to be in readiness, lest they should sink lower than the grave. My pilot being of an airy turn, I said, as something is to be given for something, and as you have come to favor me, I will pay thee, and pointing to him, directed my discourse from Solomon's *irony*, and concluded from Rev. xvi. 15.

Sunday 17th. Spoke in Danville in the open air, and then at Allen Wadde's.

713. 18th. Was awakened by a singular dream, (about one o'clock) that I had disappointed the people through my neglect, and as my sleep departed, I roused the family, got some refreshment, and took my departure: overtaking some people on the road, who were going to the meeting, was informed of the distance being nine miles beyond my expectation, which otherwise I should have disappointed the people, the rode also being intricate.—I spoke to hundreds, and also the next day at Halifax court house, where some A-double-L-part people got angry, and attempted to kick up a dust. Hence to Charlotte and Prince Edward, where I spoke, and arrived at papa Hobson's in Cumberland county, late in the evening on the 22d.

714. 23d. Some people say that I have grown lazy since my marriage, as once I had no rest time in this country, but now could rest a day.

Sunday 24th. I met about three thousand at the Boldspring meeting house. I addressed them from the *death in the pot*, and Paul's going to revisit his brethren. The night following my mind was much depressed, (unaccountable for on natural principles) so that my sleep departed, and I was convinced that some storm was gathering, though I could not tell from what quarter it would originate, and the trials come. Next day I exchanged a Spanish breeding mare for a travelling one; then we proceeded two hundred miles to the city of Washington, where a gentleman offered me gratis a spot of ground in a central place for a meeting house.

My mare being taken lame from an old infirmity, I took the stage to Fredericksburg, being unwilling to disappoint the people. S. M——r departed for the north.

715. Being denied passage in the stage, I left my cloak and walked thirty-four miles to prevent future disappointments. On this journey I experienced a great contrast; on the one side friendship and favor, and on the other, contempt and ridicule, without any particular provocation but the foresight of Satan, who, in the invisible world could discover the movements of Providence, and view the danger of his kingdom; which reminds me of the scripture which saith, the devil is come down in great wrath, knowing that his time will be short.

716. Wednesday, March 6th. Saw one whom the Lord gave me as a spiritual daughter, in Richmond; and after visiting some others in Manchester, proceeded to Petersburg, where I received a letter from J. Lee, that my appointment was countermanded, and I must not attend it, he assigning as the reasons, 1st, he did not like my appointing meetings of such magnitude; 2d, the

seasons of the year being too early, and 3dly, it was too soon after conference: but I could not in conscience falsify my engagement, seeing I was within a few miles of the ground.—This meeting was appointed some time before the alteration of the time of the conference.

717. Friday, March 8th. *Lawson Dunnington* fell in with me, and carried me in his chair to Stoney creek meeting house, where the camp meeting was appointed, and I found two preaching stands erected, a number of wooden cabins, tents, covered wagons, carriages, &c. The meeting lasted four days, in which time the Lord gave us extraordinary fine weather; and although the preachers did not arrive from conference, several local ones joined with me heart and hand in the work; about five thousand people attended, and about thirty souls were hopefully converted to God; sinners were alarmed, backsliders reclaimed, Christians quickened, and good was done in the name of the Lord: and notwithstanding that the weather at this season is generally inclement, and was so now until we arrived on the ground, when the sun beamed forth the warmth of his influential rays; and so the weather continued until about three hours after the meeting broke, which caused some to say, I will tell *J. Lee* that God is able to send fine weather in the fore part of March, as in April: These before had been prejudiced against me.—The wicked observed the weather suitable to our convenience so extraordinary, that they said, it was in answer to prayer. The trustees requested me to occupy the meeting house, but I refused, lest I should give offence, considering the countermand, but desired the local preachers to occupy it within, and I would officiate without, so the cause might not be wounded: hence the Lord raised me up friends to aid me on through my appointments to papa Hobson's in Cumberland.

718. Friday 15th. I went in their carriage and spoke on a funeral occasion.

16th. We went to another vicinity, where, standing on the carriage box, I addressed a large congregation from Solomon's *irony*, in which I showed the contrast of a gentleman and a fool *deist*, with an address to the magistrates and candidates: here I parted with my friends, and rode to squire Evan's, who hath three daughters and a son, whom the Lord gave me at a camp meeting, after I had begged them of their father, greatly to the mortification of the daughters, who with inward reluctance, attended to prevent their father's displeasure. I perceiving uncommon tranquility and felicity in this family, desired the father to tell me how it was that his children were so respectful, he replied, "when they are little stubs of things, I take the switch and let them know that they must submit, so I have but little difficulty with them when growing up."

Sunday 17th. I spoke to about two thousand near Hendricks's, new store, and then proceeded around the country, near one hundred miles: spoke at Amelia court house, and Chinkapin church, where the congregation was a third larger than I had ever seen there before. It being court time, the auditory at Petersville church was not so large as it otherwise would have been, however, what few there were, were solemn and tender; amongst whom were some of the twenty-five men who had, in vain, combined to flog me at camp meeting. I spoke at Columbia and Fluviana; also at New Canton, where I found some given me in the Lord.—Bidding farewell to my friends hereabout, I started for the west, on Tuesday.

26th. In company with brother *Mead*, but having returned my borrowed horse, I was on foot when a young gentleman, who, having finished his studies at Philadelphia, was on his way home, dismounted and constrained me to ride; thus we three spelled each other alternately. When I came to *Lynchburg*, I found the brick meeting house was in a fair way, and engaged 30*l.* worth of books more for its aid: had a good time, and went to New London.

719. Friday 29th. Camp meeting began at Ebenezer; the inclemency of the weather retarded many; however, we continued the meeting, and God sent off, in some degree, the clouds which threatened us: being invited to a local preacher's tent, I at first hesitated, till they agreed to give me their daughter, to give to my Master, which greatly mortified the young woman, and prepared the way for conversion: I found two young men and another young woman in the tent, with whom I conversed about their souls: the young woman was turbulent; I told her *Old Sam* would pay her a visit, which reminded her of my description of a character some months before, pointing to her and saying, "you young woman, with the green bow on your bonnet, I mean." Here conviction ran to her heart; her shrieks became piercing, and the three others also, which gathered the Christians around to wrestle with God in prayer, and he set their souls at liberty: prejudice had been conceived in the minds of some, which, was removed by my relating in public the particulars of my marriage. I bought me a new horse for 45*l.* and continued my journey.

720. Sunday April 7th. I feel unwell, having travelled in the rain near an hundred miles expeditiously, to get on to this chain of appointments, which began this day in *Abington*: Here I spoke to hundreds at 11 o'clock in the sun: at three at Crawford's Meeting house, thence five miles: spoke by candle-light.

8th. Arose at two, proceeded to Royal-oak, and spoke at 8: the day before, a man was buried moving from Powhatan to Kentucky: I could but pity his disconsolate widow, who requested

me to speak something over her husband: Oh! how uncertain is life!! I proceeded to Wyth, and spoke in the Court house: my horse was taken lame, so that I was constrained to leave him and borrow another, and proceeded to my evening appointment, which was to begin at nine: being appointed about thirteen months. This day I had travelled seventy miles, and spoke three times.—I was disappointed of near one hundred dollars which were to have been sent to me.

721. 9th. Spoke at Montgomery court house, to a large auditory; and in Salem at night; having travelled fifty-five miles, and good I think was done.

10th. Left my borrowed horse with a friend to be returned, and my lame one to be disposed of: but my directions being not followed, was a great detriment to me: however I got another horse on credit for 36*l*. this morning, and proceeded to Fin castle, where I employed a smith to shoe my horse during meeting, but having no money to pay him, I was under the disagreeable necessity of making my circumstances known to the congregation, who gave me three-fifths of a dollar, this being the first time that I ever had hinted for the public aid, since travelling.—I sold a book which enabled me to clear out with the smith, and then went to Springfield, where I spoke at night.

722. A man privately asked my advice, saying, his daughter, shouted and fell down, which caused him to beat her, with prohibition from religious meetings. I asked him if he did not believe his daughter sincere, and feel conviction for his conduct. He answered in the affirmative; I replied, parents have no right to exercise authority in matters of conscience; only to give advice, as every one must account for themselves to God.

11th. Lexington the people mistook the time by an hour which made me *haste* to my evening meeting in Stantown, where I arrived about sun-set, opposite a house which I had felt my heart drawn particularly to pray for when here before. A woman now rushed out of the door and grasping me in her arms, gave me a welcome to the house: she was a spiritual daughter of mine, and lately married to the man of the house, whose former wife with him found peace, and she shortly after died happy, though I knew not who lived in the house at the time I had preached in the street: fearing lest my horse might have been heated too much, to prevent injury I gave him salted grog. The church being open, I sat on a table in the door, and spoke, I suppose, to some thousands.

12th. My horse I think, is as well as usual; so I proceeded on my journey, preaching in Rocktown and two other places on the way.

723. Sunday 14th. I spoke at Newtown at an hour by sun in the morning to about three thousand; thence to Winchester, where I spoke at about eleven to about six thousand in the wood; rode twenty-two miles, and spoke at night; continued my way to Carlisle, where I spoke twice, fulfilling appointments on the road: hence a Methodist preacher accompanied me to Tioga point, one hundred and fifty miles in three days: this young man was laboring under some depression of mind when we met, but the circumstance of the meeting and journey seemed to help him both in mind and body. Thus in fifteen days I closed the journey of seven hundred and fifty miles, speaking twenty-six times on the way, which appointments were given out about thirteen months before hand.

724. 22d. Arrived back in *Western*, after an absence of near eight months. PEGGY was not at home: our marriage was not known in general in this neighborhood, until within a few days past: it caused a great uproar among the people.

23d. Peggy felt it impressed on her mind that I was here, and so came home early in the morning; having enjoyed her health better, and her mind also, than for some time previous to my absence. In the afternoon *S. Miller* and his wife came home well, and were preparing for their journey to the *Mississippi Territory*.

Thursday May 2. I saw brother *Willis*, who married us, and *Joseph Jewell*, presiding elder of Genesee district, who came a great distance to attend the Camp meeting, and brought a number of lively young preachers with him; they having never attended one before.

Friday 3d. The people attended in considerable crowds, amongst whom was *Timothy Dewey*, my old friend, whom I had seen but once for more than four years past: the wicked attempted intrusion, but their efforts were ineffectual, and turned upon their own heads, being checked by a magistrate.

Monday 6th. We had a tender parting time: in the course of the meeting good was done in the name of the Lord. I moved a collection for one of Jewell's young preachers, *Perley Parker*, formerly a play-mate of mine. Here I left my *Peggy* on the camp ground within three miles of home, and proceeded on my tour, speaking twice on my way.

725. Tuesday 7th. We rode fifty-nine miles, parting with *Jewell* and *Parker* by the way.

8th. Came to Albany: here the preaching house was shut against me, being the only one which has been refused to me for a considerable length of time, *Canfield* assigning as the reason, the vote of the Conference, (which however, was only a conversation concerning the giving out of my appointments, &c. lest I should be a pattern for others, and "fifty Dows might spring out of the

same nest.") I spoke in the court house, and God gave me one spiritual child.

9th. With difficulty I crossed the river, and coming to New Lebanon, saw one of my old acquaintances with whom I held a meeting.

10th. Fire being out I did not stay for breakfast, but rode fifty-four miles to New Hartford: my mind is under deep trials, concerning my singular state and many disappointments, but my hope is in God, who gives me peace from day to day.

726. 11th. Came to Hartford; found the printing of my journals finished, and about half the books bound. I now had a trial from another source: the two preachers with whom I had entrusted the preparation of the camp meeting at hand, had in my absence incurred the displeasure of the Methodists: the one for embracing and propagating some peculiar sentiments, so he was suspended, and the other had withdrawn; therefore said brother *O'Strander*, the presiding elder, "if Lorenzo Dow admits them to officiate at his Camp meeting, he will have no more liberty with us." My trials were keen, for these men were in good standing when we made the agreement: and I had no doubt but what *O'Strander* would fall into the measure, considering the circumstance of my not being able to consult him for want of time on the occasion, so I went to two meetings, to explain the matter to him.

727. Sunday 12th. He spoke with more life than I think I ever heard him; afterwards I spoke and God cut a young woman to the heart; her father came and dragged her out of meeting, her soul was set at liberty whilst she was in his arms, so I made remarks on the folly of his conduct. *O'Strander* upon reflection, viewed my conduct in a different light than before, and consented if I would give up the camp meeting to his superintendence, that he would bring on his preachers to attend with me. This I had always expected and advertised the meeting accordingly.

728. 13th. Pawned my watch for an old trunk, and taking stage came to N. Haven, thence embarked to N. York, where I spent a few days: found prejudice in some minds, and in some it was removed; received a letter with information that more books (which I expected) would fail coming; thus I find one disappointment after another.

729. Saturday 18th. I sailed to Long Island, to attend a camp meeting with brother *Thatcher*, and preached in the packet to about fifty friends; I also spoke at night at the camp, and then called up the mourners to be prayed for; several found peace, backsliders were reclaimed, and christians quickened and comforted. Bishop Asbury came up before I had got through, and the meeting continued all night.

Sunday 19th. Whilst one was speaking on the subject of *the dead, small and great, standing before God*, an awful black cloud appeared in the west, with flashes of forked lightning, and peals of rumbling thunder ensued; a *trumpet* sounded from a sloop, whilst hundreds of a solemn auditory were fleeing for shelter. This scene was the most awful representation of the day of *Judgment* of any thing I ever beheld.

730. Next day the meeting broke up; my hat could not be found, so I embarked on board one the fifteen craft which brought passengers, and sailed, forty miles, in three hours and a half, and after landing at the Black-rock, one of the passengers pulled me into a store and constrained me to take a hat. Thence I walked to Stratford, and so through New Haven to Durham, thence to Hartford, where I settled with the ferryman for a former passage, and a gentleman paid my present one, as it had taken the last of my money to redeem my watch. Thus I went to Coventry and found my father and friends well.

Sunday 26th. Spoke twice at Square-pond meeting house and once in Tolland, and the quickening power of God seemed to be present; but I soon must quit this my native land, and repair to parts to me unknown.

731. The camp ground was in the township of Bolton; on Andover parish line; to which led a lead-off road, ending on this spot of ground unoccupied. This appeared providential, as we could repair to the spot of woods on the hill, without trespassing on any man's ground in this solitary place.

The neighborhood was thick settled, and bigoted federal Presbyterians much prejudiced against the Methodists. The people were unwilling that we should get water from their brooks or well, but held the meeting in ridicule and contempt, thinking, who should I get to encamp on the ground. However, a report having prevailed that the Indians in their times, had a spring on this hill to which they resorted, caused a man to go in search of it, and after some difficulty he struck upon a fountain beneath a rock, which afforded us a sufficient supply.

31st. Many people came from distant places to the ground: Satan hoisted his standard near by, as a grogman brought his liquors for sale, but was constrained by threats (when reason would not do) to give it over, the law being against him.

I opened the meeting and had an agreeable time: the work of God began in the evening.

Sat. June 1st. The Congregation and work increase.

Sunday 2d. Some thousands appeared on the ground; several found peace, and prejudice seemed to wear off from the minds of the people.

Monday 3d. Meeting broke up, I had given my farewell to the people; it was an affecting time of parting with my christian friends, many of whom I shall see no more until *Eternity*. I observed to O'Strander, that I had caused him some uneasiness, but should trouble him no more whilst he presided in the district.

732. 4th. About 7, A. M. I left my dear father, I know not but for the last time, and with my sister Mirza, rode to the burying ground, where my dear mother was interred, for the first time of my seeing the grave. I could not mourn, but was comforted with the prospect of meeting again. Departed to Windham, and preached under the trees, and tarried in Coventry, Rhode Island, that night, riding fifty miles without food, through want of money, to Providence, and pawned a book by the way to get through a toll-gate. I held several meetings in Providence, then rode to Norton where Zadock Priest, died at old father Newcomb's, whose wife had then no religion, but since professes to be converted, and is in society.

733. On their ground, brother George Pickering, with eleven of his preachers and me, by agreement, held a camp meeting, the preparation for which was now going forward.

This being about a mile from the place where I *first* attempted to preach, I related a dream to brother P. who replied, that he thought some trials were near me, but by the blessing of God I might escape; which in fact proved to be the case, for Satan's emissaries set up the grog-tents, which cost them dearly; for first, after that they would not hearken to reason, I showed the impropriety of corrupting the meeting, and warned the people against them, and also laid a foundation whereby they might be prosecuted, in consequence of which they were alarmed, sunk into contempt, and did not sell a sufficiency to indemnify them for their expences. This so exasperated them, that they fell on different plans to be revenged, either by provoking me to say something that would expose me to the law, or else to get an opportunity to give me a flogging; however, God defeated their designs and turned their treacherous intentions, to the disgrace of their characters, so that they appeared as cyphers in the eyes of a generous public.

The Lord was wonderfully present with his Spirit, to acknowledge the meeting; for whilst P. was preaching, numbers fell, as if the powers of *unbelief* gave way, the cry became so general that he was constrained to give over, but the work continued. The full result of this meeting will not be known until *eternity*. I was to have met some friends, at the N. York district Conference, now sitting at *Ashgrove*, where I once had a glorious revival

when on the circuit, but my wife and they were disappointed, as brother P. had made arrangements for me for about two weeks.

Monday 10th. The meeting broke up, and the Boston friends, who were the first arrived at the ground, took me in their stage coach, and carried me home with them. Here I spoke several times, and we had comfortable times from the presence of God.

734. I gave near forty pounds worth of books, toward the deficiency of the meeting house, and remitted money to clear out with my printer in Hartford. I visited *Lynn*, where we had a precious time, though religion had been cold there for some time. I also visited Marblehead, where I saw a preacher from Ireland, who escaped with some others in an open boat at sea, from on board the ship *Jupiter*, as she struck against a cake of ice, and went down, with twenty-seven persons on board, among whom was a preacher with his wife and seven children. What an inestimable support must be the Divine presence at such a time as this!

735. 14th. The following appeared in the Salem Gazette (where the ——— had been martyred by religious bigotry.)

BY DESIRE.

"LORENZO Dow, an eccentric genius, whose pious and moral character cannot be censured with propriety, is to preach at the Court house, precisely at nine o'clock this morning."

I spoke to a few of various ranks, who fain would have made a laugh, but there seemed to be a restraining hand over them. This day I had five meetings and near thirty miles travel; at the last of them, the rabble attempted to make a disturbance, set on by some *called* gentlemen; and at night broke the windows of the preaching house, which denotes that Satan views the danger of his kingdom; and caused P. to remark, that the devil thought he had as good a right to the common, as God Almighty. This reminded me of last year, concerning two who attempted interruption and shortly after had to appear at the bar of God.

Hence to *Waltham*, to brother P.'s quarterly meeting. His wife is a well educated woman, of a sweet, amiable disposition, and far from the proud scornful way of some. Here were four generations under one roof; i. e. her grand parents, own parents, self, and children.

I preached on Saturday and Sunday, and called up those who would wish me to remember them, and strive to remember themselves in prayer, to give their hands; and the power of God seemed to come over all. I visited *Needham* and *Milford*, which

places I had been invited to before, but Providence overruled my coming here, though I had previously put them off.

736. 21st. Set off with P——, thirty miles to Salem in New Hampshire, and spoke from "halting between two opinions," in which I observed, if a *lamb* should be let from its dam by a goat, to feed on moss, it would die.—N. B. A man was present whom the A-double-L-part people had been fishing for.

737. 22d. We came to *Hawke*, where I met *Bachelor*, *Webb*, and *Medcalf*. I spoke from "Oh! thou man of God, there is death in the pot." At night I had conversation with some, and felt my work drawing to a close in this quarter.

Sunday 23d. Spoke again to a large assembly, bade my friends farewell, and rode thirty miles to Pembroke, where I arrived about half past nine at night, and being weary, I could not stay up to supper, but retired to rest, having taken no food all day, except some sacramental bread remaining after the ceremony, which a young man observing, said, "I had got more than my share," which set some in a laughter.

24th. Rode about sixty miles to Romney, and staid with a man, who a day or two before had joined society, and was about to charge me for my poor fare, when his wife hushed it.

25th. Fifty-four miles to *Peachem Gore*, in Vermont, and staid with a friend, where I had been before, meeting *Phineas Peck*, a preacher on the road.

738. 26th. About nine o'clock I arrived at my youngest sister's, *Tabitha French*, she being married and settled here in the midst of the town of *Hardwicke*, on river *Demile*; this being the first time I had seen her husband. *Joseph Bridgman*, my brother-in-law, and my sister *Ethelinda*, his wife, resided about a mile hence. For this day I had a meeting, appointed some months before, which I now held, and spoke five days successively. I had sent on a chain of appointments through *Upper Canada*, from *Montreal to the Falls of Niagara*; thence to *Philadelphia*: but when in *Hyde-parke*, I felt whilst preaching, a secret conviction or impulse, that my appointments were not given out, and that I must return to *Western*; thrice it ran through my mind: I rejected it twice, but perceiving a cloud or depression beginning to come over my mind, I yielded, and taking the left hand road, went to *Stow* that night, where I found some of my spiritual children, whom God had given me some years before; spoke next day in this township on my way: in *Waterbury* twice, and rode to *Richmond* that night: next day I breakfasted in *Starksborough*, with a blacksmith, who once intended to flog me, but he now put a shoe on my horse, having since got religion.—About twelve, I arrived at *Middlebury*, fed my horses, and spoke in the street; then came

on to *Orwell*, and staid the night with my uncle and aunt *Rust*, having rode forty-six miles.

739. July 3d. I rode sixty miles, by *South Bay*, *Fort Ann*, *Glenn's Falls*, and staid at an inn; but judging from circumstances that it was necessary to watch my horses, I slept none that night.

4th, I started between three and four in the morning, and came sixty-five miles to the Little Falls on the *Mohawk* river.

740. 5th. Rode forty-six miles to *Western*, arriving about three, *p. m.* found my *Peggy* and friends well.

Sunday 7th. Spoke twice and had good times: rested the 8th: rode to Camden the 9th: spoke to an attentive congregation and returned: rested on the 10th; but soon shall be bound with expedition to N. Carolina.

11th. I visited *Floyd*, by brother *Keith's* request: he was *Peggy's* spiritual father. Here many gave me their hands, if they should see me no more on earth, that they would strive to meet me in a happy eternity: I visited several other neighborhoods, as a wind-up for this quarter.

741. Sunday 14th. Gave my farewell to a vast congregation, under the shades at *Western*, when *Hannah Miller*, standing upon a log, bade her neighbors farewell: she being one of the first settlers in the country: and Oh! what a weeping and embracing there was between the neighborhood (of all ranks and descriptions,) and *her* and *Peggy*. After this we went to *Westmoreland*, taking leave of all things by the way. Here *Timothy Dewey* met us, who informed me that he had seen the *Canada* preachers, and my appointments were not given out: so that if I had gone, I must have *lost* one thousand miles travel; and my time being so *limited*: I held two meetings, and realized the propriety of the poem:

"We should suspect some danger nigh,

"Where we possess delight."

742. When I arrived at *Albany*, brother *Vanderlip*, the stationed preacher, gave me the liberty of preaching in the Meeting house: from hence I shipped *Peggy* down the river for New York, myself proceeding thither by land, and settled some temporal concerns by the way.

743. Saturday 27th. We met again, and heard a Baptist preach in the park just after sun-rise next morning. He had a tincture of A-double-L-partism, yet his discourse in general was good, and blessed to the people: I spoke here in the afternoon, and also in several other parts of the city. *Ezekiel Cooper*, one of the book stewards, and superintendant of the book affairs, in-

vited me to preach in the preaching house at *Brooklyn*, which he also superintended : here I spoke sundry times : said he, I am of the same mind now concerning your mode of travelling as I was when you saw me in Philadelphia ; but nevertheless, I wish never to hinder good from being done, or prevent your usefulness. He is a man of general reading and strong powers of mind.

744. I have been much troubled with the asthma, of late, which I suppose originated from drying up an eruption on my body by outward application, which was recommended from the idea that it might be the itch brought with me from Ireland : this reminded me of what Dr. *Johnson* said concerning my inward complaint.

745. Peggy being unable to keep up with me, I was necessitated to leave her with brother *Quackenbush*, and disposing of her horse, I proceeded to *Elizabethtown*, New Jersey : saw *T. Morrel*, whose father was dying ; he excused some former things to me : I rode fifty miles to Trenton, where *Washington* took the *Hessians*, which turned the gloomy aspect in favor of America.

746. My appointment was not given out as expected ; however the preaching house was open, and I held sundry meetings in and about this place. Then proceeding to Philadelphia, where I called and found Brother *Colbert*, who being superintendant, paved my way to the getting access to all the Methodist meeting houses in and about this place, one excepted, which was in the power of a contentious party : the other houses amounted to about half a dozen.

747. August 14th. Elder *Ware* informs me that my appointments were given out through the Peninsula, which I had been informed was prevented : so after preaching at *Ebenezer*, I silently withdrew, and taking my horse, travelled all night, until ten next morning, when I spoke at *Bethel*, and then jumping out at a window from the pulpit, rode seventeen miles to *Union* : thence to *Duck creek* cross roads, making near eighty miles travel and five meetings without sleep. These few weeks past, since the eruption was dried up, and the asthma more powerful and frequent than usual, I feel myself much debilitated.

748. 16th. Spoke at *Georgetown* cross roads, and at *Chester-town* at night, and next morning ; after which I crossed Chester river gratis, and preached in Centreville : here some unknown gentleman discharged my bill of fare. I spoke at Wye meeting house in the afternoon to a few.

I enquired the cause, why more general notice was not given, and was answered, that *John M'C.* replied, "I give out no appointments for him ; I have nothing to do with *Lorenzo Dow*."

749. Sunday 18th. I spoke in the open air at Easton, to about two thousand : the Lord was with us. *James Polemus* (*M'Clasky's* colleague) gave out my appointments, as the most of the preachers

in this country also did.—In the afternoon I spoke at the *Trap* to a large auditory, having (on account of M'Clasky's mind) concluded not to occupy the preaching house, until the trustees solicited me, to prevent wounding the cause of God.

750. I find that *Roger Searle* has withdrawn from the Methodist connexion.

19th. Spoke at Cambridge, in the Methodist meeting house, and at Foster's chapel in the afternoon; then accompanying a carriage with two sisters, we, in crossing a bridge, espied some careless people and a town. I expressed a desire to preach; and on perceiving a collection of people and inquiring the cause, found that it was a Methodist meeting; one of the sisters knowing a man, got me introduced to preach.

751. 20th. I had meeting at *St. Johnstown*, under great weakness of body, which caused me to sit down whilst speaking, as I had puked, and was obliged to stop several times by the way: from this I was carried in a chair to *Deep-creek* meeting house, passing near where *G. R.* was raised, who took me into society, but now thinks I am crazy: surely if one from such a low sphere of life, through conversion and diligence, can attain to such an extension of useful knowledge, what will be the account most must give at the last day?—I also spoke at *Concord*, *Laurel-hill*, and *Salsbury*, being aided thither by carriages.

752. 22d. *Princes Ann* court house, and *Curtis'* meeting house: near this my spiritual father *Hope Hull* was raised.

753. 23d. I spoke under the shades at *Newtown*, to about two thousand or more; I gave them a mixed dose: we had a good time from the Lord, whilst they gave me their hands to remember me to God when at the other side of the *Atlantic*. I spoke at *Downing* chapel also. On this peninsula were now *C. Spray*, *Fredus Eldridge*, and *Z. Kankey*, the last of whom I met. I have now seen most of the old preachers on the Continent, the greater part of them are retired into private spheres of life: also the chief of those who opposed me have located, and are almost in oblivion, or withdrawn, or expelled the connexion, or in a cold, low, uncomfortable state of formality.—Lord! what am I! Oh! ever keep my conscience holy and tender! Trials await me, and unless God supports me I cannot succeed; Oh! God! undertake for me. I have seen Thy salvation in time past, and shall I distrust Thy goodness or providence at this critical time? No; my hope is still in Thee; I will hope and trust to Thy providence until I must give up.

754. I feel my work on this continent drawing to a close, and heart and soul bound to *Europe*.

24th. Spoke at Guilford. Feeling my strength more and more to decline, without help I must depart, but hope I shall recover on my intended voyage.

Sunday 25th. Spoke to near three thousand at *Drummingtown*: good decorum, except in a few. At Onancock we had a shout. The sandy dust has been distressing for hundreds of miles: there has been no rain for near twelve weeks over this country: so vegetation and the cattle are in mourning, yet not so much here as in some parts of the north, this land being more level.

I viewed the camp ground, and preparations making for the meeting, which I think the most convenient I have seen. Spoke at Garretson's meeting house, and in a farm house at night.

755. 27th. A young woman took me in a chaise to *Northampton* court yard, where I held some meetings: being unable to ride on horseback, with propriety any longer, I sold my horse, &c. at great loss. I find the great have their trials as well as the small, from what I now observe in others: but *all shall work together for good to them that love God*.

756. 28th. I road in a coachee to the camp ground, with a family, having solicited several to attend: I found hundreds on the ground to be in readiness for the next day. I have been reading *Washington's* life, and what must have been his sufferings of mind during the war, but particularly when retreating from New York through the Jerseys, to Trenton, and the gloomy aspect of the times; his life and property in danger, and particularly if defeated; and yet was not cast down, but supported, and finally won the day.—Here I reflected, if, *he*, through difficulties, endured to accomplish an *earthly transitory design*, shall I, for a little earthly trouble, desert that which I think will turn to the *glory of God* in the promotion of the *Kingdom of Christ* on earth: though I meet with difficulties I will not despair: I want more *faith*; in order to accomplish the spread of the gospel, I want a greater acquaintance.

757. 29th. By invitation from Dr. *Chandler*, the presiding elder, and preachers, I spoke in the afternoon on *sanctification*; about three thousand rose up in covenant, sundry of whom came up to be prayed for; and amongst them three young women, two of whom were prayerless three days before, and came with me: one of them found pardon in a few minutes, and shouted the praise of God; the other was delivered shortly; and the third, who owned the camp ground, found deliverance that night. Thus the work went on, so that there could be no preaching until ten next day, though the meeting had been appointed for eight at night and morning. When I left the place, the rain impeded the meeting, yet it continued until Monday; and, on a moderate calcula-

tion, there was reason to believe that about five hundred were hopefully converted.

758. A captain sent word that I might sail with him over the *Chesapeake*; but the wind being high, and from such a direction, that I could not be landed, where I would, so I must where I could.

We sailed about one hundred miles in less than a day, to Suffolk, where I spoke at night. Our danger was great on the passage, in consequence of the sloop being old, and impossible to keep dry below decks.

759. Sunday, September 1st. I set off in a chair for *Portsmouth*, it raining by the way; however, I preached, and also in *Norfolk*; where two souls found peace: next day got some temporal affairs adjusted, and returned to Suffolk, where I spoke to about one thousand, and rode on a cart, as a chair could not be obtained for love, nor hired for money.

760. 4th. *Rhoda Williams*, a young woman, of late under concern for her soul, was somewhat unwell, yet took me in a chair, forty miles, to *Smith's chapel*, before she alighted: here we found a congregation of about three thousand waiting, whom I addressed with liberty. Oh! may God remember Rhoda for good, in recompense for her kinkness. We were deceived in the distance about seventeen miles, yet the disappointment was prevented.

I had twelve miles to go this evening; so I rode four in a cart, walked one, and a *Connecticut* pedler coming along with his wagon, carried me the remainder to Halifax, in North Carolina, where I spoke, and got a letter from *Peggy*.

761. 5th. *Esq. B*—— sent a servant and chair with me to *Ebenezer*, where I addressed about one thousand seven hundred: then a friend whom I had never spoken to, said, if I would dine with him, he would carry me in a chair to the camp meeting, about twenty miles, where we arrived that evening; thus I find God provides for those who put their trust in him.

6th. Camp meeting came on in the edge of Franklin county; the weather was somewhat lowering, which incommoded us at intervals: thousands however assembled, and though *Satan* was angry, and, by means of a few drunkards, strove to make a rum-pus or uproar, yet I think, here was the best decorum I ever saw, considering the magnitude of the assembly from this wilderness country. There were near one hundred tents and upwards of sixty covered wagons, &c. the first day, besides carriages, &c.

762. *Philip Bruce*, an old preacher and friend, was presiding elder here.—The Lord began a glorious work; it might truly be said, we had the cry of *Heaven-born* souls, and the shout of a *King in the Camp*. Some months ago brother *Mead* had agreed to appoint a train of camp meetings through his district, the first of

which was to begin a week after this in *Buckingham* county, *Virginia*, which he had engaged me to attend, but being unacquainted with my arrangements, he took the liberty to anticipate the time, and publish accordingly, which made the two meetings clash; this brought me into a dilemma, as I was necessitated to attend them both, not only by engagement, but also to get my temporal affairs wound up, and business settled with individuals who were to meet me, and also my book concerns, as they related to meeting houses, &c.

763. 7th. Feeling my mind greatly exercised about what was before me, I was convinced of the necessity of attempting to force my way from one camp meeting to the other, before they should break, which would make a distance of about one hundred and forty miles, to be travelled over in about forty hours, across a country, where were no country roads, except for neighborhood or plantation convenience. I slept but little the past night, in consequence of laboring with mourners, conversation and preaching; in my last discourse I remarked my decline, my necessity of departure, and intention of sailing shortly, as I bade the people farewell, hundreds held up their hands as a signal of their intention, and desire, that we should remember each other when separated, and if we never meet below, to strive to meet above.

764. A young man whom I had never seen before, took me in a carriage about forty miles to his brother's, where I took some tea; then a servant, carriage and two horses, were dispatched with me seventeen miles. A man, on whom I was directed to call for further assistance, pleaded inconvenience, but asked me to tarry till morning; so I took to my feet and went on: being feeble in body, I made but poor headway, having the inconvenience of near eight hundred dollars in a tin box. At dawn of day, I arrived at *Mecklenburgh* court house, where a chair was not to be hired on any terms, but a gentleman who had never seen me before, on finding out my name, gave me a breakfast, and dispatched a servant and two horses with me about twelve miles, (the servant carrying my luggage,) but I growing weak, and perceiving I must alight, espied a chair, which I strove to hire, though at first in vain, yet on telling them my name and situation, the mistress consented (her husband being out) and the son for twelve shillings carried me expeditiously ten miles, where I called, making my case known as before; the family rejected, until they understood my name, when a servant was sent with me six miles: here I called again, but was denied assistance, until a female visitor said, "if you are *Lorenzo Dow* you shall be welcome to my horse;" and so her son went with me thirteen miles; then I got some refreshment, but here could get no assistance further, so I took to my feet and went on as well as I could, being frequently assaulted by

dogs on the road, at different periods of the night, and at length one of them made such a fuss, that the master came out with his gun to see what was the matter: and as I spoke to the dog, he knew my voice: he invited me to come in and tarry, but not prevailing, aroused a servant to get me a horse, so I mounted and pushed on, and coming to a house, hailed them up for a pilot on the road; the old man said, "tarry till morning;" I replied, "I cannot;" then he dispatched several for his horse, whilst he should dress himself, which doing in haste, he forgot his small clothes until after his boots were on. At length we started, and arrived on the camp ground just after sun-rise, where I found *Brother Mead* and *Papa* and *Mamma Hobson*, with hundreds of friends, who were surprised and glad to see me, as they had despaired of my coming: there were about ten thousand at this meeting: scores were hopefully converted to God, and the Lord was with them of a truth. I addressed the auditory as my bodily strength would admit, and settled my temporal affairs to my mind, though some in whom I had confided betrayed it.

765. Tuesday 10th. I bade the people farewell, the meeting broke, and I went home, in the carriage to *Cumberland*, with *Papa* and *Mamma Hobson*.

12th. A servant aided me four miles, whence a friend helped me with a carriage to *Richmond*.

Sunday 15th. Having put to the press my "*Farewell to America, a Word to the Public—as a hint to suit the times.*" I preached in *Richmond* and *Manchester*.—Then brother Dunnington, in his chair, carried me to *Campbell Camp meeting*, *Papa Hobson* being with us:—At this meeting a woman found peace with God, who had thought camp meetings scandalous for women to attend. Her husband, some months previous, had felt serious impressions for some talk I had given him, and he wanted her to go to the last camp meeting, but she to get off said, "if you or any of the neighbors get converted at it, I will go to the next;" he found peace, and held her to her promise; she, as a woman of varacity, came, though much to the mortification of her pride, but now the happy pair went home rejoicing in God.

766. Here, also, a man an hundred and three years old, found peace, another man, some nights ago, dreamt that he came to this meeting, and asked a black woman to pray for him, and that God set his soul at liberty.—The dream so impressed his mind, that he could not enjoy himself until he came to see what we were about, and searching round out of curiosity, he found the very countenance he had seen in his dream: a secret impulse ran through his mind—"ask her to pray for you;"—which, at first, he rejected, but for the ease of the mind, secretly made the request, so as not to be distinguished by the people, thinking thus to avoid the cross;

said she, "if you will kneel down, I will;" thought he, "I shall mock the woman if I do not," and, when on his knees, thought he, "the people are now observing me, and if I do not persevere, I shall look like a hypocrite, the cross I must bear, let me do as I will, therefore, seeing I have gone so far, I will make a hand of it;" and whilst on their knees, yielded in his heart to be the Lord's; and God set his soul at liberty.—Thus God's words are verified, which say, *now is the accepted time and day of salvation*. The devil's time is a future one, but God is immutable, and of course alwas ready, He being *love*; as saith the apostle, "God is in Christ reconciling the world unto himself; therefore, the exhortation is, "be ye reconciled to God," i. e. "give up your will and heart to God for Him to reign within." Look at the thief on the cross and the jailor and family: Paul's was the longest in the pangs of the new birth, of any related in the Testament, yet that was but three days; though some think it must take a man two or three years to be converted; thus denying the freedom of the will, waiting for what they term a special call; yet, it is evident, that the Spirit of God strives with *all*, and no man will condemn himself for not doing what he believes to be an impossibility; yet many condemn themselves for acting as they do; which implies that they believe they had the power to have acted otherwise than as they did, argues the power of choice and the freedom of the human will, which every one must assent to.

767. I returned to the Lowlands, bidding my friends farewell, and brother *Dunnington* who had accompanied me two hundred and fifty miles.

Many dear faces in these lands I expect to see no more until in a better world: a man and wife who were my spiritual children, were passing in a coach as I concluded my meeting, they took me in and carried me a distance, where brother *Mead* carrying me in his chair, brought me to *New Kent* camp meeting. The rain kept back many, however, there were about fifty hope-fully converted to God in the course of the meeting; and it may be said, "the beloved clouds helped us," as my life had been previously threatened, and the Collegians backed by their President the Bishop, said they would have been upon us had not the rain hindered them. A chump of wood being flung in through the window, I leaped out after the man, he ran, and I after him, crying, "run, run, *Old Sam* is after you;" he did run, as for his life, and leaping over a fence hid among the bushes. Next morning I cut *Old Sam's* name on the wood, nailed it to a tree, and called it *Old Sam's Monument*.* I asked the people publicly (pointing to the

*The monument stuck to the tree for many months; a young man was hired to pull it down; but when he arrived on the ground, and was looking at it, such were the inward workings of his mind, that he forbore to do it.—The Collegians, backed by

monument) who was willing to enlist and serve so poor a master; I also observed, that the people who had threatened my life, only upon hear-say accounts were cowardly and inhuman, as I was an entire stranger to them; and their conduct against me was under cover. I said, "your conduct is condemnable, which expression means damnable, and of course, to make the best of you, you are nothing but a *pack of damned cowards*, for there durst not one of you show your heads." These young coxcombs were mightily grated, and to retaliate, said that I cursed and swore: many I believe, at that time, had a sense of the poor wages the *devil* would give his servants.

768. Oct. 3d. Camp meeting began at *Old Poplar Spring* church, and continued four days; several found peace, amongst whom was a young woman that came ill with an ague and fever, whose mother had long been praying for her conversion; she was smote down by the power of God, but went home well in soul and body. Many say these camp meetings are injurious to health; but I do not find ground to believe, that more evils accrue than otherwise, considering the number and time: many go home better than they came, even delicate women, who rarely would step off a carpet for twelve months, grew more healthy from that time.

769. I held meeting in *Pace's* meeting house, and *Cole's* chapel, and stayed with old father *Le Roy Cole*; he wrote a letter to *Bob Sample*, one of the most popular A-double-L-part preachers in the country, who like a little fice, or cur-dog, would rail behind my back: he charged his conduct with being unmanly, and said, "If *Lorenzo* be wrong, you ought to come and correct him to his face, or hush." He attended, heard me preach, and then said he would answer my discourse at a future period, at the same time knowing that I was leaving the country. I replied, it is hard not to give a man a chance to defend himself, and was minded that he should come out early next morning, so as not to delay my journey, and let the people judge where the truth lay; he refused, until I insisted that backbiting was unfair; however, I could not get him out before eleven. I invited the people: we met: He spoke two hours and forty minutes, wearying the patience of the people; though I was minded that we should speak fifteen minutes at a time alternately, which he refused; but in his talk observed, "I dare not say that Christ did not die for any *living* man: I dare not say he died for any who are in *hell*." And many other expressions he dropped similar to the above. I attempted to fol-

their President, were held back by the rain from disturbing us at this meeting; and a few months after, one of those who had a hand lead on the van of this disturbance, had the end of his nose bit off; and another was flung from his horse and broke his neck; and several others were remarked to be followed with chastisement from the Lord,

low him as well as I could, making remarks upon the dark expressions to blindfold the people, and said the man was not honest to proceed in such an intricate way; said I, why did he say, that "he dare not say Christ had not died for any living man?" because he did not know but that that man was one of the *elect*; again, why did he say, "that he dare not say that Christ had died for any who are in hell?" Because he did not believe that Christ had died for any who are lost. This shows he does not believe Christ died for *all*, yet he was not honest enough to acknowledge it in plain words: yet he has not brought one scripture in support of his ideas, only that sometimes the term *all* is limited: but, said I, it never can be used with propriety in the *Calvinistic* sense, because it always means the greater part; yet they say a *few*, *elect*, or a small number; and I gave about thirty passages to demonstrate it. He raked up the ashes of *John Wesley*, and quitted the ground before I had done.*

770. Hence I rode with F. and M. Cole to Camp meeting, where the *Molechites* and some split-off Methodists, had done much mischief by prejudicing the minds of the neighborhood; and to avoid a quarrel, were suffered to occupy a meeting house, which belonged to the Methodists; however, the Lord was with us, and thirteen souls were set at liberty in the course of the meeting; and though there were the greatest discouragements against this meeting, yet our enemies who came as spies, acknowledged they never saw so much decorum in so large an auditory.

771. Leaving *Hanover* I came to *Louisa*, with brother *Mead*, where I attended the last camp meeting for *America*.—Providence was with us here; hundreds at these meetings gave me their hands as a token of their desire that I should remember them in my absence, and that they would strive to remember me when I should be beyond the *Atlantic*: that God would preserve, succeed, and bring me back in peace, if consistent with His will, and if we meet no more below, strive to meet above. It was a solemn feeling thus to bid friends farewell, on the eve of embarking from one's own native country for a land unknown, and there to be a stranger amongst strangers: at this last meeting, in the act of shaking hands, many left money with me, which sufficed to bear my expenses to the north.

772. Perceiving my bodily strength more and more to decline, and my heart still bound to the European world I was convinced of the propriety of a speedy departure, and as my wife did not arrive in *Virginia*, where I intended to leave her at P. Hobson's; for the fever breaking out at New York, expelled her to the

* Leaving his bible behind.—The worldlings compared us to officers fighting a duel—one hung down his sword, and run off crying, sword fight for yourself.

country, so that she did not get my letters in time. I took the stage, and went on to New York, about four hundred miles in about four days and nights, not getting any rest. The season being far advanced, I suffered by cold, but got an old cloak on the way at *Fredericksburg*, which I once was necessitated to leave here: arriving in New York, I found my *Peggy* and friends well, and a vessel bound for Liverpool. I gave *Peggy* her choice, whether to go to her friends who were still at Pittsburg, waiting for a fresh in the river, or to Virginia, to *P. and M. Hobson's*, who had made the request; or to my *father's*, who had wrote to that purport; or to tarry with friends in and about New York who solicited; or to go with me to Europe, the dangers of which I had set before her: she choosing the last, if agreeable to me: I engaged our passage accordingly, on board the ship *Centurion*, (*Benjamin Lord*, Master) belonging to a steady fair Quaker!

773. When I was in Europe before, I suffered much from the political state of affairs, for the want of a *Protection*, and proper *Credentials*; but now after I had got ready to sail, only waiting for a fair wind, the Lord provided me with them.—The penny post brought me two letters one day, and one the next, containing a certified recommendation from the *Governor* of Virginia, with the Seal of the State; another containing an *American* protection under the seal of the *United States*, from Mr. Madison, the third man in the nation: this was obtained only on the intimation of a *Methodist Preacher*: a third was from the *Town Clerk, Magistrates, County Clerk, Judges and Governor*, of *Connecticut*, giving an account of my parentage, &c. &c., as may be seen in the document.

774. Considering my four *Credentials*, which had so providentially fallen into my hands, I thought it advisable to have my protection perfected so as to carry authority out of the nation, and conviction or evidence on an investigation; and went to a *Notary Public's* Office, with two substantial witnesses accordingly, viz. *Nicholas Snethen* and *James Quackenbush*: here my descriptions were taken, proven, and certified as may be seen in the beginning.

EXEMPLIFIED EXPERIENCE.

PART THIRD.

775. SUNDAY,* Nov. 10th, 1805, having got equipped for sailing, and my affairs settled as well as I could, considering my many disappointments, the wind became fair, we saw them hoisting sail, and from circumstances I believe the *captain* designed to have left us behind—so I hired a boat for ten shillings to put us on board. The sea was rough and I believe somewhat dangerous; but we reached the vessel in time, and she soon was under way. I wrote a letter for our friends, to notify them of our departure, which the pilot took ashore: whilst writing we passed the light house, the sea began to toss the vessel, whilst an ocean without bounds seemed to present itself to our view, and the land to disappear. Poor *Peggy* went on deck, to look about and beholding above, returned with death seemingly pictured in her countenance,—we lost sight of land before night; *she* began to grow sick, becoming worse and worse for some days, and then recovered it better than for some years.

776. 18th. The wind blows a fresh gale: the head of the rudder was observed to be unsound; so the helm would not command the ship, which exposed us to great danger. The captain afterwards said that he suffered more in his mind on this voyage, than in all the times he had been at sea before; however, they got cordage and wedges and bound it together as well as they could, and carrying less sail to prevent straining, we weathered the voyage, as Providence favored us with an aft wind

777. 20th. We are now on the banks of *Newfoundland*, about one third of our passage. There are thousands of seagulls around our vessel, four land birds came aboard, one of which the mate caught and let it go. In one of the late gales it appears *Peggy* passed through some trials of her faith, as I heard her

* Mr. N. Snethen, this day spoke against me in three different places of worship, which meeting houses I had never been suffered to occupy.—Compare this *date* with his OATH in the *Preface*, and his LETTER in the *Appendix*, with their *dates* &c.

saying, "how much easier to rely on human probabilities, than on divine promises." When our Lord called or set apart the *twelve*, he did not at first send them to *preach* and do *miracles*, but kept them *with him* a while, and then gave them *commission* to go forth with *power*, &c. and predicting what should happen to them in their latter days, to prepare their minds for it, and afterwards it appears, he told them what should happen to himself, which it seems they did not realize, as they had an idea of a temporal kingdom; but he informed them that, what they knew not then, they should know afterwards more perfectly. Though *God the Father* had already revealed to Peter, that *Jesus* was the *Christ*.

778. After our Lord's resurrection, he renewed a promise of the *Holy Ghost* or *Spirit*, being given unto them more fully, yet commanded them to stay in *Jerusalem* until that time should come, and then they were to go and preach every where they could among all nations; and for their encouragement, promised further to be *with them* unto the *end* of the *world*, &c. Now, he cannot be *with his ministers*, unless *he* hath ministers to be *with*; and this promise could not refer to the Apostles alone, as he previously predicted their dissolution; therefore, it must include succeeding ministers, which God in *Christ* would raise up to tread in the Apostles' steps, and they cannot be *his* ministers, unless *he* has *sent* them, any more than I can be the King's ambassador, when no embassy has been committed to my charge.

Singing I once delighted in the sound of, but after my conversion, abhorred it abstracted from the spirituality, and when in Ireland, almost was *Quakerized* in that sentiment, but after I saw the effects of singing in the power of faith at the *camp meetings*, &c. in the awakening and conversion of sinners, I was convinced of the medium, and that singing properly is a divine employment, and will be done to the approbation and declarative glory of God and our own profit.

779. December 3d. We have seen but three vessels on the way, one of which was the *New York* of *Philadelphia*, which had brought *General Moreau* from *Cadiz* to *America*, whom I saw at *Trenton* ferry.—The winds have been very unsteady for several days, like some people, almost in a gale and then a calm.

780. We are now in lat. 49. 29. and longitude about 20.—I hope in a few days of course, we shall breathe the air of the *European world*. Surely the nigher I draw across the mighty waters, the more I feel the work of my mission on my mind at heart, and am more and more satisfied, that I acted in the will of God in coming, let what may ensue.—I want to see *Doctor Johnson*, whom I have not heard from this year and a half.—A few days now will put me in quite a different sphere of life. I shall quit

ship, and then crosses, &c. to surmount, which I am conscious will require all the faith, zeal, wisdom and patience which I am possessed of, and after all must fail unless God be with me: but my reliance is on *Him*, the great, the strong for strength, and as I penned before, so I do again, "I feel an uncommon exercise about what is before me."—What *Doctor Coke* will say, I know not, perhaps there is a great providence in my sailing to Liverpool first, as I expect *some* have heard of me there.

781. This is one of the happiest voyages thus far I ever had, and my companion is a great consolation to me as a lent favor, but oh! how apt we are to under or over value the creature, and thereby lose its blessing designed by God for us. I am convinced of our privileges of walking as it were in *eternity* whilst in this unfriendly world, i. e. the soul walking in the light of God's countenance, whilst veiled in flesh and blood.

782. Whether I shall die a natural death, to me at times is a query; and sometimes causes sensations of heart: but while the soul hangs on God alone, it cannot suffer, (properly speaking) though in this probationary state—still there may be outward trials, yet inward peace, which is sweet and satisfactory to the mind: Oh! what may we not attain unto if we be faithful? Religion will beget sympathy, or a feeling for the welfare of others—sin makes people dark and contracted, selfish and barbarous, but religion the reverse; and those acts of humanity, sympathy and pity, which even the Indians and heathens show forth, who can with propriety deny but they are under the influence of *God's holy Spirit*?—Oh! that people would hearken more to the guidance within, and not put so much stress on what is handed down by tradition without evidence; then we should have more affectionate ones, than we now behold among the nations of the earth. Hundreds of my American friends, I doubt not, are daily praying for me.

783. Whilst in devotion, *Peggy* being called to a fresh trial of her faith in the gale, the words of our Lord to his disciples, "others have labored, and ye have entered into their labors," went with power through my mind, as on former occasions, and why have I to labor in other men's labors, unless it be to *provoke* them to *jealousy*.

784. There are three *Methodist* connexions, besides the new connexion so called, raised by *Alexander Kilham*, viz. the English, Irish, and the American Episcopal one; the two latter I have travelled through from centre to circumference, without their consent, and though they have done * * * * *
to hedge up my way, yet I have travelled * * * * *
of them as a *body*, however much I am indebted to *individuals*, as

means under God to open my way, and give me access to the people.

785. Thursday, Dec, 5th, saw two vessels on our voyage; late at night saw land, and afterwards passed *Waterford* light house.

786. 6th. Saw *Wales*; had a fair wind with some gales; but all is well now. We have eaten up but the smallest part of our provisions—we shall soon be at the pilot ground, and what will then ensue, is now in the womb of futurity, but I expect to see the providence of God in trials; but how, when, by whom, or what means, I know not, yet still I feel power to leave all to the Author of breath and disposer of all events.

787. When on my former visit, I was advised to go immediately on board the vessel again and work my passage back, as I should have no opening there: but as I could not do ship-work, &c. did not, neither could I in conscience comply. Then they warned the Methodists against me, to starve me out, and only one family received me at first, but after God opened my way, they offered to pay my passage home, if I would quit the country, and promise never to return, which in conscience I could not do; then Dr. C—— wanted me to go on a foreign mission to some other part; I could not comply, neither in reason nor in conscience. Then the conference passed a vote to hedge up my way whether or no, &c. &c.—I may expect similar, from the *English conference*, on whose shores I shortly expect to land, if they think me dependent; but my trust is in God.

788. About the time I landed in Ireland before, this passage ran repeatedly through my mind, Joshua iii. 7. and it hath been so imprinted on my mind, that now I make a memorandum of it—again—Isaiah—“ye shall go out with joy” (from the * * *) “and be led forth with peace” (of mind by the spirit of God,) “the mountains and hills” (of difficulties and discouragements) “shall break forth before you into singing” (of salvation) “and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands” (for joy,) &c.—Beginning of the *Millenium*—Camp meetings.

789. 7th. We took in a pilot and came to anchor in a dangerous place, if the wind had blown a gale, as the tide would not admit of our going over the bar, and the weakness of the rudder would not admit of beating into the quarantine ground. We heard of the defeat of the *French* and *Spaniards* off *Cape Trafalgar*, by *Nelson*, and also of the defeat of the *Austrians*. Wrote to Dr. Johnson in Dublin, to let him know of my arrival.

790. Sunday 8th, slipped our cables and came up the river by the town; saw about forty wind-mills as I sailed, and a few ships of war; and not wharfs as in America, but lock docks, &c. the country around appears like a garden, considering the season of

the year; I sent a letter on shore to day, for *Edward Wilson*, attorney at law, with one inclosed from his brother, *John Wilson*, book-steward to the *Connexion in America*.

I wrote a letter to the preachers in the city as preparatory.

11th. Wrote some letters to my friends in *America*. The ship-carpenters came and examined our rudder, and made reports accordingly to the officers of government, relative to our state—we were exempted from quarantine after a detention of ten days, which time passed heavily away, two miles above the town in the river, as we had a bill of health from the British Consul.

791. Dec. 17th, Tuesday—at five o'clock this morning, the *Prodic* came on board, which made me rise and prepare to go on shore, and see what God would do for me there. I must undertake it by faith, as I know no one in town, and have heard of no friend. The captain will go on shore by sight, but I cannot see an inch before me; but I had rather die, than not see Zion prosper, before I quit this kingdom. O Lord! prepare my way and give me wisdom in this matter, is what this morning I ask of thee.

792. About ten o'clock we attempted to go on shore. I heard the tolling of the bell, which gave me a solemn feeling, under a sense of mortality; when I reflected, that when at *Quebec*, I saw a boat come (from the ship of war) with something in it, which at first appeared like a white chest, but as it approached nigher, I found it to be a coffin.—When I first landed at *Savannah* in *Georgia*, I retired to a solitary place for meditation, and found a yard, with a brick wall, and the gate down, and as I entered, beheld the humble piles of earth, under which lay the *silent human dust*: also when in *Dublin*, I saw the genteel mode of burying, the hearse drawn by six horses, and coaches following; but in the west of *Ireland*, I espied across a dale, a company coming down, and as we drew near to each other, I saw on a board, a corpse dressed like a *beggar*, which they carried over an old church wall, to enter it; thus I see the different modes and forms according to their ranks in every land where I have travelled: so mortality prevails and sweeps down all, which caused further remembrance, when once in *New Salem, Massachusetts*, whilst riding by myself, in a shrubby pine plain, I suddenly came to an opening, where were some graves, and one near the path had these words on the head-stone.

“Behold, ye strangers passing by,
As you are now, so once was I;
As I am now, so must you be,
Prepare for death and follow me.”

Also the ancient castles, I saw in *Ireland*, which were said to be destroyed in the days of *Cromwell*, yet none could tell me when they were built. Thus I reflected, "children did exist, (as I when playing at my father's house) who built these ancient ruins; they are gone and many generations since, and at length *Lorenzo Dow*, came upon the stage of action, who after a few more revolving years, shall be seen to act here no more;" thus my reflections flew from thing to thing, as we were landing, and the solemn tolling, ringing in my ears, but I felt consolation of the prospect, by and by, of a better world to me unknown.

793. We landed from the leaky boat about a mile above the town, and glad was I to get once more on land, as the boat was constantly bailed by two, on its way.—What now? I am on shore in an old country; old in inhabitants, and old in sin; but new to me, for I never was on the English shore before.

794. I left my Peggy at the Captain's boarding house, whilst I went to transact some business of money matters, and delivered letters of introduction, &c. but all was gloomy—I returned to her, and about the town we wandered till all our letters were delivered but one, and where that should be left we could not find, until I observed the name on the wall, as we stopped, pondering what to do; as the man whose name answered to the letter, observed we did not turn to go off, said come in; one said, whilst he was silently reading the letter,—“dost thou know one *Lorenzo Dow*?” I was surprised, and answering in the affirmative, equally surprised them.

795. The man said, tarry a night or two, but the wife objected inconvenience, so we put up at a boarding house, at twenty-eight shillings British, per week, for one:—got letters from *Dublin*—strove to get places for meeting—spoke once in an A-double-L-part place—the minister was friendly to my face, but afterwards said I was crazy. We strove five times, to sail for *Dublin*, but was forced back by contrary winds, and twice were like to be lost; the woman who asked if I knew one *Lorenzo Dow*, was a Quaker, and having formed some acquaintance with *Henry Forshow's* family, No. 40 Edmond street, took me there one day; these were Methodists; the last time we were driven back, our hostess having taken in so many borders, there was no more place for us: when before we knew it, called in to Mr. Forshow's, whose wife invited us to tarry all night, which was esteemed by us as a Providence. We staid here a few days. One evening a woman came suddenly in, and said some people were in a neighboring house, who wished to see the American—I went, and finding about twenty together, without any ceremony, singing or prayer, I stood up and gave them a preach, to their great surprise, and God fastened conviction on one woman's heart, who the next day,

with her husband, wished me to preach at their house, which I did for a few evenings, where were some *Methodists* of the *old society* and *Kilhamites*, when shortly after a conversation ensued at the leader's meeting, what encouragement shall we give *Lorenzo the American*; at the old party it was lost—at the new I was invited by vote, &c.

796. Part of my experience being in a *Magazine*, which I had published to give away, when in Ireland before, contributed to clear my way, &c.—I spoke in Zion not many times, some were awakened and joined society, the preacher was prejudiced; one meeting *Peter Philips of Warrington* attended, having come to town on business, and felt his mind strongly drawn to come to Zion. After meeting, as I went into the vestry to get my hat, two women came to be prayed for, being under distress of mind; the vestry was filled with people, and four soon were lying on the floor under the power of God, which some thought was faintness, and used fans and called for water, whilst others thought they were dying and were frightened, thinking we should be called to an account; but I told them to hush, it was the power of God: and they soon came through happy, which caused *Peter* to give me an invitation to his neighborhood: I asked him what they were, and told him to go home and tell his people, and if they were unanimous I would come, (being on my way to *London*) and preach—he did, and they were unanimous.—These, in derision, were called *Quaker Methodists*, because they were so 'simple, using the *plain* language, and held *class-meetings*, &c.

Through the medium of Mr. Thomas W—, a local preacher, I called on the preachers of the *Old Connexion*, on my landing; (he, with his brother, having got a letter from their brother in America, the Rev. *John Wilson*, one of the book stewards.) The testimonials, letters, &c. were left for their inspection. Mr. Brown was as a cousin, on my calling according to direction. Mr. Barber seemed satisfied with my testimonial credentials; but as *Thomas Taylor*, (one of the oldest preachers) came in, he wanted me to begone, not waiting to hear what Mr. Barber had to say, but interrupted, saying, I fear he is not settled in his head, &c. As I was going out, Mr. Barber put W.'s into my hand, saying; *it may be of service to you*—but I having not then the consent of the W—'s, laid it on the table and went off. Through another local preacher, I called on Mr. Atmore, (who wrote the *Methodist memorial*.) He came to the door, and said if I had not special business with him, he could not see me, advising me to go to Mr. B—, I replied, I have been there, and want to form some acquaintance with you; so he shut the door upon me, without inviting me to come in. I thought perhaps there was a cause, and so called again: met similar treatment;—third time children came

and said call to-morrow morning ; I did, and found the gate locked : so I pounded, but none could I rally, &c.

798. The power of God was present, as I preached twice in *Warrington* : thence I went to *Manchester*, wandered about for eleven hours, to get a place to lodge, but could find none for love or money, among christian or sinner, except one which I thought to be a house of bad fame, and not prudent to stay in ; I called on *Jabez Buntin*, but he would not be seen, and the public houses were full : but as I was getting passage for *London*, in the coach, I found a garret, where I might stay, being near ten at night. I heard *Jabez*, and also in the morning, then I went to *Broad's Bandroom*. Here in sermon, one looked earnestly at me, said—you are a stranger—dine with me. I did—staid two days ; a chapel offered of the *New connexion*. Preacher and trustess said they would be passive, if I could obtain an assembly : so I got one thousand hand-bills, and gave them through the town ; got five hundred to speak to, and a thousand next evening, same way, as the preachers would not suffer me to publish from the pulpit, my appointments, &c.

799. On my arrival in *London*, I delivered with much difficulty all my letters, but two or three, and those persons could not be found. One place in *Monmouth street*, the woman to whom a sum of money was sent, would hardly give me access, to deliver her some money, sent from her friend in *America*, they are so afraid of strangers : she took the letter ; I told her she must read it, and I must come in ; the daughter said come in, but placed herself between me and the door, that she might alarm the neighbors if I was a robber, I staid a few days—held no meetings—got the king's license to stay in the kingdom, under his seal manuel. Surely she is more like the city of *Babylon* than any other city, to fill the world with her merchandize, and answers better to that mentioned in *Revelation*, than any other.—The British appear to me to lie under an insatiation as it relates to their “wooden walls,” for the means of coming with a *flotilla*, is doubtless more than many know, and might set them “walls” on fire. “Cursed be he that trusteth in the arm of flesh, but blessed is he whose God is the Lord.” *V* is used for *w*, and *w* for *v*—“converted, convicted, and I vow I will,” &c. &c. There were many curious monuments to behold, but as the state of the country was such, I did not think it proper to hold forth here in meetings, it being the metropolis, and as the laws of these lands require every preacher to have a license for that purpose, obtained from the sessions with oath of allegiance, and two others, or be subject to twenty pounds fine ; also every place must be licensed or pay twenty pounds, and the hearers five shillings each, &c. which things militated against me as I was an alien, considering the times, and was a

trial of my faith, I believe I ought to conform to the *laws* of the *country* which I am in, if they don't militate against the law of God, and my own conscience; but if I cannot in conscience submit to it, I could not take the oath, and of course could not have the license.

800. I returned to *Manchester*—spoke in Zion's Temple, so called, belonging to the *Kilhamites*; but as I once spoke on A-double-L-partism, they would allow me to speak there no more. In Warrington, among the Quaker-Methodists, we had a great revival under an out-pouring of the spirit of God, and many were gathered in, which brought many out, from other vicinities, to hear and see; so that I got invitations into various places, and God was with us at Risley, Appleton, Thorn, Lymn, Preston Brook, and Frodshad. Here, when I was first invited, before I went, *Simon Day* recalled my appointment, and then sent word by *Musquit*, that I would not be received, and must not come. I thought the errand strange, (*Musquit* being ashamed, did not deliver the message to me, he only came to the door, called Peter, and told him, and so went off.) I went—the meeting house was opened contrary to my advice, as I desired to do no harm, but when the people were assembled, I dared not do otherwise than to speak to them; so I stood on a bench, not feeling freedom to go into the *pulpit*, as that was the object of contention; spoke twice, then the trustees were afraid. I made neither of the appointments—it was themselves; so I spoke in a *salt pan*, and about twenty were struck under conviction.—The meeting house was then open again, but as the preacher S. D——— was so rash, he like to have broke up the society, and kept many out until he was gone the circuit, which otherwise would have joined immediately. I visited *Bolton, Hayton, Norley, Preston*, and the *File Country*, and God was with me, opening my door step by step, and raising me up friends against times of need; neither did he suffer me or my *Peggy*, to want in this strange land, though we asked for no assistance.

801. Travelling so extensively, exposed me to a fine and *imprisonment*, and the families that entertained me to fifty pounds each, as my license was limited; but I dare do no otherwise than go, feeling how I could account to God: so I went in his name and he opened my way, gave me favor in the sight of the people, and access to thousands; yet I had souls for hire, almost in every neighborhood where God cast my lot, though many hard sayings were spoke, and many letters as a *bull*, sent to block up my way; but hitherto the Lord hath been my helper, preserver and protector, and on him will I rely for strength.

When in *London*, Adam Clarke treated me as a gentleman; he frequently had heard of me from *America*; but did not show

or discover it, by his conduct, but said Dr. Coke was to preach in such a place that evening; so off I ran, as hard as I could pull, to see the little man, as he was the only one I knew in *England*. They were singing as I came into the meeting house; after sermon I got one to introduce me to *him*, but though he first appeared friendly as when in *Georgia*, yet on finding out my name, asked what I came there for? and before I could tell him, he turned to another: he shook hands, and bid all in the room farewell, except me, and went suddenly off; so I had seven miles, as it were at the hazard of my life, to walk to the opposite side of *London*, to my lodgings late at night; next time I saw him was in *Lancastershire*, he supposed *Peter* to be one of the old society's official members, and *Peggy* to be his wife, and treated *them* very friendly: I asked him if he thought he should be over to the next *general conference*, he replied, if the connexion positively sees it necessary, and insists upon it, and cannot do without me. I saw him at the Dublin and Leeds conferences, but did not speak together, as I could not intrude myself with propriety any more; many wondered why it was, that the Doctor did not publish me, and make a public example of me, whilst others enquired, *what for?*

803. Mr. B———, called my hostess to account for my *Peggy's* going into band meeting, though she had her certificate from *Elijah Woolsey*, as an acceptable member on the *Western* circuit.

Saturday, May 3d, 1806. I spoke in *Preston-brook*, and prospect of good, as a number appeared under deep divine impression. I bade them farewell for the present, and went to *Warrington*, where I spoke the next morning, and had a comfortable season, in the little chapel belonging to those called *Quaker Methodists*, and found that about forty new members had joined them in my absence, and the prospect of good increases. Thence to *Risley*, where I found several had been set at liberty since I was there last. From this I went to *Leigh*, where I spoke to about two thousand people, at the Methodist chapel, of the *old connexion*; and we had a powerful season. This is the first chapel of the *old Methodists*, into which I was voluntarily invited by what they call a *round preacher*.

804. Monday 5th. I spoke at *Loton Common*, and found a number more had been brought into liberty; we had a great display of the divine presence. Hence I walked fifteen miles to *Hayton bridge*, spoke at seven o'clock, and twice a day afterwards, for several days, and the prospect greatly increased, and several backsliders were reclaimed, and some were brought into liberty. I visited *Blackrod* and *Carley*, but I fear with little success.

805. Saturday 10th. I spoke in a country village on my way to Preston, not in vain.

Sunday 11th. I spoke four times in *Preston*, and attended a love-feast, of what is called by some the *free gospellers or third division of Methodists*; and six souls gave comfortable satisfaction of being brought into liberty this day. Hence I visited the *File Country*, for several days; but was disagreeably disappointed of hearers, by my appointments not being regularly given out; however, I spoke to a few, here and there. In this journey I saw a woman, who preached, and I was informed that she was born three months, before the time, and remained without nourishment, wrapped in flannels, in a torbid state like sleep, yet frequently moving; the natural heat supported near a fire, and in about thirteen weeks, appearances or actions took place, such as in a child new born at the full time.

806. 15th. The tide being out, I crossed Preston river, in a cart, at a ford three miles wide, called the *Guide*, and walking a few miles, in the rain, took the canal boat, and arrived in *Liverpool* about five in the evening, and completed the bargain for printing my journal.

I held a few meetings in *Liverpool*; and had the satisfaction to find more people rejoicing in God.

807. Here I find that my *hostess* had been called to an account for inviting *Peggy* to a band meeting; although she had a certificate of her membership from America: and a number of their own members also were called to an account, for having attended some of my former meetings.

808. Sunday 18th. We embarked in the *Lark* with *Hannah Gough*, the *Quaker woman*; who said to me, the first day I come on shore in the country, in the house where I presented a letter, &c. "Dost thou know one Lorenzo Dow in America?" (She having seen me formerly in *Dublin*, but did not now recognize my person, only my voice reminded her of the name.)

809. Tuesday 20th. With a light breeze from *Liverpool* we reached *Dublin* harbor, and the tide now serving to come to the wharf, I took a boat for *Dunlary*, where I landed about six o'clock, and hiring a jingle, came to *Dublin*, and whilst walking to *New street*, *William Thomas*, the man at whose house I first lodged when in this country before, suddenly met me at the end of a street; we recognized each other's countenances, and were in each other's arms before a word was spoken on either side, and our hearts were mutually refreshed as in former days; he went with me to No. 102, where I was in hopes to have embraced my dear *Doctor* and mamma *Letitia*, but the servants informed me of their having just gone out: I waited with uncommon anx-

iety for their return, whilst the servants went through the city in search of them.

I took tea with a very feeling sense of obligation for past favors; but still the Doctor and his companion not returning, I went to *Thomas street*, with *William Thomas*, to see his wife, and received some letters, which I was informed were from *America*. This pair was the first couple in whom I ever saw as I thought, a happiness in matrimonial union; I embraced her in my arms, with a feeling remembrance of my first reception, when a stranger in this city, and but two shillings in my pocket, when all other hearts, seemingly were shut against me; here I had an asylum though reproved for harboring me and giving me bread. I returned and found the Doctor had come home, and was anxiously waiting my return, which was near eleven at night; we embraced each other in our arms, and mamma Letty gave me a kiss and a hearty welcome. Thus I was cordially received after an absence of five years, one month and eighteen days.

810. Thursday May 22, 1806. The *German Church* was opened to me by invitation to the *Doctor*, before I came; but the *Wardens* considered themselves slighted, not having been consulted, and one of them said at the *leader's meeting*, "If you are not willing he should have the liberty, it shall be prevented." They replied, they had nothing to do or act concerning it: however, as I was not willing to be called a *thief or robber*, I chose to come in by the *door*, and went to the above *Warden* accordingly. This *Church* belongs to the *German Congregation*, but is occupied by the *Methodists* and COOPER, he belonged to *Lady Huntingdon's party*, but now is near a *Sandimanian*. I held a number of meetings, that were respectable and very profitable to many. *Alice Cambridge*, the woman who was so attentive to me when in this country before, still continues her meetings, and give up her meeting and room to me, and another company who occupied it, alternately, did the same; so that my way was opened, and the quickening power of God, seemed to be present at most of the meetings which I held in the above place, (and at Esq. Shegog's, the barracks and the streets) which amounted to about twenty in number.

811. I was invited to hold a meeting in *Renelagh*, by a rich old woman, who had built a preaching-house, which she had given to the *Methodists*, and a door from her bed-chamber opened into the gallery; her own house not accommodating the number, she with much *fuss* and *ado* got the preaching-house open, which I refused to occupy, lest I should be esteemed a thief, but addressed them from her chamber door, and we had a good time. The *Doctor* I found had been lately unwell in my absence, but was now recovered.

812. Saturday, June 7th, 1806. Having received invitations to the country, through the medium of the *Missionaries*, *G. Ousley* and *W. Hamilton* and others; I set off for Wicklow county in a gig, through the kindness of a backslider, whose heart God had touched. I held a meeting at *Newtown*, Mount Kenedy, by the way to *Wicklow*, where I found religion low. We had quickening times, though with difficulty I got the people convened at the latter.

813. Sunday 8th. I spoke thrice in the town, and once at *Widow Tighe's*, who was prejudiced against me when here before.

9th. I gave my last, and a backslider took me in a jaunting car to *Rathdrum*, whence a man helped me with a horse to *Cappagh*, where I spoke that night and next morning, and then departed with him to *Hacket's-town*. Here I spoke seven times in three days, having previously been invited by a man, who had married one of my spiritual daughters; she with her sister who had married a *Methodist* preacher still endured; these were the daughters of the old man, who felt these words to run through his mind, whilst they talked with me back and forth through the door, when I was in Ireland before, "*be not forgetful to entertain strangers.*" Two others of his children God gave me for my hire now; the quickening power of God seemed to be displayed in the different meetings; and convictions and conversions were shortly multiplied, and not long after my departure, I was informed that about four score were added to society, the most of them happy in God.

814. I spoke in *Baltinglass* on my way to *Carlow*. In both places I had good times, and a preacher was friendly whom I formerly thought cool; he invited me to meet a class, and attend his quarterly meeting; with the latter I could not comply. I rode on the car of my daughter, which brought me here to the colliery, where I found the *missionaries* praying with some mourners: here was a big meeting appointed, which they called a *camp meeting*, but I a field-meeting; there being no tents, only the open air, in imitation of America.

So I see the spirit of the *revival is spreading* in the breasts of the children of men; here I saw *Mr. Averill* who appeared as friendly as ever, and solicited my attendance at another meeting of magnitude, at Mount Melick and some other places. At this meeting I preached, and when he had done, I invited up the mourners to be prayed for; several found peace, and we had a refreshing season from the presence of God.

815. A *Romanist* interrupted the meeting, which caused many of them to run away, supposing him to be a priest. I never knew, that in this our day, *priestcraft* was so influential, and carried such a dread to the fear of man. Next morning I spoke again—

the Missionaries took about fifty into society; hence we went to *Castle Comber*. They spoke in the street and I beside the chapel door, having the *church minister* present, whose relations gave him a look whilst I was repeating, what I heard an old man say in my infancy, that a minister's *call* was two hundred pounds settlement, and one hundred pounds a year.

816. Next morning I spoke again, and breakfasted with the clergyman's friends, who seemed piously inclined; here the *Missionaries* took about forty into society, and then we went to *Kilkenny*. The above priest said the *Missionaries* were *mountebanks*, *kidnapping* the people—in this place we stayed three days. The Missionaries attacked *Popery* in the streets twice or thrice a-day, and I attacked sin with A-double-partism in the preaching house, which caused considerable uneasiness in the town; the Mayor had a potatoe flung at his head, and also received a letter without a signature, threatening that if he did not put us three out of town, his house should be pulled down on his head.

817. They took about thirty into society here. I bade some old friends farewell; so we departed to *Money-beg*, where I spoke under an ash—had a good time, though under some depression of mind. I attended two other meetings in a large ware-house; here 30 were taken into society, and some shortly before, making eighty-two in all. *William Hamilton* took me in a gig to *Carlow*, where I spoke at 10, A. M. intending to comply with *Mr. Averill's* invitation, but was prevented by sudden inward illness, which flung me into spasms like convulsions; so by the advice of my friends I stayed until next day, and then *W. H——n* attended me in the canal boat, about seventy English miles to *Dublin*, where I arrived about ten at night, on Sunday the 22d, and found my *Peggy* and friends well at the Doctor's: he said he thought my complaint proceeded from a small *abscess* of the *liver*, bursting into the cavity of the belly outside of the bowels.

818. A love-feast being held at *Gravel-walk*, I was informed that a number spoke there of being quickened by my last visit.—I breakfasted several times in company with *Wm. Smith*, the *assistant preacher*; he invited me to pray in the families, and is thought by some to be one of the most popular preachers in Ireland. I find he is a great *kingsman*, but I am convinced that many in these countries, who have been shining lights, are in a more lukewarm state than they are aware of. I continued my meetings as before—the Lord was with us, and the revival seemed to increase, with some of the preachers, who still retained a degree of life as they came to conference observed, and took hold with me heart and hand.

819. One evening, I was informed upwards of twenty preachers were present, amongst whom were several of the old preachers,

that had treated me with coolness and neglect when here before, besides others who had been friendly; amongst these was Mr. Averill, who requested me to tour the kingdom at large.

820. During this visit at conference time, I received not one unkind word from any of the preachers, but the reverse; several gave me encouragement to visit them in their circuits, and also persuaded me to go into the pulpit at *Ranelagh*, where I had preached from the chamber door, through the gallery into the preaching house: even *TOBIAS* said that he thought I was an honest man, when he read *Snethen's letter*, asserting in the most positive terms that I was an impostor; though he had a spat with the Doctor, about keeping his hat on in the meeting at prayer time; the Doctor replied, because I believe thou art not sent of the Lord to pray nor preach, for thou art the man that used Lorenzo ill and never repented of it, nor of the poor woman whose heart thou broke, and was the cause of her death, and her blood is upon thee—he turned off shocked and confused. This man in the course of my absence to America, was stationed on the *LARNE* circuit, where some of my spiritual children spoke in a love-feast concerning the blessing of my labors to their souls, which caused him to reprove them, saying, "Let Mr. Dow alone, if you have any thing to say for God, speak it;"—he also has been put *back on trials*, for some *improper conduct*; thus, those who are hard upon others, find hardships to overtake themselves. In the same house where he first checked me, taking the hymn out of my mouth, &c, the Doctor gave him his due in the presence of several of the preachers and people, which I could not find that any of the conference were displeased with the Doctor for. Tobias' impertinency, because the Doctor believed and practised some of the Quaker forms, gave rise to this.

821. *Snethen's letter* from New York to block up my way, was investigated at the leader's meeting, and unanimously acknowledged to have been written in a bad spirit, and did me no injury, but refuted itself, and so opened my way.*

822. About these days, *Wm. Thomas*, *Dr. Johnson* told me had a *liver complaint*, which I remembered when he was taken unwell: the disorder increased to a degree of insanity, which caused him to leap out of a window, on the third floor, and yet so as only to break his thigh.—After this he came to his right mind, and called off his thoughts from the world to divine subjects, and the last word he said before he expired were *glory! glory!*—He was attended by an *ungodly Physician and Surgeon*, who prohibited him seeing religious visitors, and pronounced him in a fair

* A meeting of about seventy official members, the result of which was—"written in a bad spirit by a wicked man."

way for recovery after his fall; but *Dr. Johnson*, who did not attend him, said he would die, his liver being rotten, &c.

823. I put the first part of the second volume of my journal to the press, which contained one hundred and twenty pages duodecimo. Having now completed my visits and business, I contemplated a departure; saw Doctor Coke who did not speak to me; but I had several more refreshing seasons, and embarked for *England* in the *Lark*, Capt. Williams, having my *Dr. Johnson* in company. The wind seemed contrary, and a prospect of a long and a tedious passage at first; however, the wind came round and we were favored with only about thirty hours on the water. A doctor of a Guineaman, a passenger, treated me at first ungentlemanlike on the way; Dr. Johnson fell in conversation with several of the cabin passengers, who were *Romanists*; which seemed to cast some light upon their minds, and on his informing them about me, they expressed a desire that I should preach in the cabin, which accordingly I did: the *Guinea doctor* was the first to propose and urge my preaching, he having previously made very humble acknowledgements for his rudeness, saying to my Doctor, that it had cost him a tear.

824. Saturday, July 12. We landed early in the morning at Liverpool, called on Mr. Forshaw my printer, and kind host, and after giving some directions about my books, we took our departure in the coach for *Warrington*, and arrived safe in the afternoon; where I found my friends well, and many glad to see us, and some of my spiritual children shed tears at our meeting.

Sunday 13th. I spoke four times; we had tender seasons.

14th. Gave my last, and many seemed to take fresh courage for the Christian race to glory, and one soul found peace.

825. 15th. We walked to Knutsford, I spoke in the *Old Methodist chapel*, but there seems to be a hardness over these meeting houses in England, so I don't have such good times in them as in Ireland and America, or even the third division here. We came to Macclesfield, where I spoke at night; *John Mee* and *Peter Philips*, being with us, having walked twenty-four miles that day.

A man being urged by his friends to read *deistical* writings, when dying CURSED those who were the instigators, and T. P's *Age of Reason*, being in black despair. Oh! how careful people should be, what they ask others to do; for one act may cause *repentance* with tears in vain, without a possibility of retraction.

19th. I feel much unwell, unusual sensations which I conceive originates from the abscess, but trust by God's favor to recover.

826. We have visited Joseph Bradford, one of the *oldest preachers* of the *Old Connexion*, he being a former friend and acquaintance of the Doctor's, he manifested after the Doctor's suggestion,

that had I called on him when I first came to town, I should have had the liberty of his pulpit; the young preacher was also willing, but the *trustees* objected.

I have held meetings twice every day since my arrival here, and there seems a quickening among the people. This party, it seems, were once of the *old Society*, but driven off on account of not obeying orders which *they* conceived to be hard; they call themselves the *Christian Revivalists*, some call them the *Free Gospellers*; they are of the third division (the *Kilhamites* being the second,) somewhat similar to the *Quaker Methodists*, and of the spirit of the *Methodists* in America.

827. Sunday, July 20th. My labors were equal to seven sermons, which gave me a fine sweat, that was very refreshing, and seemed to add to my health, as I felt better at night by far than in the morning, and more able to preach another sermon than I was at first. In speaking twice in the street I addressed about five thousand. I attended a love-feast, and wrestled with mourners at night, having stood, &c. about ten hours or upwards, in the different exercises through the day. I observed that for people to make a noise, and say loud amens, &c. was irksome to me, and I would like as well to hear a dog bark, unless it came from a proper feeling in the heart, which if it did, would carry its own conviction with it; but otherwise it would appear flat, and bring a deadness over the mind; and to make a fuss and pretend feeling without possessing it, is a piece of hypocrisy, like a man possessing a vessel of water partly full, yet would say it was running over; and to prove it, would *tilt* the cup that it might run over. Yet if people feel the power of God, (of which I have no doubt at times they do,) to constrain them to cry for mercy or shout for joy, I can bear it as well as any one. I dare not oppose it, knowing that God communicates these superlative blessings, that others also may be benefitted by it; as I have seen a general move from the conviction through one, more than from a whole sermon, which if the person had suppressed, he would have quenched the spirit of God.

I spoke sixteen times while here, which was short of six days; I think about twenty professed to find peace in that time; some backsliders were reclaimed, sinners awakened, and a considerable move in the town. Afterwards I was informed by a letter, that the revival went on increasing, so that three, five, eight, and even so many as fourteen appeared to be converted at a meeting, besides sundry who found peace the afternoon, evening and morning after my departure.

828. 21st. I found a similar people in Stockport, who had been driven out from the *Kilhamites*; I held meeting with them at night and next morning, which were comfortable times.

The late Society who separated at the *band-room* in *Manchester*, have seen the abuse of *itinerancy* so much, that they are prejudiced against having any at all, but think the gospel can be spread sufficiently by *local* preachers alone.*

22d. I arrived in the evening at *Oldham*, where also I found some of what may be called the *Third division*; had good times at night and in the morning.

23d. The Doctor, was with me all this time, and helped me some at *Macclesfield*; but being disappointed of a place in the coach, we set off on foot for *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, where we arrived next day in the afternoon.

On the way we were frequently beset with rain, and the Doctor having left his cloak and great coat behind, was exposed to the weather, and being unaccustomed to be much wet with rain, having always had a good fire at home, he was now put to his shifts, (possessing a delicate constitution,) and strove to take shelter beside a wall or rock more than once or twice; however, one time we stopped in a cottage, where he got some repose in sleep, whilst I dried his coat at a *peat* fire. Another time, we evaded a shower whilst resting at breakfast, yet the Doctor was determined, let the weather continue as it might, he would not be the cause of detaining me, so as to break my appointments. My sympathetic feelings in pity were tried, when I saw the tenderness and danger of his constitution, when taking shelter as above.

I could but reflect on the goodness of God, in making my constitution to require a great degree of exercise, according to my sphere of life and action, and also its preservation through the various changes, in different seasons, and different climes and circumstances.

829. From what I could collect, it appears to me that *Wm. B——* ought to have launched out as a champion for God, but unbelief to trust God with his family, &c. caused him apparently to shrink. Is it not possible for a man to lose a great share of his crown? It appears that he saw the formality and danger into which the English Connexion were exposed, and sinking: he came out for a space, and God began to open his way, but through unbelief, the reasoning of Satan, and the solicitation of his brethren, he was prevailed upon to *shrink, recant in part*, and return: in consequence of which, some pious ones, who requested Christian liberty to pray with mourners, &c. and united with him to dissent, were left in a dilemma here. They were similar to the *Quaker Methodists, Free Gospellers* or *Third Division*. Though most of these societies had no particular intercourse or communion together, or with each other. I suppose I was the first preacher who made them a general visit.

*This is a misconception.

They called a Conference some weeks ago, to *know* each other's minds, and see how near they could come towards the outlines of a general union. I was invited to Leeds by some of this society; I tarried several days, but it being a particular hurrying time in the cloth business, and the *Conference* of the *Old Connexion* sitting, I found it impracticable to get many to meeting on the *week days*, and on *Sunday* they chose to go and hear the old preachers, with whom they were acquainted. Here I saw *Adam Clarke*; I think I was informed, that he was acquainted with twenty-four different languages. He is esteemed a man of as great letters as any of the age, and all acquired by his own industry, without the aid of college or university.

He acknowledged to me, that he once was in the spirit of the *great revival* in *Cornwell*, and that he was almost ready to persecute *some*, who objected to the work, as an "impropriety and wild-fire," but "now (said he) I see *better*!" He treated me in all respects as I might expect from a gentleman: but his mind was made up against the Camp meetings in America, as being improper, and the revival attending them, as a thing accountable for altogether on natural principles. It seemed to me from circumstances, that he had got his mind hurt and prejudiced, through the abuse of revivals, which caused him to fix his mind to one invariable rule as a criterion for direction, viz. the old system, *order*—for he seemed determined not to listen to any argument, which might be adduced to solve the query. He was chosen *President* of the *Conference*, as I was informed, by a great majority of votes. This was an honor he had not sought for, but accepted it with considerable reluctance.

He was an old acquaintance and particular friend of the Doctor's, which opened a door for intimacy of conversation on some points,—— one of which was my singular way of proceeding, which he could not at all approve on any consideration, as being right; assigning as a reason, that, if *once* generally adopted by the body, it would completely destroy *Methodism* in three months; therefore, barred his mind against listening to any arguments, or making an *exception* to the general rule for particular cases.

This appears to me, to be wrong in any person, to form their mind hit or miss, right or wrong, to stick to the old system, as though it were infallible, or the summit of *perfection*. For to be thus bound up, without laying open our minds to conviction, as sincere inquirers after truth, is to *kill* the spirit of *inquiry*, and *prevent* the spreading of true knowledge and righteousness, and by so doing, vice will continue to reign, and the grossest errors go undiscovered or unclipt.

I heard him preach. Just before the meeting an anthem was

sung, apparently without the *spirit* or *understanding*, as nothing could be heard but a dead dull sound, &c.

The sermon was well delivered in speech, though there appeared much deadness in the beginning; but in his last prayer *he* grew somewhat fervent, until God began to send down *His* power; and there began a move among the people, when *he* seemed to *lower*, as if to *ward* off the move, to prevent a NOISE, which it seems the *English Connexion* in general are determined to prevent, as appears from their *conduct* and *publication* in the Magazine.

830. I heard *S. Bradburne*; he spoke somewhat lengthy, had the outlines of an *orator*, but I thought there were some *flaws* in his discourse, too great for a man of his supposed abilities, *e. g.* he insisted that a child is impure as it comes into the world, and is enlightened as soon as it is born, but not before; which would argue that a seven months child might be saved, and one come to the full time could not, were it to die but one day before its birth; accordingly, one should suppose according to his idea, that the being enlightened with the Divine light, was inseparably connected with the breathing the natural air, or receiving the natural light of the sun.

Here I also saw Dr. Coke, but so it happened that we did not exchange a word, though we met, passed and repassed each other in the streets, &c. I being a little one, must keep my place.

I carried a bundle of my journals to the door of the *Conference meeting*; one copy for each *Chairman of a District*, amounting to about twenty-five; and one for a preacher who agreed to take them in; these were all refused and returned. I sent one to the *Doctor's wife*, which she received with acknowledgments, saying afterwards when she had read some, that the more she read of it, the better she liked me, and had a better opinion of me than before, and that she had desired to see me when in *Dublin*, but was disappointed. She by accounts, is an agreeable, plain, fine little woman, of some piety: but if I am informed right, was not, nor is a Methodist, though I think the rule of Methodists in Europe, require marriage in society, if they do marry.

A. Clarke bought one of my journals at his lodgings at Bankers, where he had invited me to breakfast with him; giving more than the price, saying it was not enough.

831. 30th. Leaving my Doctor near *Leeds*, I came in the coach to Rochdale, whence I walked to Bolton, twelve or fifteen miles, where I held meeting at night by appointment, and next morning—both comfortable times.

31st. Went to Hayton and had a good time.

August 1st. Walked to Preston; disappointed of my books: spoke to a few, and next day returning, spoke in Blackrod.

Sunday 3d. spoke at twelve o'clock, went twelve miles to Leigh so to Loton, then to Warrington, (where I met my Doctor,) having spoken four times this day.

4th. Spoke here again, and *Miss Mary Barford* (eldest sister of *Martha*) who was principally educated, and brought up in London, under a rich aunt, who having no children, adopted her as her daughter, and dying, left her a large independent fortune, (she) being now here on a visit with her mother, giving me an opportunity of speaking closely with her concerning her soul's salvation; this night God gave her to feel the comfort of religion, and about two days after an evidence of her acceptance.—There are four in this family, whom the Lord has given me for my hire, who were all careless when I first visited this town.

5th. I spoke at *Lymn, Appleton, Thorne*, and *Peter Wright's*, where we had good times.

832. 6th. At *Preston-Brook*, and twice in *Frodsham*, where the Lord was with us; and after my last meeting in the evening, feeling my mind uneasy, I could not feel free to comply with various and strong solicitations to visit some new places; nor even *Macclesfield*, from whence we received the most urgent request, but walked to *Runcon* in the dark and rain, and sleeping none all night, was up betimes in the morning, and finding a packet just going off, I embarked for *Liverpool*, where I arrived about eleven o'clock. Got my affairs arranged, cleared out with my printer and bookbinder, contracted for a second edition of part of my second volume: then finding a boat with some passengers going to pursue a packet, I embarked in it, and overtook the vessel beyond the rock, where I got on board about five in the evening, with a positive direct head wind for several hours; the wind at length becoming favourable, we made the light-house in *Dublin* bay, when the wind and tide would not suffer us to proceed further; here they cast anchor, and I hired the sailors to put me ashore, and walking up by the *Pigeon-house*, arrived at home in *New-street* about noon, where I found my friends and *Peggy* well, having been on my passage about thirty-six hours, and left my Doctor behind me in *England*.

833. The *British Conference* read *N. Snethen's* letter to *Benson*, concerning me; yet it appears that it bore but little weight with them, considering its spirit; although they agreed according to its design, to have nothing to do with me. That sent to *Mr. Joyce* the book-steward in *Dublin*, was read in the leader's meeting, where it was unanimously agreed to have been wrote in a very bad spirit, so much as to be its own refutation: it was also read in conference, where it was investigated and received the same censure, which the *British conference* heard of, and did not scruple to mention it. It being asked if any one knew any thing

against me? One replied, that it was *said* I had taken two hundred dollars in one contribution, which was false; but if it were the case, what was that to *him* or them, if I made a proper use of it?

I am informed by a special letter from Joseph Mitchell, dated New York, May, 1806, that N. Snethen had *located*, and *that*, in consequence of his opposition, &c. Mr. Joyce tells me that he saw brother Beaty (a *local* preacher from America, come to see his friends here,) who informed him, that Mr. Snethen had mostly lost his congregations, in consequence of his bitter ambition or activity in writing to Europe against me.

834. Monday, August 12th. This morning early, the Doctor arrived safe, somewhat benefited by the excursion, as he thought himself, both in body and mind; his Letty had not been so long deprived of his company before for twenty-four years past; she seemed somewhat uneasy at my return without him, but I replied, it would be some guineas benefit to her, to learn to trust all things with God; and now her joy at his return took place of fears. I find Matthew Lanktree, my old particular friend, is appointed assistant or head preacher of Dublin; by what I can understand, *he* would be willing to let me have the pulpits, but the trustees were in the way. Alice Cambridge gave up her meetings always to me; and her room in Golden Lane, near Whitefriar street chapel, is open to me; where I constantly hold meetings at eight o'clock in the evenings, so as not to clash with their hour; this room I conceive to be better filled than any worship place in Dublin.

834. Sunday 17th. By invitation I took coach with two friends about sixteen miles to Balbriggen; a little deformed man behaved as if a legion of devils was in him, as he on the road would neither be still nor civil, but apparently profligate in order to irritate and ruffle *me*.

I saw church service performed, but never saw any thing appear so much like a *sham* to represent reality, as this ceremony by way of religious worship; neither did I ever have a greater sense of the difference there was between praying and singing prayers: I thought, if human wisdom could have invented a machine to go by steam, to preach and pray and say amen, and also make the organ play, and call to charm a parcel of beasts, when no human intelligent was there, that it would be Divine worship as much in reality, as some things which are now substituted for it.

835. I held meeting in a private house in the evening, and some Romanists and children, attempted to make a disturbance in the street, when a sudden shower of rain dispersed them, so we had a quiet meeting, and next morning also, and I think that good was done. Hence I returned to *Dublin*, and put the third edition

of the first volume of my journal to press, also *thought on different religious subjects.*

I continued my meetings, in Golden Lane, night after night, the house was generally crowded. I also held some meetings in the barracks, and there appeared some fruit of them to my encouragement.

836. Sunday 24th. I walked to the *camp*, and spoke in a hut built by the soldiers in the following manner:—James Ransford, my book-binder, frequently held meetings in various places with the army and near this they had no place, but a quarry in a corn field, and being exposed to the weather, as no person would hire them a place, he got application made to the barrack master, (by the quarter-master-serjeant,) who gave them leave to cut sods on the camp ground to make the wall, though the privilege had been refused for soldier's families; they set to work by cutting a platform out of the side of a hill, leaving the back in such a form as served for a wall, with the bottom part projecting for a seat; the other three sides were raised as above with sods or turf well beaten down solid, then a kind of rafter was put on for the roof to be thatched with straw; but now they were put to their shifts to know how to complete it, as their finances were now out, having paid the irreligious for their labor, not feeling free to receive it gratis, which was offered; but about half an hour after the discouragements, concerning straw for thatching, which was then dear, an officer brought them a pound note, &c. and shortly after some shillings, so the house was completed; it would contain about one hundred persons. Most of the officers attended my meeting, and amongst them the head one. They gave good attention, and as I was informed, expressed satisfaction and wished that I would come again.

As I was returning I passed one, who to me appeared like a coxcomb;* I was informed he belonged to the *Stranger's Friend Society*, and was sent here to preach. When he arrived and was informed that I had held a meeting, which seemed to supercede his exhibition, he broke out in a rage, and began to scold before the unconverted: saying, that I was not countenanced nor accountable for my conduct; which hurt tender minds.

I have continued my meetings at *Golden Lane* all this week, and once in the barracks, and the work seems to deepen and increase.

837. Tuesday, September 2d. The devil viewing the danger of his kingdom, began to work in the minds of the people, and to raise confusion and disturbance; however, on my return from meeting, I took a street out of my customary way, by which means

* His name was *Murphy*.

I escaped the rabble, who were in pursuit: one of whom was heard to say, "*Now for the life of Lorenzo,*" another cried, "*mind the white hat,*" &c. &c. The former escaped by desperate exertion, with his coat much torn and dirtied; the latter was secured by my friends, (after having a sharp contest between the parties,) and kept by the watchmen until morning, when the alderman being partial, discharged him at the earnest intercession of his mother.

The next evening, some peace-officers, with others, brought swords, pistols, &c. but I retired unobserved through an intricate passage and so baffled the mob.—Another night, a friend changed hats with me, so they were deceived.

My friends finding fault at my so obscurely retiring, I came off with the Doctor, the usual way, and one beginning to cry for the mob, received a blow on the head, which kept him quiet; however, about half way, a drunken attorney, in derision, asked if we had a good meeting, to which was replied, yes, but thy master's servants did not like it. A friend interrogating concerning an obscence and scurrilous reply, receiving a blow as answer, for which the Attorney was taken in custody, not without a torn shirt, &c.

8th. *Lord Belvedere* and his *Lady*, this evening and last Saturday, attended meetings—on Thursday, by invitation, I took tea with them, and a *Presbyterian Minister* present, wanted to know what A-double-L-part, in my journal meant, or who the A-double-L-part people were.

Lady B———'s sisters are under good impressions; we all came together in the coach to meeting, and on Saturday evening I took tea at his house again, and held meeting with a select party, and by his desire spoke largely on A-double-L-part, and the 8th and 9th of Romans, &c.

838. Sunday 14th. We had several comfortable meetings. I have spoken once particularly to the little boys. I have held Sunday meetings, similar to class meetings, in which I find many who not long since, were careless, now stirring up to seek religion, some of whom are rejoicing in God. My mind seems strangely drawn out in exercises, and views of the present time in the *political world*, the state of *Zion*, whose walls are broken down, and how to counteract the kingdom of darkness, by expanding the travail of *Zion*,

839. 18th. A general meeting of the official members of the *Methodist Society* in the city, was held this evening, by a special call, on my account: I went and made a speech to the following purport, in the loft where *Tobias* had once checked me: said I, "I remember near seven years ago, to have been in this house: I have my feelings as well other men, and sometimes tried. There

are on a moderate calculation, near one hundred persons or more, under awakenings of late, from my labors in *Golden Lane*, I feel it my duty indispensably, to travel as I do, and of course cannot watch over them, but desire to recommend them to your care: yet as I fear that some of them are somewhat prejudiced against the Methodists, they will not come into class, unless they are led on by degrees; wherefore, I wish if any plan can be devised to meet the circumstance, that it may be adopted, knowing they will be apt to fall away, unless united to some religious body; and I feel more unity with none, to recommend them to, than you." I was then asked, "who should watch over them?" I replied, "one of your leaders," and observed, if they had any questions to ask me, I would solve them, if I could, to their satisfaction. A general silence prevailed. Then I was interrogated, if I had any thing more to say. And also repeatedly, whether I did not design to return to Dublin, and make a party? As soon as I replied, I retired.

A talk was held amongst themselves, and *Matthew Lanktree*, the assistant preacher, with *J. Jones*, was desired to tell me the next morning, which they did, viz. that they had agreed to receive any I should recommend to them, after examining them; but could not think it expedient, to have classes formed particularly at or from *Golden Lane*, lest it should appear too much like a party business, and they say "we are *Lorenzo's people*;" but would intermix them with the classes, amongst the solid members. Oh! when will the time commence, when people shall be actuated with only purity of intention in all things, to glorify God and not be afraid to follow his *providential openings* with the leadings of the *spirit*, and exercise faith enough to leave the contingencies of events with him.

840. 19th. *Justice Bell*, (who it appears has made his livelihood, of late years, by exerting himself to bring people to the gallows,) interrupted our meeting, saying, I could not talk common English, because I used the word "*besom*," for which he was put out of the house, getting several blows in his passage. Finding that he was known by the peace-officers, &c. he cried, "keep the peace and I'll support you"—this to deceive them. Next day the *Rev. Mr. M'Cay*, father-in-law to *Lord Belvedere*, with *Mr. Clark* a justice of the peace, called on *Bell* to enquire and demand a public apology; but he to cloak the matter, denied the charge.

Several persons were considerably injured in the hubbub and getting out of the window, &c. amongst these was a young woman, who had a bone of her arm put out of joint, and the next evening absconding again, (as *Bell's* sons were present with drawn swords, &c.) she felt conviction for her littleness of faith, which

she acknowledged the next day at meeting, and has since been happy in religion.

Saturday evening there also was a hubbub, and one or two hundred persons came home with me, to escort me almost every night, which caused a rumpus through the streets; as some were friends and some were foes, part of which were for my safety, the others would fling stones; sundry on each side, were charged upon the watch; but the aldermen, &c. were such poor things, that none of the disorderly were brought to trial.

841. Sunday 21st. I spoke four times, being feeble in body; but could not feel freedom to attend *Golden Lane* at night, where *Alic C——e* spoke, as I felt there would be a disturbance, which was the case, and a guard of soldiers with fixed bayonets, came to keep the peace, the watch being found insufficient.

22d. Going to meeting, a stone from a youth through design, hit me in the back near the kidney, the shock of which I felt for several days. This exhibits to view why it is that the common Irish have the name over the world for wicked, disorderly, conduct, being kept in ignorance, and trained up in bigotry and prejudice, without the fear of God; this to me shows the propriety of literature for general information, and encouragement for freedom of thought on conscientiousness.

23d. Being informed of some little uneasiness in the mind of the man, who lent us the house in *Golden Lane*, as the mob had broke the windows, &c. and escaped without prosecution; I thought proper to discontinue my meetings, and so appointed my last for the next day afternoon, and a contribution to repair the injuries, &c.

24th. Spoke from Acts xx. 25, 26, 27, and had a solemn tender time. God opened the hearts of the people, so that a redundancy was received.

842. The last night a powerful mob was assembled; but as I spoke on the nature, &c. of camp meetings, their minds were so attracted, that we met with but little disturbance during the meeting, and as I retired through a back, intricate way, the mob lost the object of their aim, though they had a race through a number of streets. I knew nothing of this all the time, but by a strong impulse went into a friend's house, and felt as if in safety; and as I thrice attempted to come out for home, I felt a forbidding, unaccountable for on natural principles, which I expressed to *J. Jones*, and he sending for a coach brought me home in it. When *Dr. Johnson* told me what had happened in the streets, and it appears that many were determined on some horrid action of violence, if we judge from their weapons and conduct.

Thus far the Lord has delivered me, though a female friend it appears received a blow for my sake, mistaking (in the dark) her

bonnet and pelisse, for my gray hat and surtout. I was unwell for some days, which prevented my going to the country; also the delay of my books, the workmen being indolent.

Mr. Parsons, the owner of the house in *Golden Lane*, sent me a note expressing a desire that I should hold more meetings in it, which I accordingly occupied sundry times at five, P. M. so that the rabble would not be at leisure. Justice Clark, with some difficulty, procured me the liberty of the *Taylor's Hall* in *Black Lane*, which I occupied two evenings at seven o'clock; but as the hour clashed with Whitefriar street, I thought proper to discontinue, lest the last part of my conduct should seem to contradict the first; however, it appeared that considerable numbers of the fruit of *Golden Lane*, have joined the Methodist Society, by my advice to go to *Matthew Lanktree, &c.**

843. I was taken very unwell of late, with a convulsive affection of my belly, similar to that which I was seized with at Carlow, and my Doctor said *he* had never before seen or heard of any person under the same affliction altogether. The disorder was somewhat keen and very awakening, and continued at intervals for several days.

Matthew Lanktree sent me a printed ticket with my name on it, and signed with his own, to admit me to the love-feast; but being somewhat weak in body, I did not think proper to attend, and also might feel it my duty to speak somewhat more than would be agreeable or acceptable, which to prevent, I might come with a burthened mind, as most of the leading and official characters were to be there.

844. Several friends came to see me—a question was proposed, “would I be willing for a petition to be drawn up, &c. to get signers, for the opening to me the Wesley Chapel?” I replied, “what other people do, is nothing to me; but I would advise not, as I conceive that it would be labor lost, and raise a hubbub by causing uneasiness, &c. I observed, that when I came to Dublin, it was with expectation of seeing a revival, and I was not disappointed; yet I believe that much more good would have been done, had I had a place to have access to the people, but those who had it in their power to accommodate me and did not, the blood will lay at their door, if good was prevented through their omission—for I feel conscientiously clear; therefore, I shall leave their conscience and their God to settle it together.

Shortly after I was interrogated by a visitor, to know if I intended to denounce judgments against the Society; another

* See his Letters in the Appendix.

inquired of my printer, if I was going to print (a similarity to a Pope's bull) and call names, &c.

845. October 16th. This day I enter upon my thirtieth year, twenty-five of which I could reflect back, and behold they are gone as a dream, and thirty years more will soon revolve, which if I live will bring me to the ordinary age of man. Oh ! the preciousness of time !—Oh ! the duration of eternity.

I held several meetings at *Golden Lane*, as I have been detained here about two weeks by contrary winds, and waiting for the Doctor.

846. I received a letter from Matthew Lanktree,* the assistant preacher, mentioning that about thirty or upwards of those who had been awakened, had joined his Society on my recommendation of them to his watch care, and that many of them were rejoicing in God.

847. 23d. The wind came fair, and we embarked with Captain Thomas in the *Duchess of York*, for Liverpool; being accompanied from the Doctor's house to *Pigeon house*, by mamma Letty and Sally Jones, who had procured a coach for that purpose.

Here I could but now reflect, when I sailed up this river, near seven years ago, with *five shillings and six pence* British in my pocket, without credentials or acquaintance, where to go; but was a poor stranger in a strange land, having none to rely upon; but like the fowls of the air, to trust Divine Providence for my daily bread. This was living by faith, instead of sight; and a trial of my faith it was; but God did carry me through.

Now the scene is changed—I have friends to convey me in a carriage, by the side of the river—I have now a wife and a daughter, and my way opening before me.

848. When I sailed from Quebec, it appeared to me that God chose to make use of that means to recover my health, for some end unknown to me. But now we think I dimly see the end or purpose, viz. to lay a foundation for the enlargement of Zion's borders, for God works by means: and simple means answer the most noble ends—a small mustard seed in the *east* will produce a great tree; and the kingdom of God is compared to it, and to a *vine*. I also see even some of the effects (in different respects) of my former visit, particularly in the publication of my conversion, &c. to give away, though it then took all my money but one guinea, just as I was taken ill of the small-pox.

After about twenty-seven hours sail, we anchored in the river, and the next morning went on shore at Liverpool. I

* See Appendix.

was considerably unwell on the passage, both as it relates to the convulsions arising from my late abscess or humour, &c. and the foulness of my stomach, which was the bitterest of the bitter, and set my teeth on edge, which thing I had never heard of before—this was not the effect of sea-sickness. My Doctor was of singular use to me at this time.

849. Sunday, October 26th. We took coach and came to Warrington, where we arrived about noon. and found our friend Peter Phillips from home. So we went to the chapel where Peter was preaching; but espying us through the window, told the people, and sat down in the midst of his discourse, as if just assembled. However, as we came in, the conduct of the auditory expressed their joy at our arrival. I sat down, and we had a *Quaker meeting* for some time, i. e. *silence*. At length Peter spoke, and I dismissed the people. I spoke twice, and the next evening also; but had my fears that some had not been as faithful as they should.

28th. Set off on foot for Macclesfield; but felt so weak in body that I could scarcely go two miles an hour. However, Mary B———, who had heard me speak by way of warning, concerning what I thought was coming over the country, and felt as if a witness in her own breast, concluded to have some talk with me on the subject of America, as being an asylum to those who might escape from the storm, as she had an independent fortune fallen to her, from a relation who brought her up in London. She accordingly took post-chaise with her sister Martha—overtook us on the road—insisted on our getting in, and carried us to our destined place. Immediately after our arrival, word ran through the town “The Doctor and the American are come,” and that night there came more than could get into the house.

We tarried a few days, and found wonders had been wrought since our departure—between two and three hundred had joined society by conviction, and several strange things had taken place, amongst which was a dumb boy who had seen me cutting the initials of my name upon a tree, as he was passing by on crutches, came to meeting—got happy, and desired to express it to others, and was enabled so to do, in the power of speech and songs, to the surprise of the people. His father had strove to hire him to speak; had flattered, and even threatened to flog him if he did not; but all in vain.

The people carried the news to his father, that his son could talk, which he was scrupulous to believe, (for joy) saying I must put my ear to his mouth, to be sure that the sound comes from him.

A *Deist*, also, who had been a commissioned officer, in both the navy and army, and had been in many parts of Europe and Africa, a great profligate, and a disciple of *Voltaire*, having heard of the American preacher, with the white hat, &c. happening to see me in the street, was excited by curiosity, or some other motive, to come to meeting; and so it happened, that whilst I related a story of a negro, who feeling so happy that he shouted the praise of God, was asked by a *gentleman deist* passing by: "Negro! what do you praise God for? Negroes have got no souls?" The negro replied, "Massa, if black man got no soul, religion make my body happy;" the power of God fastened it on his mind, that he wanted *his* body happy, and could not rest until he gave up his *deism*, and found what the negro expressed.

I visited some other places, but found my bodily strength to decay, being much agitated with the *asthma* or *convulsions*, as if nature was breaking loose, shrinking, and giving up. The people would flock out to meeting as many or more than could get into the house before day, so that my meetings could conclude as soon as it was light.

850. So I visited Preston-brook—hence in a gig to Frodsham, where I had comfortable meetings. A backslidden Methodist, (a sea-captain) whom I happened to lay hold of by the hair in the meeting, and putting my finger on his heart, told him my thoughts—he felt the truth of my remarks, and the next morning, as soon as it was day, with a hand set out to carry me in an open boat to Liverpool, there being no flats ready. We had proceeded a few miles, when we espied a flat beating forward. The morning-being calm, we strove to fall in with her on her tack, which brought us into the middle of the river, that was about a league broad. Of a sudden there came on a puff from a squall of wind, the most sudden I ever saw. We could not catch the flat, nor stem the wind, nor gain the shore. Scarcely had we turned round to run before the wind, when the squall overtook us, which seemed to raise the waves, and yet to smooth them, so as to prevent breakers. In this state the *Runcon Packet* espied us, and bore down to our relief. I was so chilled that I could not clamber into the vessel, but was dragged in by main force. My state was truly sensible of being attended with convulsions, the surprise of the passengers, &c.

A well dressed female on board, was so indecent in her conduct with the Captain, in presence of the passengers, as I had never been witness to the like before. It makes me think of the state of Port-au-Prince and Cape St. Francois before the insurrection, and of former nations who had filled up the mea-

sure of their iniquities, like the Canaanites or Sodom, &c. And if this be a specimen of this country, is not the downfall of many at the door?

851. On my arrival in Liverpool, I found my appointment was not given out until for next evening, which gave me some rest. An A-double-L-part-man, who had in general executed his work well for my printer, Forshaw, was employed to do my books; but departed from the pattern given him, and had like to have spoiled some hundreds, as he fell into a passion, and became saucy and fretful without a cause, (unless it were the subject of my writings.) I went to see him—he acknowledged the above, which made me think of *Charles Wesley* having once said in company, “I can always know a C——t by his temper.” One replied, “that’s a lie.” C——W——rejoined, “Hah! *Leviathan*, have I drawn the out with a hook.”

I got some more letters from America, one of which informs me that Bishop Whatcoat is dead, and of a *Camp Meeting*, in the little state of Delaware in which eleven hundred and sixty-five professed to be converted, and six hundred and six sanctified. Oh! may the flame kindle over the whole earth.

I had a comfortable meeting in Zion chapel, and then took the canal packet to Wigan, where Dr. J———n and brother J. Mee, from Warrington met me. We proceeded to Hayton, where I held three meetings—met the children, and found the work prospering.

852. Sunday, November 9th. Spoke in Bolton, and next morning, and thence returned to Warrington, through Lowton, where I had ordered an appointment, which through mistake was given out for a wrong hour; so I left them very abruptly, bidding none farewell, leaving my *Doctor* and J. Mee, behind me. However, this turned for good: for as the Doctor had previously spoken of visiting this family, they would not readily let him off. The people assembled, and the Doctor spoke near an hour and a half to their general satisfaction, which I think seemed somewhat to raise his drooping mind.

I visited *Risley* with some satisfaction.

12th. Set out from Lymn, but through weakness of body was necessitated to give over, and requested my *Doctor* to proceed to Lymn, as a gig was waiting for us on the way. He did, and found a congregation waiting, and spoke to them with a degree of liberty, and I believe to their general satisfaction, and some to himself.

A man of no religion living near Warrington, in a neighborhood where I had frequently felt a desire to hold meetings, came and invited me. A thought struck me to ask him if he had plenty of stable room, as I had some thoughts of getting travel-

ling convenience in consequence of my late weakness; he replied in the affirmative, and also added, he had a horse and chair at my service.

853. November 13th, 1806. Some months ago I took tea in company with a *preacher's* wife of the name of *Beaumont*, and gave her a *Camp meeting book*. They were stationed this year at Congleton, and the account which she gave of me, caused a desire in the breasts of the *official members* that I should pay their town a visit, particularly after they had heard of the revival in Macclesfield, and some of them had heard me preach. It was tried at the leader's meeting whether I should be invited there.—Some strenuously opposed it, among whom was the *young preacher*—*Beaumont* the *assistant* was silent. However it was carried by a great majority; and one told the young preacher that he had better go home to the plough, than talk in such a manner.

At first I had thoughts of taking Peggy with me on this visit. But upon reflection thought best to have my Doctor; so we proceeded in the carriage to the place, where we arrived about six in the evening, and were cordially received by friends who had sat up the preceding night, expecting me by the coach, and were now preparing to send in search of me.

I felt as if this field was ripe for harvest. About seven, the chapel was nearly filled, and though I felt weak in body, I appointed four meetings for next day, intending to make a proper trial in the town. The people thought, surely the *American* intends to give us preaching enough.

14th. At half past five in the morning, the chapel was half full, and more at noon. At six the house was filled and at eight overflowed.

15th. Had four meetings also, and the Doctor went to Macclesfield which appeared providential, as otherwise the people would have been disappointed; which was prevented to the people's general satisfaction as far as I could learn.

Sunday 16th. I spoke at six in the chapel, at twelve in the open air, to, as some supposed, from four to eight thousand. After *Beaumont* had done in the evening, I addressed the same congregation, and those members who had opposed my coming, were detained to hear, as they could not get out, which I believe removed some prejudice as some of them heard me again.

Monday 17th. House nearly filled at half past five, and I invited the mourners to meet me at twelve; a number came, and *Beaumont's* wife took an active part in helping me to pray with them. In the evening the house was filled at both meetings as usual.

18th. Meeting again in the morning, and appointed my *farewell* for noon; there was a large auditory attended, at the close of the meeting I invited the mourners to come forward: about

fifty distinguished themselves. I prayed with them, several professed to find deliverance. I retired, leaving a number of mourners with those who were helping me. The work spread and become more general, so that people flocked from various parts of the town to see what was the matter. The meeting continued until night, after which, two young men came after me to Macclesfield where I was gone, and brought me the news before day, that about sixty had professed to find peace before the conclusion; among these were my hostess, who had been a thorn to her husband for about twenty-three years, and a profligate son of the man who had been the principal cause of my coming.

Beaumont said he would rather have a noise that would blow the roof off the house, than have the people all dead. These were *Old Methodists*, and there was no separate party at Congleton; but a great majority of the leaders, &c. were determined to leave the society if the invitation was prevented, which I knew not of until afterwards.

854. At Macclesfield these *Quaker-Methodists* or *Third Division*, who called themselves *Revivalists*, were hoped, by the *Old Methodists*, to have dwindled away; but now this expectation was given up, apprehending that my visits had been the means of their perpetuation, in consequence of the late great revival, and large addition to their society.

On my first coming to Macclesfield, my Doctor being acquainted with Joseph Bradford, the head preacher, waited on him with the originals of my credentials, &c. letting him know that I was no party man, but kept in as close connexion with the Old Society as the nature of my calling would admit.

He with the young preacher, was willing I should have their pulpit, but it was objected to by the official members; which, as I was well informed, caused him to lose a night's rest. But now I received an invitation to occupy the house. I spoke twice, to about one thousand five hundred each time, and twice at the *Revivalists*. Some of the minds of these were pained, and the conduct of the others reminded me of a little fierce dog I once saw, who, to save his food would only come when the cat was called. Oh! party spirit! when will it be abolished from the earth?

855. Wednesday 19th. Came to *Knutsford* in the evening, but found my appointment had not been given out according to my direction; however, I spoke at eight o'clock, and early in the morning: at the last meeting there seemed some good impressions.

856. My mind was distressed; I took no food in town, and but little sleep, which was on a hard seat near the fire in the kitchen, and walked off on my way before daylight, after dismissing the people and leaving the *Doctor* to get the chair and follow me.—

We arrived in *Warrington* as soon as we could, where I found the family; but not seeing my *Peggy*, I enquired where she was. Went up stairs and found her lying sick upon the bed, just as I had seen her in my sleep the night before. She was in a nervous fever, as the Doctor said, having been taken unwell the night I went away. An unconverted *Doctor or Apothecary* attended her; but whether he had done much harm or good, I know not: however, he was now dismissed, as I had the one I desired with me, who, if he were in *Dublin*, I should have sent for him. He, the first day, seemed to think the fever only a momentary thing, and in no wise dangerous; but next day shook his head as he was going to *Frodsham*, where he held two meetings to the general satisfaction of the people; and returning found the fever inflexible, which seemed to leave little grounds for hopes of recovery.

Peggy complained of great heaviness and continual sinking, like the giving up of nature; which the Doctor said was the nature of her disorder, arising from a complaint in the liver, that she had been more or less affected with for many years, and was the cause (by the humour getting into the blood) of her long continued infirmities, and particularly fainting, &c. with which she had been attacked in *America*, and the cause of which had not been understood.

Having several appointments given out, my present circumstances were such, that I scrupled about fulfilling them, considering her situation and my own weakness, until Mary B———d requested, as doing her a favor, that I would accept the loan of a carriage, &c. In company with Peter Phillips, I visited *Northwich*, the metropolis of the circuit, where I spoke twice in the *Old Methodist* meeting house, I believe to the general satisfaction—good was done, and some prejudice removed.

Sunday 23d. Spoke at the forest at ten A. M. Many had to stand in the rain; but we had a shout, which frequently drowned my voice.

857. As I was passing the *Moor*, I could not but reflect on *Nixon's* prophecy of a battle to be fought in this place, in which England should be won and lost three times in one day, whilst a miller with three thumbs should hold three kings horses: which I remarked in my discourse at *Newpale* at two o'clock; and was afterwards informed that a miller of the above description now resided at the mill mentioned in the prophecy; and moreover, that "in the neighborhood where *Nixon* (called the *Cheshire fool*) lived, it was received as a truth, that many things which he had prophesied, did really come to pass, and that he died of hunger in the palace of *James I.* according to his own prediction in his native place."

I spoke in the evening at *Norley*, but many could not get within hearing, so I spoke in the chapel next morning, which was nearly filled: and I since hear that a good work then began. Thence to *Bradley Orchard*, where we had a quickening time; also at *Frodsham*: from hence to *Warrington*, having been absent fifty-two hours, held nine meetings, and travelled about fifty miles.—Found *Peggy* still in her sinking, low state: the first word she spoke as I entered the room, was, "Where is my Jesus?"

858. The Doctor said he had never known more powerful means used with so little effect, on account of the inflexibility of the fever.—I observed the Doctor to make use of the *oil of tar*, (not the spirits of turpentine) externally on the feet, and a preparation of camphor and opium internally, which produced such a copious sweating that her clothes were necessitated to be changed twice in a night, and this successively for several days: we also used a large stone bottle filled with hot water, kept constantly to the feet: these had the desired effect, and were the only means that seemed to give any relief to the *sinking* (as she called it) which the Doctor said proceeded from the disorder in the liver approaching towards a mortification; the poisonous corrupt humour of it operating upon the heart and nervous system, and producing this sensation; and he since has added, that he never before saw any one in a similar situation, who did not die or fall into melancholy, madness or despair.

The man who had lent me his horse and chair for *Congleton*, had invited me to hold meetings in a large barn at *Stocktonheath*, where he resided: these I now attended to with assiduity in evenings: and *Mary B*—— favoring me with a seat in a carriage, was of no small convenience at this time, as my body was still weak, not being entirely free from the convulsions: and also attending mostly by night and day to *Peggy*, as we had no watchers of consequence till towards the last, and no proper nurses at this time, though the family did all in their power for our convenience; but the mistress was taken sick with the fever, and our little child taking the infection from the breast, made the house a kind of hospital at this time.

859. Sunday, Dec. 6th. I held meeting last evening and three to-day in the *Kilhamite* or *New Connexion* chapel in *Ches-ter*, where there seemed to be a considerable quickening amongst a barren people. *J. Mallison*, the preacher, is one of the sweetest, liberal hearted, spirited men I have seen in that connexion, as in general they are too much given to finding fault with the *Old Methodists*.

On my return the outward appearance seemed a little more ghastly to me; but the Doctor replied that the inward symptoms were to the reverse.

On Tuesday the symptoms again appeared unfavourable: on Wednesday I felt an omen in my mind as if something in our circumstances was going to turn up.

In the afternoon a spiritual daughter of mine from *Elsby*, (a country place about twelve miles off) came to see us; and so it happened in conversation, that she agreed to take our child and attend it with motherly care, they being in comfortable circumstances; and also our watcher seemed to answer so well that I prevailed with her to give up her own employment, and attend upon Peggy till the conclusion of her illness.

The workshop being contiguous to the house, the work of both lofts, together with the noise of the children, annoyed Peggy more than she was well able to bear, which she had not complained of until now; so I determined to move her to the house of Peter Wright, at Stretton, about four miles off, in the country, where the air was more pure.

Dr. Johnson set up with her about fifteen nights without taking off his clothes; neither did I change mine for three or four and twenty days: however, the jarring of the coach did her no injury, but in a few days some symptoms of a recovery were entertained.

860. She was now called to a fresh trial. I had felt it on my mind ever since my leaving America, to pay *Ireland* a general visit; and as circumstances had turned up, and feeling my soul bound to America in the spring, I had no opportunity until now immediately; which circumstances I stated to her: she said, go: however, I tarried a week later; we then joined in prayer—I went to Stockton Heath, spoke at night, then took coach to Liverpool, so lost my night's rest: but as no packet had sailed for two weeks, nor probably would shortly, (the winds being contrary,) I got my affairs adjusted, and took packet to Chester, but was disappointed in getting a seat in the mail coach for Holly-head; but another in a circuitous rout presented to view, in which I was over-charged in my fare, on account of my ignorance, being a stranger: also was deceived, as a cross coach was to take me on the road, which perhaps might be full, so I lose my accommodation; thus I lost the next night's rest, but had not gone twenty miles before I changed my inside to an outside passage, the cross coach being so full, and had not a man quitted the coach to accommodate me, should have been left in the lurch. My situation was trying, it being an hundred and twenty miles, and exceedingly cold and rainy: also some young Irish officers, of the Popish religion, just from Malta, were continually my tormentors over these Welch mountains, many miles of which I walked to avoid them, the coach being overloaded. One day as I passed a lake or pond of water, a whirlwind from a mountain crossed the road just as I had passed: I could but reflect on a providential

care, when I saw the water forced many yards into the air. Took food but twice on the journey. Had not time to procure provisions, but went on board in my wet clothes. (as a packet was then ready to sail) and took my passage in the hold with the horse, rag, tag, and bobtail, to avoid the Irish officers. Thus I continued from Saturday to Monday, when a boat double manned, by signal came to take some out. charged treble price; adding they never were in such swells before. Pawning a note to satisfy them, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could get to the Doctor's house, where Mrs. Johnson got me a cup of tea, with a hearty welcome. I lay down before the fire to dry myself, it being now Monday evening, and my last refreshment was breakfast on Saturday.

861. Here the hand of Providence was manifest. I arrived in Dublin just before the Holydays, which are kept more sacred than Sunday. At a leader's meeting, (being informed I was come,) it was broached by some who had been distant heretofore, if they should not open the Dublin houses, which hitherto had been shut against me, and it was not objected by general vote, wherefore Matthew Lanktree, the assistant or superintendant preacher, took me to Gravel Walk meeting house, where I exhorted after sermon—thence a way opened for me to hold meeting in Whitefriar street meeting house, where I spoke a number of times both evenings and mornings; then Mr. Averill (who was a church clergyman,) formed me a rout through Ireland, adding a kind of recommendation to this purport: "Our Brother Lorenzo Dow has preached in Whitefriar street and Gravel Walk meeting houses, he travels Ireland relying on God—in the name of the Lord I wish him success, or bid him God speed.

ADAM AVERILL.

Dublin, December," &c.

862. The man by the name of Wade, who had took me in his gig to Wicklow, accommodated me with it on this intended journey also. It being whispered that I wanted a young man to attend me, to take care of the horse and gig, one by the name of *John Fleming*, obtaining his master's consent, offered. The first day we went to Drochedea, where I spoke five times in the Methodist meeting house, and Tholsel, thence to Cullen, spoke twice—Dundalk once—mostly Roman Catholic. At Carrickmaccross meeting, not being appointed, I spoke in the street to a few attentives, and went to King's Court, spoke in the market-house, and stayed with Mr. Dyoss, a kind family; thence to Baleborough, spoke in the street and in the house; so to Coote Hill, where were three houses for meeting in a row. The Methodists had invited all the

Calvinists in the town to come: I spoke on A-double-L-partism, which gave great offence, as it was wrongly supposed to be designedly done, which one being abashed, the other exasperated—neighbors would hardly speak to each other next day. At *Clones* saw *Wood*, whom I had seen when in this country before—his friendship still remained—spoke twice—appointed when to come again, and went to *Cavan* a cool town—hard people—spoke twice, and also at *Kilmore*, in the house of——— brother to——— who abridged the church articles for America, when *Dr. Coke* was designed to come over, &c. spoke six times in *Granard*, and an A-double-L-part church minister taking offence, went out—twice at Old Castle—twice at *Mulengar*—once at *Terilspass*—also at *Kilbegan*—then to *Bracke castle*, to the house of a great man, of about three thousand sterling per annum; he thought I had an errand to his family: some of this *Handy* family followed me to *Moate*. I visited *Moss Town*, tarrying with *Mr. Kingston* in a great house, but as the family were designingly striving to retard or detain me from meeting, saying, it was too late, &c. I suddenly and abruptly left the table, found the way out of the house, and pushed off to meeting, which brought out all hands upon a jaunting car; and also next morning I visited *Goshen* and *Lisduff*—held four meetings—saw the wife of the clergyman who had left the meeting; she was a pious Methodist, but got deceived in his A-double-L-partism, until the matrimonial knot was tied, and many a poor woman gets imposed upon as a cypher for a husband; spoke twice in *Longford*—good times—saw *Mr. Armstrong*, a preacher, and I believe an excellent man. *Athlone*, spoke twice—called for mourners, but none coming forward; one who did not preach, though he had the name, said, “the people here are uncircumcised in heart and ears, and will not stoop and bow to *Lorenzo*.” His name was *Robinson*. Next morning about twenty came up under the melting power of God to be prayed for—thence to *Clara*, where some of the *Handy* people were—thence to *Tullamore*, and several friends met me on the way, one of which was *Christopher Wood*. When in this country before, I felt distressed and abruptly left a house of quality, where I intended to lodge, late at night—I met this man in the street and went home with him, whose wife from that time became serious; so now I had a home—had two good meetings—got the gig repaired and went to *Mountmilleck*—pressed a man to send a bell man through the town, to ring out the people, saying, “put on the courage of a man”—he did—afterwards I found he was a Methodist preacher. Spoke twice at *Portarlington*—here I received the solemn news of the death of our only child—I felt as if a part of myself was gone; yet could not murmur, but felt with submission to say, “the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away,

blessed be his Name:" it is a feeling which nothing but experience can fully realize. Though our Letitia be no more seen, yet she having escaped the evil to come, with all the vain snares of this delusive world. I trust it is not long before we shall meet above, where parting shall be no more.—What must have been the feeling of poor Peggy, when in a strange land, given over to die, at least but small probability of meeting again—her husband and child absent—and then the news of the death of the latter to reach her ears?—Experience only can tell. Messrs. Jones and Griffen, who brought me the above news, accompanied me to Monsteverin and Athy, and talked about going to America.—I visited a country place, and then to Maryborough, stayed with *John Campoin*, who was a happy local preacher when I was here before; but now he is in an uncomfortable state, some uncomfortable circumstances having turned up; he spoke frequently, finding fault and speaking of the faults of the Methodists, which is too frequently the case with backsliders, retailing the improprieties of others without mending their own. Vice ought to be discountenanced, but to watch others with a jealous spirit, to speak of in a canting way, &c. argues very bad, and savors of an unholy spirit. I visited Mountrath and Tentore, where Mr. Averill lives; his conversion was as follows: His grandmother was a good church woman for the time; a church clergyman gave him a rap on the head with a cain in play, when he was six years old—he said, grandmother, I wish that man would never come again; said she, wish God's Minister would never come again! Feeling the effect of the blow, a large bunch on his head, she was exasperated also: he desired an explanation why the man preached; she said, to save people, but he would not except he was well paid for it; thus, while she was explaining things to his understanding, he felt a great light or comfort to break into his mind, but could not tell the cause, nor what it was—it lasted near twelve months—he said to her, when I am grown up I will preach for nothing; she replied, that is a good resolution, but you will forget it; he said, I will not. His father lost a purse of gold, and said, the child who would find and return it, should have whatever they would ask; he found it and said, let me go to college instead of my elder brother, (whom the father intended to educate,) and would not be put off. Thus he got his education and became a church minister, but preached for hire; and one day when visiting his parish, he called on a family called Quakers; they asked, Who art thou, the man that preaches in the steeple-house? One said, don't thee preach for hire?—He said he did. Q. Dost thou think it is right? A. I don't know that it is wrong. Q. I did not ask if thou thought it wrong, but dost thou think it is right? A. (His youthful promise started into his mind not to preach for hire, so he dare not say he thought it right; but still replied, I

don't know it to be wrong. Q. Art thou willing for light on the subject? A. Yes; so the Quaker gave him a book against hirelings, which he read with attention, and every word carried conviction to his mind, so he gave up the *Curacy* which his wife had for pocket money heretofore; and when she observed him not to go to church, she inquired the cause, and said, what shall I do for pocket money? He replied, my dear, I trust God will help me to make out the same sum some other way, &c. He built a pulpit in his own house, and held meetings; and shortly one man professed to be converted, and know his sins forgiven, which Averill reproved him for, saying, I don't know my own forgiven. A Methodist present said, if you don't, I do; and if you will look for the witness, God will give it you: and soon after he felt the same sensations as when a lad, &c. His wife* left him, because he dare do no otherwise than itinerate and preach without hire, being possessed of an independent fortune: so the order of Providence brought him among the Methodists. One day a mob saw him coming over a bridge, and one said, devil split my head open if I don't do so and so to the swadler, (the Methodists being called swadlers in Ireland in derision,) but the restraining Providence of God kept them, so he passed unhurt: afterwards, that man on the Continent had his head opened by a French sword, which one saw, who heard him express the words, and wrote home to his friend, not to oppose Mr. Averill, for he was a man of God. He, though in connexion, is not confined to a *circuit*, but travels as he pleases; also there are ten Missionaries employed, though not particularly confined, but are somewhat like Mr. G. and C. &c. in New York district.

863. I had three Church ministers to hear me, one of whom was a Deist, yet continued his living in Averill's vicinity. From Durrow I went to *Kilkenney*, and from thence to *money-beg*, where some conversed about America. I visited a country place, Carlow and Ballitore—here I spoke in a Quaker meeting house—here Job Scott died, and Dr. Johnson was born. I visited Baltin-

* She lived a few years, during which time she caused him much trouble, sorrow and anxiety, though he allowed her two hundred pounds sterling per annum, for her support, and the Jaughter; and who would not see him, nor suffer the daughter to write to him, though she appeared ready to fly when she met him on the road; but after the mother's death, returned, being young.

The wives of J. W. and George Whitefield, were similar; but those three men stuck to the work, and God blessed them in it, until those objects were removed out of the way. And if a man is faithful in the way of duty, and those beings who act thus are removed and taken away, how can one, in conscience and in truth, call it a "LOSS?"

And those men whom God has moved by his Spirit, and called to preach the Gospel, how do they feel, when under petticoat government, so far as to desert the work: "Any way for the sake of peace." But remember, that which God wills concerning the sphere of our action, is the only road to sure PEACE: "for the way of transgressors is hard;" therefore, out of the order of God, a conscious man cannot feel easy in his mind, until he fully backslides in heart.

glass, Hacketstown, Tinchilly, Killavenny, Rednagh, Rathdrum, to Wicklow. Here was J. Wade, son to the man who lent me the gig, who conversed about America: he also accompanied me to Arklow and Gorey, where I spoke in the market house—thence to Ferns and Newtown Barry. When I was here seven years before, I was surprised by an unusual noise, so that I could not sleep; yet I would not be scared away, knowing if the devil come, he could not hurt me; but could obtain no satisfactory information relative to it, yet would sleep there no more. That family now told me, that they heard the noise several days successively after I was gone, until a backslider who was then sick under the roof, was dead, being in black despair.—Enniscomhy, Wexford, Old Ross, New Ross, City of Waterford, Carrick on Seur, Clonmel, Cashel, Littleton, Rosgrey, Templemore, Clesordan, Burr, Aughrim, Tuam, Castlebar. I visited some of these places, had received wrong information relative to my coming, which disappointments paved the way to my getting greater congregations. *Gideon Ousley*, one of the Missionaries, met me, and observed, yesterday a Roman priest being insufficient, got another to help him, and the one with a whip and the other with a club, drove off some thousands of people like swine to market, who were attentively hearing him preach. I could scarcely believe that the clergy in this our day, could have such an ascendancy over their people. He accompanied me to many appointments to Sligo. In this journey I found numbers converted, the fruit of awakenings when here before, and many came out to hear, which did not usually attend any place of religious worship: so I have access sometimes to one class of people, which was I to labor in any other sphere of life, I should not—thence to Manor Hamilton, Violet Hill, Enniskillen, Maguires Bridge, Brookborough, Clones, Monaghmagh, Aghnacloy, Cookstown, Cole Island, Moy, Blackwater, Armagh, Rich Hill, Tanderagee, Portadown, Lurgan, Moria, Lisburn, and Belfast; here I met some of my old friends from *Larne*, who informed me of the expectations of the people there. I intended to visit that place ever since I came to Europe, but now could get no farther down into the north; there may be the providence of God in this. *Balinahineh*, *Downpatrick*, *Newry*, and so to *Dublin*, having been gone sixty-seven days, in which time I travelled about seventeen hundred English miles, and held about two hundred meetings, in most of which the quickening power of God was to be felt, and some were set at liberty before we parted. I returned the horse and chair to the owner, satisfied the demand—left money for the Doctor's books, which he once had sent by me to *America*, and prepared for my departure. The friends who had conversed relative to sailing with me, now met and agreed that I should engage their passage.

864. I suddenly departed to Liverpool, feeling my work done here, and engaged the steerage of a ship for our company accordingly; Peggy was recovered, and thus the Lord was good to bring us together once more, when there was so little prospect to human probability when we parted. Many condemned me for going to Ireland when and as I did, but had I tarried I could have done her no more good, as I obtained the nurse I wished for, and by going I answered a clear conscience. We went by canal to *Wigan*—walked to *Hecton*, from thence we went to *Bolton*, in the mean time I visited *Blackburn* and another place; so when I came, the man who invited me, treated me cool, by which means I was disagreeably necessitated to disappoint hundreds of people. We came by canal to *Manchester*, where we met the Doctor, who suddenly departed from me by coach to Chester,—thence to Hollyhead, and so went over to Dublin, and I saw him no more. He is one of the kindest humane men to the poor I have seen, and I am under more obligations to him than any I have acquaintance with in my travels. I was in hopes to have had his company to America, but here I was disappointed, as he could not see his way clear to come—thence to Warrington—saw our friends and found them well. The Society called *Quaker Methodists*, gave me a testimonial concerning my conduct, as may be seen in the Appendix. Here I met brother Shegog—we went to Knutsford—thence to Macclesfield, where I preached the dedication sermon of the New chapel, belonging to the *Free Gospellers* or *Revivalists*; instrumental music was introduced here in form, to draw the more people together. to get money to defray the expenses of the house; I believe they got less money by so doing, than they would otherwise, and of course it is a foolish thing to take the devil's tools to do the Lord's work with; it is an evil practice, and you cannot deny it.

865. I visited *Congleton*—found more than one hundred had been taken into society since my other visit. I also visited *Boslem*, in Staffordshire, and many other places. Also the city of Chester, and all around its vicinity. I received invitations into different parts of *England*, but feeling as it were, my work done here, and my heart and soul bound for America, I dare do no otherwise than return, and of course durst not accept the invitations, but with thankfulness, and not comply.

866. There are six kinds of names of Methodists in England. 1. Old Society; 2. Kilhamites; 3. Quaker Methodists; 4. Whitefield's Methodists; 5. Revivalists, or Free Gospellers: 6. Welch Methodists, (called Jumpers) a happy, simple, pious people, by the best accounts, besides the church Methodists.

867. The old body are the main stock, as that in America, they have never had a final separation from the Church, they are

called Protestants, but most of them are as *disenters*, preaching in church hours, which Mr. Wesley did not allow—they mostly have the ordinances among them, though their preachers are not ordained, but say the power which qualifies them to preach, does not make a man half a minister, and if he be properly called, and qualified by God to administer the *substance* in the word, to the salvation of souls, the same of course is fit to administer the *shadow* in form and of course count the *ordination* but a FORM.*

868. There is *instrumental* music in most of the leading chapels in England. But for a lad to start up and sing away in form like a *hero*, yet have no more sense of divine worship than a parrot that speaks a borrowed song, I ask how God is glorified in that? If mechanism was in such perfection as to have a machine by steam to speak words in form of sentences, and so *say* a prayer, repeat a sermon, and play the music, and say amen.—Would this be divine worship? No! there is no divinity about it: and of course it is only but mechanism; and hence if we have not the Spirit of God, our worship is not divine. Consequently, it is only *form*: and *form* without *power*, is but a sham.

869. In Ireland the separation from the Church has not taken place; there is more of the ancient *Methodist* simplicity discoverable among them, but not as in America. I believe the *plan* fallen upon in these United States, is, and has been the most proper one for the time being, to carry on an extensive itinerancy with little expense; but what will or should be best in future, may God's wisdom direct, and his providence point out? Well may the Poet say,†

"Except the Lord conduct the plan,

"The best concerted schemes are vain,

"And never can succeed."

If "the kingdom of God be *righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*," and the "testimony of Jesus be the spirit of prophecy," well may the Apostle say, "No man can call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Ghost."—Again, "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his."‡

870. In Europe there is much more stress put upon forms, names and tradition, than in America; you can scarcely give a greater offence, than ask, "Have you got any religion?" "Got any religion?" "Think I am a heathen—got my religion to seek at this time of day;" "I was always religious."—What is your religion? It is the religion of my father, and he was of the religion of his father, the good old way, we don't *change our religion*. Suppose a man has a young horse, that will run a race—win a prize, and is a valuable animal; he wills the horse to his son, and

* For the sake of order—See Appendix.—† See Appendix.

‡ Mr. Asbury to America, is as Wesley was to Europe.

he to his son, and so on; but the horse dies; the grandson boasts, what, have not I got a good horse? I have, my grandfather raised him, willed him to my father, who gave him to me; and I can prove by the neighbours, he ran such a race, and won such a prize; but on a close inspection, it is found only the *bones* are remaining. Look at the *Congregationals*, or *Independents*, *Presbyterians*, *Quakers*, &c. &c. &c. and compare them *now* with the history of their ancestors, and a change will be *visible*.†

Two or three centuries ago, perhaps, ancestors had *religion*, and were out of *stigma*, called a name that has been attached to their *form*, and handed down from *father* to *son*; these ancestors living in the divine life of religion, in that divine life have gone to heaven, as Christ saith, "My sheep *hear* my voice, and follow me, and I give unto them *eternal life* &c. But the *children* down, have, on bearing the same name, think they have the *same* religion; but on close reflection or inspection, there is no more *divine life* about their *form*, than *animal* life about the bones of the old horse; and of course, will no more carry a man to heaven, than the bones will, with whip and spurs, carry a man a journey, &c. because bible religion is what we must have especially, for the ancients "were filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost," and "without holiness no man shall see the Lord;" but "blessed are the *pure in heart*, for they shall see God."

861. The funds which have been raised in *England*, I scruple whether they have not proved a temptation to some, though they might be turned to the glory of God, and doubtless, have in many instances, yet I fear that to some, through fear, it hath proved a snare, so that they have not borne that testimony, which their conscience and judgment told them was their duty, against a growing evil; whilst others have had too much affluence and ease, and by that means have sunk too much upon their lees? God forbid it should be the case in *America*! whilst a man or body of people are *simple* and *sincere*, having frequently recourse to their first principles in the Lord; there is no room to doubt his *favour* and his *blessing*, and these will make a *happy life*, and procure a *happy end*, and all is well that ends well, is the old proverb; but who can stand when God sets his face against them? Or what can prosper if God don't smile his approbation. The wicked may prosper for a while, but at length shall be driven away as the chaff, and their candle put out—whilst the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.

† And unless people have recourse to their first principles they will *degenerate*!

EXEMPLIFIED EXPERIENCE.

THIRD EDITION OF PART THE FOURTH.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF "ECCENTRIC COSMOPOLITE."

862. WHEN Cosmopolite was on his last tour through Ireland, orders were sent from the "*Castle*," somewhere, by some body, that he must be taken into custody; which body returning, replied for answer, that *Cosmopolite* could not be found†—this, more than once or twice. Moreover, the Threshers pursued him two nights and one day for a noted *heretic*; but he unwittingly escaped from them likewise. The *martial* law was now proclaimed in four counties, which made it dangerous travelling without a *pass*; but Cosmopolite was providentially kept in peace, and safely delivered from the whole—yet not by foresight in any human wisdom—for it was not within the reach of human *ken*.

863. "Question 22. A man from *America*, named LORENZO Dew having travelled through this country, professing himself a friend to the * * * *, what judgment ought this * * * * to PASS concerning the conduct of that man?"

"Answer. He came———— or any authorized to give it———— has not travelled as one of our people, nor as one of our friends—and we are determined that should he return

† Cosmopolite was on the chase seventeen hundred miles in sixty-seven days, and held two hundred meetings—such being the distance from the people, without intimacy—and the velocity of the journey that they scarcely knew from whence he came or where he was gone

none of our * * * * * shall be opened to him on any account whatever."—*Minutes of both countries.**

864. He left * * * * * at full tide and fair wind, in an extra packet—having just stepped on board as she cast off—down came the "pursuers," and looked from the dock, while he gazed at them from the deck, and thus went out of the harbor.

865. Twice the *Consul* had applied for a *passport* in vain, and likewise solicited the interference of the *Ambassador*, but there was no returns. Hence *Cosmopolite* when he had finished his work and got ready, came away in a vessel that was fitted for the purpose; but not with design, except by Providence. Another vessel having sprang a leak, which the *pursuers* were searching, as *Cosmopolite* sailed by out of port, in the other ship.

866. The fog was a hiding place in the hand of God—to preserve from those "*Floating Hells*,"—while coming round *Hibernia* and doubling *Cape Clear*—for several days together!

867. This vessel was called the *Averick*—323 tons—De Cost, master—would keep half point nigher the wind than usual—hence ships at the leeward must run parallel, or cross our track to gain the weather gage, in order to bear upon us—therefore would lose time and distance. De Cost put out his lights and altered his course, and so evaded the intruders thrice—whereas the other ship which had been refused on account of her leak, was boarded thrice. Thus *Cosmopolite* was preserved to *Columbia's* shores, for which praised be the Lord!

Though a stranger, the way was opened for meetings, and some good times in public—some acquaintance with the Quakers, and sailed from New Bedford to New York with most of the passengers.

868. *Cosmopolite* was accused with "*hush money*" clandestinely, by some who were on board—on getting wind of it, he had the *agreement* stated, and then produced the *receipt* to the full amount, which answered to the *articles*. Then he was accused of having received a present of ten pounds from the Captain, which they said should have been divided with the passengers.—*Cosmopolite* said why? was there any such agreement? They acknowledged not! yet observed it would have been but just. *Cosmopolite* said, he did not see or feel the obligation—had the donation been given—which he observed had never been given; and appealed to the Captain if ever he had made the gift, who answered in the negative. Nevertheless, ungenerously did some persist to make the impression that *Cosmopolite* was a *swindler*. But what is amiss here must be rectified hereafter.

869. Some of those people who were led by inclination or judgment to come to *America*, questioned Cosmopolite antecedent to their coming—civility demanded a reply, which accordingly was given—as free agents they came for their own interests only—but meeting with some trials, bitterly accused Cosmopolite, as the cause of all their trials, calamities, and misfortunes—who could have no interest in their coming—and one even went so far as to curse the day she ever saw his face—though he had done all he could to serve them—but the sin of *ingratitude* is one of the most abominable crimes that the heart of man can be contaminated with, and very obnoxious in the sight of heaven—evidently marked with just displeasure in righteous retributions.

870. Here it may be observed—those who have fled from *oppression* and privation to the “*Land of Liberty*,” are the worst enemies, and most bitter in the execrations of any on these shores, when fortune smiles upon them—but yet it is very observable that few of them are willing to return to the old world.

A certain pair, whose “passage the king paid,” from the old world to the new—fortune smiled on them in *Alexandria*—the term being expired, and in contempt, he quit the country—exclaiming “the best flour in *America* is not equal to the mud of *London*.”—Where he put his barrel of dollars in a private *Bank*; which broke a few days after, and he then had to turn *porter*, and stand in the mud, to get wherewith to support nature!

871. On this voyage, Cosmopolite frequently felt a *foreboding* of approaching trials—and a secret conviction as though all was not well at the *Mississippi*—which he expressed more than once or twice.

872. He went to *Virginia*, by land—saw brother *Mead*—met his Rib in *Richmond* and then returned to *New England*—holding meetings and had good times by the way. But now the storm began to gather—preludes of which were seen—hence Cosmopolite felt he must fortify his mind—considering these omens a dispensation of preparation accordingly, from the beneficent *Parent* of the world!

Whilst in *Europe* Cosmopolite was attacked with spasms, of a most extraordinary kind; which baffled the skill of the most celebrated of the Faculty; and reduced his nervous strength, and shook his constitution to the centre, more than all his labors and exposures heretofore—which had been from seven to ten thousand miles a year, and attending meeting from six to seven hundred times—but now his sun appeared declining, and his career drawing to a close. But the idea of *yielding* and giving up the *itinerant sphere*, was trying to Cosmopolite—seeing it was his element and *paradise* to travel and *preach the gospel*. Hence he got a stiff leather jacket girded with buckles to serve as *stays*, to sup-

port the tottering frame, to enable him to ride on horseback; which the doctors remonstrated against—when that would answer no further; he took the *gig* and little *wagon*; but was obliged to sit or lay down some part of the meeting to be able to finish his discourse; mostly for seven years.

873. Some could or would not make the necessary distinction between voluntary *singularity* and a case of extreme *necessity*. But such a *cavilling* argues an ungenerous mind, and is too much tainted with *moral evil*."

874. *Cosmopolite* had bought a pair of *mules* which were to have been fitted to the carriage against his return; but in lieu thereof, were put in a wagon, and so broke down they were unfit for service; and hence he had to part with them for about half value, to be able to prosecute his journey; and the horse he had was shortly *starved* so as to fail, and hence obliged to part with him for one of little worth.

875. Shortly followed the residue, while in his decline of health. From *New England* he was found in the Mississippi Territory: having travelled there by land through *Georgia*, where he received letters of confirmation that all was *not* going *right*.

876. Here *Cosmopolite* was induced to aid two parties, as a friend *between*, who got him bound and would not let him off. He offered all he had, but in vain: the circumstance was; one party owned three hundred and twenty-four acres of land, and *verbally* consented for the other to build a *mill* on it, who set up a frame without any title, and getting involved in debt, the first would not sell it to him, lest they should lose it by his creditors; and he was afraid lest he should lose his labors for the want of a title.—So they wished *Cosmopolite* to step in between them, so as to make each secure, which, without looking at consequences, he did. This was an error of his life, and he repents it but *once* for all. However, it has been a *school* of an important nature to him, and doubtless will be for life.

877. Then went for his *Rib*, by the advice and request of friends, whose friendship in the sequel consists in fair words untried, like the pine tree which appears as good timber, but upon investigation is found *rotten* at the *heart*.

For, after *Cosmopolite* had gone, in a few months, over most of the northern states, he returned with his companion to that part, and was reduced to the most painful situation imaginable, as follows:—

First, some heavy *debts*, as a consequence of purchasing sixty-four acres of the three hundred and twenty-four, though he had but about twenty-four remaining, with the mill frame on it, having parted with about forty, to be able to work through.

Secondly. No money or flush loose property.

Thirdly. A sick companion without house or home—this being the time when friends forsook him—all except a *deist* and his family.

Fourthly. *Reputation*—attacked on all sides, and in remote parts through the states; that HE was revelling in riches and luxury, with a fine brick house, sugar and cotton plantation, flour and saw mills, *slaves*, and money in the bank, &c. &c. &c. like a *nabob* in the east. Whilst others made use of every thing they could that would be to his discredit, among which, some few who had subscribed for his journals, and paid in advance, but not getting their books, no allowance was made for the books being *lost*, but all was construed, “a design to cheat, and had got the property, and gone to the Mississippi to feather his nest.”

Hence the famous expression of Asbury's.

“The *STAR* which *rose* in the *EAST*, is *set* in the *WEST*.”

878. About this time he dreamed that he was in New York, and was going from the Park to Pearl street, in quest of J. Q.'s house, when the street appeared burned and only the ruins of the walls remaining, and not a trace of his family could be found in the city, which waked him up in a tremour of horror. He told his wife that he thought they should hear something disagreeable from New York, which the sequel proved in a few days, for a letter from Mr. W * * * was opened in Virginia, and accidentally, or rather providentially, a friend wrote to the Mississippi, “I suppose you have heard that J. Q. has eloped to the W. I. and taken off another man's W * * *, and also left you in the lurch with Mr. W , . . and J. C. T. &c. &c. &c. The whole mystery was then developed and consequences to be read that would be disagreeable enough.

879. Mr. N. Snethen, had his trials by men who had never seen his “*letter*,” or been acquainted with *Cosmopolite*, nor heard any thing he had to say about the circumstance; gave judgment in Mr. N. S's favor, and a certificate of acquittal, only on hearing *his own* statement, though *Pagan Romans* had the *ACCUSER* and *ACCUSED face to face*,” that he might have an opportunity for his own defence. The *Jews' law* did not condemn a man before it heard him.*

Hence *Cosmopolite* had the *sentence* of being the agent of all the evil instead of M. S.—, and moreover was a “*Sabbath breaker*,” having let some people have a few religious books, through necessity, and not of choice, as they could not be supplied with *them* at any other time; therefore must have no countenance, but go on his own footing.

* See Appendix of this affair!

Cosmopolite delivered a discourse from "*as ye would that others should do to you, do YE even so to them;*"—first in **PERSON**; secondly, in **PROPERTY**; and third, in **CHARACTER**—which discourse gave great offence!

These things now came to a focus about one time, which augmented the distress of Cosmopolite—as he was fast verging toward the grave—to human appearance he could not stay long—and the *thoughts* of dying in this cloud under these gloomy circumstances, were of the most painful and distressing nature—as circular letters were sent forth from the *executive*, Mr. *Asbury*, already, that he, Cosmopolite, might rise no more—and at N. Y. it was thought and said by many, that he would never dare to show his face again!

880. A *gathering* in the side of Cosmopolite for some time, now began to ripen, and finally burst in the cavity of the body, between the bowels and skin, and he expected to die; but falling asleep, he dreamed that he was in a mill-race, below the wheel, and the water was clear as crystal—but the bottom and sides were a *quicksand*, so that there was nothing to seize hold of or to stand on for the possibility of relief: thus situated, he drifted with the stream toward the ocean near by, where was a *whirlpool* of vast depth. People were sitting on the banks, merrily diverted to see him drift, without offering any assistance. However, a little man in *white* raiment, ran down to the stream, waded in up to his chin, between the current and whirlpool in the *eddy*, and stooping over, reached as far as he could, seized him by the edge of his garment and dragged him to shore, where a gentleman opened his house, invited him to the parlour, where the lady made the necessary arrangement for his relief in food and raiment, &c. then he was shown a convenient room where he was left to compose himself to rest;—in the mean time those people on the bank merrily diverted themselves, saying "he has *lost* one shoe in the river, and will never be able to *travel* and preach again"—but in the morning to the surprise of all, *both* shoes were found safe in the dining room, though the doors were shut and locked all night.

881. The ideas of being stigmatized, and his ashes raked up by *misrepresentation* after his dissolution, were painful in the extreme; because the slur it would bring upon religion, as the time appeared fast approaching. He cried to the "God of Jacob" for *relief*, and that for *his* name and *glory* sake to hear prayer—that His *cause* might not be slandered on his account.

Thus after spending the bloom of youth in the service of others, for Zion's welfare—and now, in the greatest time of affliction to be forsaken of *friends*, was a feeling that cannot be well described—turned out as an old dog who hath lost his teeth.

"But where *reason* fails, there *faith* begins—

"But man's *extremity* is God's *opportunity*."

882. As the last retreat Cosmopolite retired into a *Cane Brake*, at the foot of a large hill, where was a beautiful spring, which he named "*Chicimaw spring*"*—by which he got a small cabin made of split poles, where the bear and wolf and *tyger*, &c. &c. with all kinds of serpents in N. America, abound. This was an agreeable retreat from the pursuing foe—there to wait and see what God the Lord would do!

883. Once he met three animals, when going to a neighboring house, upon a bye-way, which he hacked out through the cane—he told them to get out, and chinked his tins together—one took to the left and two to the right a few feet, and he passed between, when they closed behind,—he inquired if Mr. *Neal* had been there, having seen his *bull dogs*. The family, hearing their description, replied that they were *WOLVES*!

884. Being *routed* from this peaceful retreat, in the manner that the *Porcupine* drove the *snake* from his *den*, Cosmopolite made arrangements to leave his *RIB* and go to the States—so by mutual consent they parted for three hundred and seventy-one days, and he came into *Georgia*—having only about three dollars when he started in the wilderness from the *Mississippi*.

885. He attended a large *association* of dominics in S. C. who were mostly strangers to him—there being not more than three members remaining of the same body when he was acquainted with them a few years before, as about five years changes the majority in each Conference—and not more than five or six spoke to him.

886. However, he endeavoured to make clear work as he went; which, through the mercy and Providence of God, was accomplished; except about subscribers, which he supplied a few months after, though he had to travel several hundred miles to accomplish it. There was a subscription which Cosmopolite had made, but part remained unpaid. He parted with his horse, which cost one hundred and thirty-five dollars, and fifty dollars in cash, with which he was let off, though he was denied the privilege of preaching in the *house*, before he asked it—so he took to his *feet*, and went on to New York, and sent for Mr. W . . . , and J. C. T. and shortly all the horrid consequence of J. Q.'s conduct presented to view.

887. Some years before, Cosmopolite was in a house where the man and all his family were confined with sickness; who requested some papers to be *filed* in the west to save his land, which he had been banished from, by the Catholic *Spaniards*, on account

of his religion; and he had to take his family in an open boat round Cape Florida, living on game, and had nothing but Providence and the gun to depend on until they arrived in Georgia, during a space of about seven months. To oblige him, Cosmopolite took the papers and filed them—and J. Q. wished to make the purchase, which matters were fixed accordingly all round, except executing *one* instrument of writing, which was only prevented by a sudden fit of *illness*.

Thus God sees not as man sees—what *we* think for the *best* may prove our *ruin*,—and what we think for the *worst*, may be the *best* way of *all*! J. C. T. acted the reasonable part, on Christian principles, to bear and forbear, and wait the *bounds* of *possibility*, but Mr. W acted otherwise.

888. J. Q. had been in the habit of opening the letters of Cosmopolite and taking out *money*—also he was to have paid Mr. W and J. C. T.—The latter he did not, but the former received a *note* from J. Q. on the account of Cosmopolite, but not to the full amount; giving a *receipt* for money, and wrote a *letter* to Cosmopolite for the “*balance*” to Virginia, where it was broke open, and remained on a shelf for more than a *year*; and was taken down by Cosmopolite when on his journey, careless, and observing *his* name on the superscription, opened it, read it, and put it in his pocket, with the *receipt*, as he came along.

Mr. W denied the “*receipt*,” although he acknowledged the *letter*; but the *names* were in his own proper hand writing—so admitted by judges, when compared with a receipt book.

He demanded the *whole* of Cosmopolite—saying the note of J. Q. was *destroyed*; which amounted to about two hundred and eight dollars—the whole was less than three hundred.

Cosmopolite said it was hard to pay it twice; but was willing to submit it to *arbitrators*, and abide their *judgment*; to which Mr. W assented—he should chose one—Cosmopolite another, and these two should choose a third—a majority of which should be *final*. The hour being fixed, Cosmopolite started with his, and MET that of Mr. W, and who should it be but the *sheriff*, prepared to take Cosmopolite to the “*tight house*.” Thus the aspect was of the most gloomy nature—however two men stepped up and became security for his appearance at court. This gave him time to breathe, and see what next.

889. The assignees to the estate of J. Q. who had died in the West Indies, offered to acquit Cosmopolite of all demands, if he would let them step into the place of J. Q. and have the transfer in his lieu, from those whom it had concerned—as J. Q. had left a demand on book against Cosmopolite of some amount improperly—and, moreover, would step in between him and Mr.

W , and fight him in the law, giving Cosmopolite a bond of indemnity.

Cosmopolite readily consented ; being only paid his expenses ; but flung in his trouble—so that in attempting to favour the *sick* man he neither gained nor lost—except the plague and *censure*, as the *sick man* was paid his full demand.

890. There is *one* instrument of writing which hath been *paid*, but was never delivered up ; which, in justice, Cosmopolite should have—as “Major Mills, Charles Smith,” and “*Frances Steel*,” doth know !

891. Thus Cosmopolite was enabled to clear off with J. C. T. and leave the city in peace—while Mr. W was left to have his dispute *decided* in his *own way*—but what was the consequence ? He was *cast*, having the cost of court to pay ; and only got the *balance*. After which there was a *resurrection* of the note of J. Q. which he, Mr. W wished Cosmopolite to purchase—and for the refusal called him all to nought, as a “*scoundrel*,” &c. &c. &c.

892. Cosmopolite went as far as *Boston*, where he had a few books—procured him a horse and little *wagon*—and returned to the south, and so to the *Mississippi* to his Rib ; and immediately started for *Georgia*, through the wilderness, without bidding a friend farewell—visited many counties and started for the *north*. Was pre-warned in dreams—which the sequel proved, at *Lynchburg*, Virginia. *She* was taken sick—brought nigh unto death, and detained two years. See *her* “JOURNEY OF LIFE.”

893. Cosmopolite was defeated in attempting to get a small cabin here—his reputed “*riches*,” *by report*, not being adequate to surmount it.

894. He was taken unwell with those *spasms*, and lay beside a road, and probably would have died—but a doctor came along—gave him some medicine, which flung the spasms from the *nerves* into the *blood* vessels, and he began to amend from that time.

895. The Presbyterians were remarkably kind and open in N. C. many of their meeting-houses were at his service, and some of their ministers he formed acquaintance with, who appeared like very pious men, with the spirit of liberality !

896. Thus after long struggles, Cosmopolite got through his difficulties, into which others had involved him ; after turning every way*—even to parting with his HORSE and *library* ; the latter of which he had taken much pains to collect and select

* Though he thought of paying with a “ramskin” as the saying is—i. e. deliver up all—but Providence wrought the other way, when it came to the last extremity with Mr. W****.

Cosmopolite sent the money to J. Q. according to agreement—but he gave his note to Mr. W**** and kept the money, which Mr. W**** accepted on Cosmopolite's account, and gave the receipt for money accordingly !

—having the small piece of *ground* left at the Mississippi, on which was the old “mill” frame, from which he derived no benefit—neither does he expect to, having sent a *deed* of relinquishment, but received no value.*

897. Those who are fond of retailing evil reports about absent characters with a degree of rejoicing, are a partaker of evil; in as much as they would consider it very hard, ungenerous and unjust, for one to take half the liberty about them in their absence, that they do about others. For the *motives* cannot be good, nor the spirit savour of righteousness. Therefore, if they profess *friendship* to the face, they are only base “hypocrites” in heart; from which, may society be delivered!

898. *Dreams* may come from the *enemy*, from the *business* of the day past, from a *disordered body*, propensities founded by contamination, from “moral evil,” and from God through the medium of *Angels*, and departed *Saints*, as forewarnings to stir up and prepare the mind for those scenes a-head, as a dispensation of preparation. Which many remain ignorant of for the want of due attention, with a heart conformed to the Divine Government.

899. Many people, from a spirit of *prejudice* founded on jealousy, *surmise* things about others, which amounts to a *reality* in *their imagination*; and hence *assume* the liberty to report and circulate it as *truth* founded upon *fact*, to the great injury of society, friendship, and the *innocent*.

The foregoing short history of “*Eccentric*” *Cosmopolite*, is given for the benefit of all those whom it may CONCERN.

900. JUNE 9, 1813.—Leaving Peggy at John M. Walker’s, in Buckingham County, Virginia, where she was confined with ———. I spoke in Charlotte county, Macklinburg, Brunswick, Belfield, and Murfreesboro, down to Edenton, in N. C. at which place I was interrupted by a Baptist preacher, who gave me the lie, and brought himself into disrepute; I replied there was “some *good* mistaken men whose *hearts* were better than their *heads*.”

901. By *Elizabeth* I came to the *Hickory Ground*, and down to *Princess Ann*—and while upon the road I heard “*Jefferson’s Bull Dogs*” so called, roaring at one of neighbor *George’s* frigates; which give me awful sensations concerning the horrors of war, and the *curse* the world is under. On my arrival at *Norfolk*, I saw the smoke of cannon, and the awful scene during the *battle* of *Craney Island*.

“God sees not as man sees: for the the race is not to the swift

* Roswell V****, who was disinterested, by his influence and interference, saved some little value from the wreck.

nor the *battle to the strong*"—which was exemplified in that instance; the termination being different from every calculation both of friend and foe.

902. I returned by Suffolk, where I found my old friends Yarrowborough were gone to the other world. By *Petersburg to Richmond*; where I found my old friend, *Stith Mead*, still going on in the work of the Lord.

903. On my arrival in Buckingham, finding Peggy still low in health, and the people unwilling for her removal, as unadvised, I requested a ride in the gig; which the family, not suspecting my intentions, we started; and, beyond probability, she endured ten miles before we stopped: as the Doctor had advised the "White Sulphur Springs" in Greenbriar. Next day we reached Lynchburg, where I was requested to preach; but *Le Roy Merritt*, who had been converted in this place, and came with me from the Low Lands, had been to see his friends, was now on his return, and desired to preach: I felt as if it was his turn, and gave way accordingly. He spoke with life and authority from above; and going to his station in Portsmouth, died in a few days after, with the shouts of "VICTORY! VICTORY! VICTORY!" in his mouth.

"Let me die the death of the *Righteous*, and my last end be like his.—Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright—for the end of that man is peace."

904. While in the Low Lands I saw some good times, and revivals of religion; but the drought, the sun, and flies, were dreadful at that time. Many streams were so dried, that swine fattened upon their fish; and the want of water and food for cattle were distressing, with the addition of swarms of flies to suck the blood of man and beast.

905. Hiring a hack we came to the "White Sulphur" Springs in Greenbriar; where I got access to many neighborhoods where I had not been before; being a stranger in those parts. Our expenses were nearly one hundred dollars, but I did not begrudge it, considering the benefit we received from those waters. When on the way, she could hardly bear her weight ten yards, but now was able to ride sixteen miles on horseback to the "Sweet Springs," where I spoke to a large and attentive audience, though the *devil* reigned in those parts. Lawyer Baker collared me, and threatened to break my neck for preaching; because, he said I insulted Mrs. ——— ten years before, by saying hell is moving from beneath to meet her at her coming; and he did it to revenge her cause. But his assertion was false. The ladies however took up my cause, and promised me protection. And hence his gambling comrades became ashamed, and he had to hold his peace and let me alone.

906. By the assistance of Providence we found the way opened to gain *Fincastle*; and the camp-meeting, near *Salem*, where I had to apologize for my "*Lapel coat*," single-breasted; which I was reprobated for wearing.—The case was this; eighteen months before I was in distress for a *coat*, the winter coming on; and had not money to spare to get one. But a man owed me twenty dollars, which he could not pay in ready money; hence I must lose it, (being about to leave those parts,) unless I would accept a turn to a shop where garments were ready made, being brought over from England: hence from my necessity, and the nature of the case, originated the contended coat, the most valuable I ever wore in my life. But I soon gave it away rather than hurt weak minds, and give mankind occasion; and got a sailor's blanket coat, to prosecute my journey.

907. From thence to *Blackrod* in a wagon: where we had some good times. I spoke to the military in *Christiansburg*, where they gave me a surtout.

908. I attended a *camp-meeting* one day and two nights, which appeared like a blank in my life; so I started off twenty miles on foot, to my destination.

909. Having procured me a *tackey*, and parting with Peggy at the Yellow Springs in Montgomery county, I started for the *west*, while she went to the *east*, with brother and sister *Booth*, in Brunswick county, in North Carolina.

910. On Walker's Creek I saw the greatest preparation for camp-meeting that I ever viewed in my life, being encircled with barracks all round. It was a dreadful rainy time; but from our convenience, preaching went on in the tents; and all were accommodated.

I called at an house to feed my horse, where I was recognized, and solicited to stop and preach, which I did; and had a good time. The man of the house turned away circuit preaching because they held private class meetings—and so broke up the class.

911. In *Abingdon* I spoke three times. Exchanging my pony for another, as she was with foal, which had been kept a secret from me by the seller: I got imposed on again, as the latter had not been corn fed; and in two days she tired. Hence I was obliged to exchange for a third, to be able to keep up with my appointments, but this also was so rough in his gaits, that my state of health would not admit of keeping him; hence I exchanged for a fourth, having expended eighty-three dollars: I obtained one worth about forty, having but one eye.

912. When I started on this journey, I felt to go as far as *Nashville*;* but any farther a gloom seemed to overspread my

* In Nashville jail I saw an Indian chief of the Creek nation, named Bob—taken

contemplation on that subject—I could not tell why; yet when I arrived into West Tennessee, the cause was obvious; the Indians having commenced war, blocked up the way to *Louisiana*—as many were murdered in that direction.

913. Putting my work, improved, to the press, I sent off my appointments; after which I commenced my tour through Gallatin, Carthage, Lebanon, where I saw the wife of the "*Wild man of the Woods*." I strove to obtain his journal; but in that I was disappointed—though they had agreed on certain conditions to let me have it—he died in peace. Jefferson, Murfreesboro, Columbia on Duck; Ricees' M. H. Franklin; Liberty, near Green Hills; Dixon county, Clarksville, Palmyria, Christian county and Russellville, in Kentucky; Robinson C. H. Macminsville: Secotchee valley, Washington, Kingston, Marysville, Seversville, Knoxville, Clinton, Jacksborough, Claiborne, C. H. Rutledge, Rogersville, Greensville, Jonesborough and Carter, C. H. to Wilksborough, and then Huntsville, so to *James Clemments*, where I arrived on Tuesday evening, the 14th of December; intending to proceed immediately to Raleigh, and from thence to Brunswick, where Peggy is. But in this I was disappointed: being taken sick, was confined until Thursday, when the weather set in bad. On Sunday spoke to several hundreds in the door yard, and rode fourteen miles on my way—and falling in with a congregation, I spoke at night. Next day it rained, snowed, and hailed, in a distressing manner, so that I could not feel myself justifiable to pursue my journey; however anxious.

914. There is something peculiar in my detention here,—for I felt to hasten my journey to the utmost, and accomplish my route; but still I was prevented going further at present, though I have accomplished the essence of my visit.

915. More than a year ago, I dreamed that we were on the shore in the Low Lands—where about twelve o'clock at night the great ocean presented to view *before* without bounds, and the awful cavalry pursuers were in the *rear*, and destruction to

prisoner by Coffee's spies. I asked him why their nation took up the hatchet against the whites, when they were paid for their friendship by the United States?

He replied, that a letter from the Great Father, the King of England, that the time was arrived to take up the hatchet—then the Governor of Pensacola sent for the big Prophet—who said if we did not take up the hatchet, our cattle would become buffaloe, and our fowls like wild turkeys—and our hogs would become lizards—likewise our dogs would become spirits and kill us, because we had whipped them; which prophecy the governor delivered by an interpreter to Runners, who quickly circulated it through the nation—some believed it, who were credulous in the doctrine of Spirits. It was through such a three-fold influential source others believed it, being disaffected to the United States—and a third to prevent being tomahawked, as there could be no neutral in the war—and hence the commencement of hostilities.

They that observe lying vanities, forsake their own mercies. Four armies are now against them—and destruction appears coming upon them to the uttermost. But woe to them who make use of Religion to answer their wicked ends thereby!

the uttermost awaited us if we staid there until day. I saw a batteau, without sails, oars or rudder, in which I said we must embark as the only alternative, and leave the event to God; and putting in our trunk, for it was present with my papers, and all we had: Peggy stepped in, and as I shoved it off stepped in myself; the *motion* of which, with the *wind* and *tide*, took us out of sight of land before day. A porpoise rose and struck the gunnel of the boat and broke in a part, which admitted the waves to dash in, and the boat began to fill. I said, we are lost—there is no hope, but to commit ourselves to God, and hang our *souls* upon Him!

Just then a fine large ship presented to view, and was immediately alongside; and seeing our danger, flung us a rope, to which we fastened the trunk and so were drawn into the ship, as the boat just then filled and went down! There were three ladies in the cabin who served us with a dish of warm coffee or tea; for we were wet and very much chilled. I could eat but little, from the gratitude to the great Disposer of all events for our late deliverance from the danger of the sea, and our dreadful pursuers. I asked the Captain where he was from, and bound to? He said, "from *Ireland*—have been to the *West Indies*—am sailing to *JERUSALEM*." While reflecting on the subject, and the probability that my pursuers would not hear of me for years, if ever, I waked up all in a flood of tears!! What it means, I know not, time must unfold it!

916. When on my return from *Europe*, from an unaccountable impulse of mind I frequently said, I awfully feared that all was not right at the *Mississippi*; as a brother and sister-in-law had gone to that territory about the time we left *America*.

917. In *Ireland*, one day a person observed to me her dream, which left a tremor of horror on her mind. That I had wings, and could roam at pleasure where I pleased; at length I lit down on a *certain* place, and sunk into the mire—and the more I strove to get out, the deeper I sunk down in the black mire. When she waked up with a degree of horror.

918. Those persons in *M. T.* separated, by grievously sinning against the tender mercies of the Lord. Leaving Peggy in *Virginia*, I arrived in *Claiborne county*, where he had begun a mill on ground which was not his own, and got involved in debt, which caused both parties, viz. the owners of the ground and him, to desire me to act as a *mediator* between them; which I accordingly did, and writings were passed accordingly.

But alas! this was the beginning of sorrows to me, and proved a school, arising from a combination of circumstances, which I shall never forget.

I offered all I had, in a few days after, for a release, but in vain, they proved like blood-suckers, which stuck close to the skin.—Hence I was compelled to purchase a part of the land and improvements; which involved me in debt head and ears, of several thousand dollars, which took some time to extricate myself! But which was accomplished by perseverance, through the Providence of God.

919. The "Rights of Man," fifth edition, being finished, I visited Fayetteville, Wilmington, Kingston, Georgetown and CHARLESTON; where the women lived at the "Planters Hotel," who had been instrumental in saving me from the hand of Baker; here I put up gratis.

920. I visited Sumpterville, Statesborough, Columbia, Chesterfield, Wadesborough, and several adjacent counties, to Moore; and Raleigh, Smithfield, Kingston to Newbern, and Washington, so by the intermediate places to Tarborough, and also to Nash, C. H. Louisville, Williamsborough, Granville, Hillsborough, to Terswell and Person, to Warrington and Brunswick; from whence we took our departure to Petersburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg, Alexandria, Washington to Baltimore; and on the way I met *Jesse Lee*, who hailed me in the stage. I once saw him at a *camp meeting* in *Georgia*—we took a walk.

He has been *Chaplain to Congress* longer than any one individual since the "*True American Federal Government*" was formed. I spent some time with him at Washington—he gave up his appointment for *Cosmopolite* in the "*BRIG HOUSE*." One night *Cosmopolite*, while sleeping in the room with him, dreamed, that a *Rat* came out of the dark, and fastened on his finger, and began to suck his *blood*, which he, in endeavoring to shake off, had like to have sprung out of bed. Next day there came a *swindler* to *Cosmopolite*, and ingeniously duped him out of thirty-eight dollars, which he designed never to reimburse! This also was a *school*, and taught him the lesson; "He that will be *surety* for a stranger shall smart for it."

Mr. F. A. is sick, and perhaps is about to end his long and arduous labor. What then?

921. *Cosmopolite* heard N. Snethen preach from, "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reserve

the *unjust* unto the day of *judgment* to be punished." The Lord knoweth—not is able or willing; but *knoweth* how, i. e. the *best* way to deliver &c., and to reserve the unjust to the day of judgment: not the general judgment, but some *particular* judgment in *this world*; adding, those that will not be subject to *rule and order*, put themselves *out* of the power of the *magistrate*, for he cannot follow them through all their intricate windings; of course they surrender themselves into the hand of God only; and hence we may expect to see some particular judgment befall them, as a just dispensation, and make a striking example of them as a warning to others!

922. From Baltimore to Philadelphia, and so to New York, where we saw J. . . . M, who professes himself to be an "*alien enemy*;" who hath caused (more) uneasiness in the society and *disturbance* (than *Cosmopolite* hath done on these shores this eighteen years) *though accountable to none in a *moral* or ecclesiastical point of view, for his conduct on these shores; though a man of "*ORDER*," yet he has been generously used in various senses in *this city*; but his *Life* shows the liberty in his country, as published by himself. However *Americans* as "*alien friends*" THERE in time of *PEACE*, are used worse than "*alien enemies*" are here in time of *WAR*; which *Cosmopolite* doth *know*.

923. There *Cosmopolite* with his *Rib*, had to appear at the *Custom House* by summons; and tell his age, parentage, birth-place, occupation, city, street, number of the house, and name of the family where he stayed before embarking, ship's name, &c. &c. &c., complexion, height, flesh-marks, &c. &c., all the answers recorded, and his name he had to sign to his testimony. This examination they passed through three times at the Custom House, then at the Mayor's office, and also at the Alien office; then he could not stay without the *King's* license, on which were certified his *lodgings*, &c. which must not be removed even to the next door without permission, under a penalty: and the family who received him to fifty pounds fine. Moreover, he must not exceed eleven miles distance, nor preach without license from the *sessions*, which could not be obtained without, first, the *OATH* of *allegiance*; second, to support that particular form of government, third against *Popery*, or be subject to pay a fine of twenty pounds; and those who suffered meetings in their houses without

* The example of *Cosmopolite*—it had been urged would prove *Pernicious*: but where has the effect been produced yet? Moreover the "*Defence of Methodism*" states the distinction between "*Accidental and moral evil*;" and shows the absurdity of saying "*most good or evil*" &c. "*more evil than good*."

a license from the Bishop's court, were subject to twenty pounds fine; and each of those who attended, to pay five shillings.

924. Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's; for the *devil* ought to have his due, and God requires no more: and every thing should have JUSTICE done to it!

And to misrepresent any thing designedly, with an intention to *deceive*, to injure another, and thereby answer our own designs, is a "MORAL EVIL" of the deepest dye; and while the *Viceregent* governs the world in *Righteousness*, judgment must and will be given in favor of the *injured*. Therefore *vice* must not triumph over *virtue*; and though the "*Wicked* may flourish like the green bay tree" for a season, the day of retribution will come at last. Consequently, all persons whose *actions* flow from *impure* and unjustifiable motives, will have only a *curse* and *bitterness*, as a just entailment at last, as the final issue of their conduct!

But innocence, uprightness and integrity of heart, founded upon virtuous and justifiable principles, as a responsible Agent to the Supreme Governor of the world, will meet His approbation; who will carry them through safely, however severe their trials and conflicts may be for a season, SALVATION will come at last.

Hence the propriety of "FAITH in God," and a "HOPE" in his *Providential Hand*! Likewise *Charity* or LOVE, which is the *spirit* of the gospel of Christ, should be the moving spring of all our actions; in order that we may glorify Him in all our ways, by a suitable disposition of heart fitted to his government; which requires a *worship* in SPIRIT and in TRUTH, with the UNDERSTANDING!

925. "Natural Law"—"Moral Law"—and the "Rule of practice," originated from the same *Author*.

Natural law embraces *unalienable RIGHTS*, which are founded upon innate principles, as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, &c. from which *equality* originates "*Natural Justice*." Agreeable to such natural justice is "Moral obligation;" "Love the Lord with all thy heart, and thy neighbor (not less or more, but) as thyself;" "and as ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets;" or what the law of *Moses*, and the *spirit* of prophets; and the example of Jesus Christ enjoined: "Therefore with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged," and "with what measure you meet, it shall be measured to you again."

The *just* retributions of Divine Providence have been observable in *social* bodies, as well as in *personal* and individual cases. *Haman* and *Mordecai* exemplify an instance—"he that will dig a *pit* for another, shall fall into it himself."

926. The first fifteen years of my life were as lost, not being devoted to God; though more *sober* and steady than most at that age; which was remarked by many.

When in my sixteenth year, I became acquainted with the comforts of religion; which hath kept me out of many a hurtful snare. About eighteen I commenced my *itinerant* career; which is more than *eighteen* years since. Various are the scenes through which I have been preserved since, by *land* and *water*, in those different climes where my lot hath been cast, arising from the different customs, interests, and prejudice of education. There is a family *likeness*, so there may be a family *temper*, and likewise a family *education*. Hence the various *MODES* give rise to various *prejudices*; and those that *predominate* will infest and *taint* whole societies or neighborhoods, over whose influence they control.

927. Little *minds* are capable of little things; and hence to see an *exaltation*, is apt to produce a *jealousy*; which when admitted begets envy: and friendship and respect *degenerates* into hatred, malice, and ill will.

928. Every person supposes himself to be in the *middle* of the world, and *his* way to be the most *RIGHT*, and as a *criterion*, and the summit of *perfection*. A difference of course to be an *error*, which should be cured; hence he bears the testimony against it with all the zeal, acrimony, and bitter censoriousness imaginable. Why? because it varies from *his* views; without allowing others the same liberty that he takes, to think, and judge, and act for himself; but all are in error who do not come to his rule, founded upon bigotry and the prejudice of education. For the most ignorant are generally the most rude, saucy, impertinent and positive in their assertions; not knowing how to state a proposition, nor draw a right conclusion; but think that assertion is argument, and so take it for granted that it proves the point.

929. Those persons who have sprung out of the *ashes*, and have been raised in the corner, when they get into office and *power*, become the most important, self-exalted, imperious, and *tyrannical* of any persons whatever; and domineer over those with a vengeance, that come within their power and displeasure;* from which good Lord deliver the EARTH! †

930. I perceive all things below the sun to be of a *fleeting* nature—nothing permanent but *Divinity* and *Immortality*! And

* This is observable in petty understrappers * * * * as well as in the *black* overseers in the West Indies.

† The narrow contracted Tyrant—condemned such a *VARIETY* of *heights*—thought to be "*uniform*" would be for the best—and choosing his own height for the model, has an "*IRON* bedstead" erected for the criterion—and all the longer must be "*cut off*," and those that were shorter must be *stretched*—which neither nature nor grace admit.

to *feel* the love of the former, brightens up the prospects of the latter; and *inspires* the heart with "*hope*" beyond this life!

931. I have not an acre of ground I call my own upon earth, and but a small pittance of this world's goods in any shape or form. But am without house or home of my own, and but very few on whose friendship to depend.

932. The last seven years of my life have been a scene of trials; but they have been a school. During this time, I have not received from other people in my travels, what would bear one half of my necessary expenses; and yet there is no time nor place in *Europe* or *America*, that any person can point out, when or where I asked for a "CONTRIBUTION," for "*myself*," either directly or indirectly; though I have taken a few, made by other people, in some cases of extreme necessity, or to prevent doing harm by hurting the feelings of some well wishers, in the course of those eighteen years: but have by far declined the bigger part—perhaps ten to one.*

933. The profits of my books, I derived no real advantage from, before I went to *Europe* the last time; and by the "*JOURNAL*" I sunk about one thousand dollars, by engaging too many to meeting houses, before the work was done; at one of which there happened to lack *twenty-five* of *eight hundred*; and hence twenty-five dollars in *cash* was demanded, and paid from other publications; so that I had but about *ten* dollars when I embarked for *Europe*.

934. But hitherto the Lord hath helped and brought me through, and gently cleared my way. I feel a sweet inward peace of mind, a blessing I have never lost since I saw *Calvin Wooster*. What is before me I know not—trials I expect ever await me, while upon the Journey of Life on these mortal shores; but the anticipation of a better and happier world, attracts my mind to surmount every obstacle by "*FAITH IN JESUS*," to gain that bright abode; and strive by every possible means to *regenerate* the *earth* by the knowledge of God; that "*moral evil*" may be expelled the world, the *Kingdom of Christ* become general, and rule over *ALL*.

935. I verily believe these are the last days of troublesome times; and will continue to grow worse and worse, and rise higher and higher, until after the "*FALL OF BABYLON*," which I expect cannot be far off; and the "*Beast and False Prophet*" be taken away; then the *Divine Government* will be acknowledged, natural justice attended to, moral obligation performed in the golden rule of practice, as enjoined by the *VICEGERENT* of the *world*!

* I have now and then rode up to a house, and asked for a bit of bread and some few things of the like necessity, &c.

936. Whoever will read the xxviii. of *Deut.* and compare it with the history of the *Jews* and our LORD's prediction with *Josephus*, must be at least rationally convinced of the doctrine of *Providence* in nature and grace. And whosoever is convinced, and looks at the "*signs*" may discern the **TIMES**; "For the light of the *moon* is becoming as the light of the *SUN*," when compared with the last centuries: and "The light of the *SUN* shall become seven fold as the light of **SEVEN DAYS**," saith the inspiration of the Almighty. Then "the *House* of the Lord shall be *established* in the top of the mountain, and exalted above the hills;" "and all nations shall flow unto it;" then "the *wolf* and the *lamb* shall dwell together;" and the "nations learn war no more;" for "the **NAME** of the LORD alone shall be **EXALTED** in that day;" and natural evil will be expelled the world, and the earth restored to its paradisaical state; "until the thousand years be ended, whether a common thousand, prophetic or apostolic; when *Christ* shall reign on earth, and bring his saints with him; but after the loosing of *Satan*, then there will be a falling away; and shortly will come the general judgment, "moral evil" having contaminated the earth again; and hence it is inconsistent with the nature and government of the Almighty, to continue the world in being any longer—then we arrive to the "**CONSUMMATION**" of all things.

937. This world is fitted to man's *body*, but not to the *mind*; the *love* of God is the only principle that can satisfy the **MIND**, and make him happy. Man is ever aspiring for new and greater things: now this principle is not wrong, being implanted by the **AUTHOR** of nature, as an inherent principle that is innate; the *evil* consists in the pursuit of improper objects that can never satisfy, and so become idolaters, to the neglecting the *Author* of all good, the privation of which is misery, as **HE** is the only fountain of perfect and lasting happiness!

938. This world is man's beginning place, like a state of embryo; he being a candidate for future happiness; hence the other world is his place of destination. For "*moral evil*" brought "*natural evil*" into the world; man is degenerate, hence the necessity of "*regeneration*" by the Divine Spirit, called the "**NEW BIRTH**." "The kingdom of Heaven was prepared for man," not from all eternity, but "from the foundation of the world;" whereas "the lake of fire and brimstone" was never made for man, but was "prepared for the devil and his angels."

939. The "*pleasure*" of the Lord was the moving *cause* of "*creation*." "**LOVE**" was the moving *cause* of "*redemption*;" and "*faith*" is the *instrumental cause* of "*salvation*." But "**SIN**," man's own **ACT**, is the **CAUSE** of his "*damnation*."

Therefore the necessity of seeking the Lord by faith, to find that knowledge of him, which will give an evidence of pardon, and bring peace to the mind.

940. The "divisions" of the human family in "nations," has its advantage; to cause a balance of power and a refuge for the oppressed people.

941. The variety of "denominations" also in those nations, have an advantage, that no one should have the pre-eminence to domineer over others in matters of "conscience;" there being so little *real piety* in the world. Union of form and ceremony is not religion in a moral point of view, for by it with the addition of power, the world hath been imposed upon, and taken the *shell* for the kernel, in their awful, delusive ignorance, which hath driven men to deism and infidelity, as common sense began to wake up and see the imposition. And doubtless will continue so to do more and more—hence the propriety of these words, "When the Son of man cometh shall he find faith on the earth?"

942. But a *union* of HEART in the *spirit* of the *gospel* of CHRIST, is a necessary thing to promote peace, and convince the world of the reality of the religion of Jesus being founded in Divinity, that they may embrace it by *faith* and "*know*" its blessed enjoyments.

943. Let brotherly love continue, for where bitter contention is, is every evil work; and instead of judging and striving for a party, and using the devil's tools with which to do the Almighty's work, strive to excel in love; evidencing your "*faith in Christ by works*," bringing forth those fruits of *Christianity* that will be the evidence on which will turn your eternal "*justification*" forever, in the day of final retribution!

944. The GLORY of God our object, the WILL of God our *law*; His SPIRIT our guide, and the Bible our rule, that Heaven may be our END. Hence we must "*watch and pray*," endure to the end to receive the "CROWN of Life," where is pleasure without pain, for evermore!

945. Then the storms of life are forever over, and his journey is drawn to a close; where there is glory, and honor, praise, power, and majesty, might and dominion forever be ascribed to God and the Lamb. O! this pleasing anticipation of a future world—the HOPE beyond the grave!

946. After our arrival in New York, a combination of circumstances conspired together, whereby I was enabled to put my WORKS to press, through the assistance of some friends; whose friendship I required. But as many of the books were sold at cost, and considerable expense attending the transportation and circulation of them; there was very little, if any neat gain, or profits attending the same, without counting the great attention,

care, &c. attending it; if we except the *pleasure* and *benefits* of mankind; which were my principal objects in their circulation; all of which was accomplished in about seven months, and discharged.

947. Frequently did I attend meetings at the *Asbury* meeting house, belonging to the *Africans*, or People of Color; and some other places; and departed to New Haven, where we spent a few days. It was the Fourth of July, and many were celebrating the time of Independence; but in a way neither to the glory of God, nor the honor of our country; but rather savored of a spirit of ingratitude, arising from a state of insensibility of how great and glorious our privileges are, when contrasted with other nations; and what has been before! So I made some remarks upon the sin of ingratitude, and its concomitant evils prospectively on the occasion. Thence to North Guilford, and Middletown, where I found a wagon going to Hebron: having held a number of meetings by the way.


948. Here I received a note from N. D. of N. L. containing the following queries: 1st. Why less time in private devotion now, than formerly. 2d. Whether the time spent in writing, would not be better spent in private prayer? 3d. Why more conversant with my friends?

949. These questions reminded me of a circumstance of several *vessels*, which were loaded with live stock,—cattle, sheep, hogs, geese, &c. &c. when several foreign vessels were off at a distance. Those things caused me to think so loud that I spoke out; “This looks like fulfilling the scripture,—“If thine enemy hunger feed him!” “Yes,” replied a bye-stander, “the Connecticut people are very pious in *that* respect.” But books are next akin to preaching, and may benefit society when I am no more; and duties never clash.

950. Getting equipped with an horse and small light wagon, I proceeded to Coventry, and found my aged *father*, one sister, and two nephews well. I staid a few days, and visited a number of adjacent places, and had some tender times: But my mind was uneasy, and some hours of sleep departed from me when I reflected upon the state of the country, and the *spirit* of the *times*.

951. When in Hartford city, I felt as if bewildered, and scarce knew which way to go; I left the beast to start which way he chose, feeling no inclination to go any where in particular. Thus in slow walk we started and took the road West, toward the state of New York, about twenty miles, when I met an old man; I asked him if any body in the neighborhood loved God; he mentioned a family and escorted me to the house, where two persons lived, who were my former acquaintance, when they were single; staid all night: had two meetings, and went to Wensted, where I

was invited by *John Sweet*, an acquaintance, with whom I fell in with by the by. Had two meetings and went to *Lenox*, and *Pittsfield*; and saw some of my old acquaintance and spiritual children, whom I had not seen for fifteen years. Held several meetings, and went to *Bennington*, and spoke once; then to *Cambridge*, where I had formerly travelled, but felt not free to call on any of my old acquaintance; nor have I felt free to do it intentionally, where I formerly travelled the circuits; unless it so happened just in my way of travelling.

952. Spent about a week with *Peggy's* sister and brother-in-law: held several meetings, met some opposition with an A-LL-part minister; and departed to *Saratoga* and *Balltown Springs*; and held about fifty meetings in the adjacent country-towns, and went to *Still-water* and *Waterford*; so to *Lownsburg* and *Troy*; where **CHICHESTER** proclaimed war against me, before I came, assigning as the reason:  "ORDER!!!" But they who are not conformed to moral order in the Divine government, will not be able to stand in that day when all hearts shall be disclosed!

953. Thence to *New York*, where the countenances of the people were an index of the mind; during the awful suspense of the engagements at *Baltimore* and *Plattsburg*: and also it was visible, who were the friends of the country, and felt interested, and those who were not: and a day or two days after, when accounts came from those two places, that they had not fallen; the scene was equally reversed! *

954. Thence to *Philadelphia*, where I spent about a month; sold my travelling convenience, and went by water in the steam-boat to *New Castle*, in *Delaware*: saw an old house 127 years old: held one meeting, and took stage to *Symrna*; spoke once, then to *Dover*, and found a distant people; spoke four times; disturbed twice by something coming into my room in the night; spoke to it, got no reply: interrogated the family, got no satisfaction, only found others had been disturbed there before. Thence to *Frederica*; spoke three times, and went to *Milford*: where I spoke several times, and went to *Georgetown*; and spoke twice. So on to *Doggsborough*, and spoke in the church of *England* meeting house, and then to *Martinsville*, and held two meetings; from there to *Poplartown*, in *MARYLAND*: and *Snow Hill*. There I spoke six times, and departed to *Havertown*, and from thence to *Downingtown*, in *VIRGINIA*. Thence I returned by *Downing Chapel*, and *Newtown*, to *Snow Hill*: thence to *Salsbury*; and so to *Cambridge*; where the snow, and cold overtook me. During this journey so far, I had many precious times: at the *Trap*,

* The countenance being an index of the mind.

in particular; and in East-town and Centreville, and at Chester-town, and at the head of Chester, and so returned to Smyrna, and visited its vicinity.

955. At the head of Sassafraus, I saw MARGARET KEEN; whom I saw two years before in Baltimore; and who had accurately dreamed of *Bonaparte's* disasters, &c. &c. which made considerable impression upon my mind. Thus after about thirty days, I returned to Philadelphia, where I met my *companion* from New York, where I had left her; having travelled about five hundred miles, and held upwards of sixty meetings.


956. As neither of us had been in those northern latitudes, at this inclement season of the year, having been seasoned to a warm climate; prudence dictated the propriety of a proper line of conduct, and having some writing to do, it was proper to attend to it, and now appeared to be the time; but a proper place was hard to find, where we might be retired.

957. Once, seemingly we had thousands of friends, but alas, a true friend is hard to find! one who is not like the pine tree, rotten at the *heart*. Man is not to be trusted, unless *fear*, *INTEREST*, or the *Grace of GOD*, shall influence him! for mankind in general, are led like an animal, by *inclination* for the time being, without exercising *JUDGMENT*, or *REASON*, which should be found in a *Virtuous principle*! There is none but God who can be depended upon as certain; for He never forsakes us, unless we *first forsake HIM*! though some talk to the contrary, saying, *David* was *LEFT* to do so and so! &c.

958. Where are my many friends now? *ZION* is gone into captivity, her *harps* are hung upon the willows; but she will yet come out of the *Wilderness* of this world, leaning upon her *BE-LOVED*! terrible as an *ARMY* with *banners*!

959. When travelling North and South, the difference of the country, the prejudice of the people, in their different modes of raising both among the religion, and those who do not profess; taking the Potomac for the dividing ground, makes me think of the "*ten pieces*" of garments that *Abijah* gave to *JEROBOAM*; which *prejudice* had began in the time of *SAUL*, the first king in Israel, and the house of *DAVID*!

960. When Cosmopolite was invited to preach in Congress Hall, before the other House; he spoke from these words: "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a shame to any people."—He went down to the Navy Yard and staid at the house of *James Friend*. During the night, he dreamed, and thought that he was in the gallery of the *CAPITOL*, which was much crowded: and the House was in session. A little, sharp looking man, came to the top of the stairs, and winked and beckoned to me, as if in great agitation; and then turned and went out. I thought I made my way through

the crowd, and got out of the door, where I found a military guard around the house; getting through them, I started toward the Navy Yard, when I saw the house arise, and fall in *two parts*, and burst into ten thousand atoms, and the whole was enveloped in a column of smother and smoke, which shock, waked me up! I told James Friend in the morning of my curious dream. Fifteen months after, as I was coming from Virginia, I called at his house; he reminded me of the dream, adding, that he had never been in the house since, without thinking of it, and feeling a degree of horror!  Several months after this, when I heard of Ross and Cockburn being at Washington, I could measureably interpret my dream.

961. There was more blood spilt in the Carolinas, between the inhabitants, during the former struggle, than between the regular armies. There is an awful gloom gathering fast, and clouds hang over a guilty land. Wars are neither less nor more, than the sword and scourge of God; not only for a nation, but as individuals also; and there are two classes who feel it heaviest *here*; the first is those who are of no service to God or man: viz. those who are a *nuisance* to society, not pursuing any useful, innocent or lawful calling, to gain a subsistence; but have corrupted society by the influence of their example, and violating the Divine law, by profane cursing, swearing, lying, drinking, whoring, and lounging about the streets: this filth is in a great measure drained from our towns; and gone to the slaughter house.—The other is the *Mercantile* class; who through the unparalleled space of peace and *prosperity*, were led off by the temptation of riches and grandeur, whereby they forgot God; hence the influence of their example, to the injury of society, and the dishonor of God's government: Therefore it was necessary that those avenues of *wealth* should be shut up; and hence the *scourge* from God. Consequently we should take warning that we may be able to stand; and of course must conduct ourselves accordingly, in the duty of *love* to GOD, and our NEIGHBOUR; and attend to our *Saviour's* golden rule of practice, "As ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them."

962. After enquiring some time, I found a place in a *Quaker* family, where we obtained a room. Attended some of their meetings; had some very comfortable feelings while sitting in silence with them; heard some who spake feelingly, and to satisfaction; among whom was RICHARD JORDAN; his track I was much upon in *Ireland*, but never saw him until in this city; visited his house, and had good satisfaction.—*Peter's* call was to the *Jews*; *Paul's* to the *Gentiles*; so there are different gifts, and calls, in our day, and all by the *same spirit*.

963. DOROTHY RIPLEY, an English woman, who hath crossed the ocean five times, is now in this city: she belongs to no religious society; but is rather upon the Quaker order; she was very kind to me, when going on my last tour to Europe. She has travelled most of the States of the Union: and also in *Ireland*; as well as her native country. There has been much opposition to her, from those who may be called religious bigots, who are of narrow, contracted minds; for little minds are only capable of little things; but she hath bruted the storm, and lived down much that was designed to block up her path, and make the way bitter; but God hath been with her; and how many she has been a blessing to, the day of Eternity must disclose!

964. THEOPHILUS R. GATES;—the influence of his example is very impressive on many minds: he travels on foot, inculcating the necessity of innocency, and purity of heart, flowing from *love* to God and man. He belongs to no particular society, but considers that to be *bigoted* to a *party* is to have or subscribe to, and constitutes one of the number of the beast.

How many more God may stir up to go the same way I know not; but though many have prophecied of the mischief that would arise from the influence and example of Cosmopolite; yet those are not "*Dowites*," neither is "*Dowism*" planted, in a spherical point of view. But

"Let talkers talk, stick thou to what is best!
To think of pleasing all, is all a JEST!"

Hence, O! ye bigots of

"Different sects, who all declare,
Lo! *here* is Christ, and Christ is *there*!
Your strongest proofs divinely give;
And shew as where the Christians live!
Your claim, alas! you cannot prove!
YE want the genuine mark of LOVE!"

965. The news of PEACE salutes our ears, and reverberates through the land; but many appear to be intoxicated with the prospects: as though the bitterness was past; however, it may be that many ere long may find that the struggle between the powers of DARKNESS and LIGHT is not over; time must disclose it; may God have mercy on the human family, prosper Zion, and help the Pilgrims through this thorny maze to the peaceful shores, where the wicked shall cease from troubling, and the WEARY shall be at REST?

I saw two chairs made out of the *Elm tree*, under which WM. PENN held his treaty with the INDIANS; when treating with them for the ground of *Pennsylvania*, and where the city of *Philadel-*

phia now stands—not considering the mere discovery and donation of a KING, a sufficient TITLE—though done as the reward of merit, for his father's services to the public.

966. While the *New Englanders* were at war with the *natives* it is said to be a fact that there was no war between *Penn's colony* and the *Indians*, all the days of PENN ?*

* It is said, that a man was employed to attend the king's fire, and keep it well *perfumed*, while Penn was waiting to have the accounts regularly and carefully made out and delivered, which contained the amount of arrears for his father's services—which perfume was *very expensive*. His *majesty* being present was invited by Penn to visit *him*, and he would honour him with one equally costly—which invitation being accepted, Penn put the *obligations* into the fire—doubtless as a testimony against WAR. The king afterwards sent for Penn, and made him a *donation* of the grant of Pennsylvania.

* 102, *New Street, Dublin, 9th of the 5th mo. 1813.*

Dear Lorenzo—

THIS day thy very acceptable letter of March 19th came to hand, and afforded us particular satisfaction. It was about this time two years when we received the last letter from thee, and the only one since our return from England. I am now established in more extensive and profitable practice than I ever had before—indeed I think the last year exceeded any two former ones since my first commencing as physician, and I must acknowledge that I think Divine Providence made use of thee, in a particular manner, as an instrument to bring about this, *to me unexpected*, event.—For thy persuading me to go at that time with thee to England, opened the way for my going to settle whilst I did at Macclesfield, where I willingly resumed my medical practice, after having striven about seven years earnestly to decline it.—My last year's business amounted, I think, to near 700*l.*, which with former years' increasing property has enabled me to give some hundreds away to assist others in their distresses, and at present to have a few hundreds at my command, for the use of myself and others. But whatever I may have, either now or in future, I consider not as my own, but as a stewardship put into my hands by the Great and Good Master, and to be unreservedly devoted to his service in whatever way and manner he may see clearly to point out. If professors of religion would in general consider themselves only as stewards of what they possess, I think it might then be said with truth, as it was at the time of the first promulgation of the gospel, that no man counted any thing he had his own, and no member of the church felt any wants.

If any thing has gathered with me it has been providential, and not by my own seeking: by which means it is not a burthen to me, as I once felt some to be.

However easy and prosperous in outward matters I seem to be, yet I think it would be far more agreeable to me to be in America, travelling along with thee—even encountering some difficulties. But this gratification seems hitherto forbidden me: and I apprehend that I shall have to abide the great thunder-storm, which I fear ere long will shake and agitate these hitherto highly favored countries. I think it will take place much sooner than most people apprehend, and in a time and manner somewhat sudden and unexpected. I believe it will try the foundations of hundreds of thousands and the truly upright, and those free from all idolatry, be alone preserved safely through it. I suppose I shall be favored to know of its approach, and a place of safe and quiet retirement be afforded to me during its continuance. I am not afraid of my opinion being known, as I am clear of all political spirit and parties.

I heard that thou hadst thoughts of going to the West Indies, and from thy long silence I had fears that thou hadst gone thither, and sunk under the unwholesomeness of the climate. But now I have a hope of seeing thee once more in this wilderness; for if thou art favored to visit England after her conflict is over, I have no doubt at present but that I may then meet thee there, and I hope much to our mutual satisfaction.

Thy true friend,

P. JOHNSON.

The following is the substance of a poem which I wrote down the 24th of February, two days before Napoleon left Elba for France. The first verse, for reasons, I omit.—I was then under restraints on account of singularities of various sorts.—By the Beast and False Prophet I designated Napoleon and Mahomet.—P. J.

N. B. The second Beast of the 13th, seems the False Prophet of the 19th chapter.

Verse 2. I SING of a glorious day near a-coming—

The kingdom of Heaven set up amongst men—

The servants of God to his standard a-running,

As sheep when their shepherd calls into the pen.

However much these people called *Quakers*, are derided for _____, the *Protestant* christain world, is indebted to them as the *means* for many of the blessings, both *civil and religious*, which we now enjoy under God.

967. *Marriage* for example, was considered an *ecclesiastical subject*—hence no marriage, unless the ceremony was performed by a *priest*—and the children illegitimate of course!

The Beast and False Prophet shall first be a reigning,
And horrible carnage 'mongst Christians will make;
The servants of Jesus in conflicts engaging,
A glorious warfare most valiantly waging,
Their lives laying down for their Great Master's sake
Their blood not these monsters' deep malice assuaging
Till God's blessed day in the morning.

These tyrants alive being cast into the fire,
As shown to the Lord's highly favored friend;
Their armies destroy'd in God's terrible ire:
The world's great wickedness come to its end—
Then Satan, fast bound and most firmly chained,
Is in the abyss for a thousand years fix'd,
A seal set upon it, he horribly pained,
His blasphemous rage by his torments untamed,
The cup of his punishment here is unmix'd.
But God's righteous judgments can never be blamed—
For he is the Lord from the morning.

The Serpent no more poor weak mortals deceiving,
They all shall acknowledge God's heavenly law:
His righteous commands with obedience receiving,
The saints shall promulge without error or flaw,

These servants, raised up by their Great Master's power,
 Shall sit upon thrones with Messiah to reign;
 'Tis now of God's kingdom the glorious hour,
 His blessing come down in a plentiful shower,
 There now is no suffering, sorrow, nor pain:
 But Jesus' presence their Heavenly dower—
 For he is the the Star of the morning.

This glorious day of a thousand years' standing,
 All death shall abolish to Jesus' friends;
 They rode o'er the nations with sceptres commanding,
 Their Master now makes them abundant amends.
 The wolf and the lamb they shall lay down together,
 The calf and the lion in harmony meet,
 The birds of the air—of all sorts of feather,
 At springs of the land, both the upper and nether,
 Together shall play, and in innocence breed;
 An infant shall lead the wild beasts in a tether:
 'Tis day with the sons of the morning.

But how can I sing of these wondrous matters—
 In Babylon's bastile a prisoner fast;—
 My bonds are made stronger—the devil bespatters
 My soundness of mind from the first to the last.
 Poor David* from home and from friends now is banished,
 As formerly happened in Saul's cruel day;
 All comforts domestic entirely vanquished,
 The hillocks of cheerfulness thoroughly planished,
 The devil triumphant now carries the sway.
 But God's loved servant, although now astonished,
 Will yet see a glorious morning.

The bold, firm and patient stand, which these people made with perseverance, was what broke the charm—and obtained the act of Parliament in their favor on that subject. Thank God! there never has been a *spiritual court* in the United States.

963. Also the "*Act of TOLERATION*," under "*King William*," was another effect from the conduct of this people. Likewise the "*equal rights of conscience*," in our form of government, is another effect; growing out of *Penn's* policy, for the government of his colony; requiring no *particular test* as a qualification to

* David means a *beloved one*.

office; only a general test, viz. the belief in one God, with future reward and punishment.

969. Thus the LESSON he learnt from the persecution in his time—so a little “*leaven leaveneth the WHOLE LUMP.*” May it go on throughout the world; till *priestcraft* and tyranny shall fall; and the nations learn war no more.

Took stage for *Melville*; arrived between seven and eight o'clock at night; word flew over town; soon the school house was filled; spoke there, and next day at *Buddville*; thence to *Elizabeth Port*, Q. M. spoke twice, and then to *Dennis's creek* M. H. Disappointed of a conveyance, went on foot; found a wagon; so got on to *Cold spring* M. H. thence to *Cape May* C. H. so walked to brother *Moore's*; brother *Fidler* carried me to *Big Egg Harbor* Baptist M. H. so to Tuckahoe, and *May's Landing*; then *Weymouth*; Fairfield Presbyterian M. H. *Bridgetown and Penn's neck*; *Salem*; *Sharptown* and *Woodbridge*; so back to Philadelphia; having been gone seventeen days: held thirty meetings; and travelled about 300 miles.

970. Going to the *East*, Peggy was taken seriously ill; we were detained about a month in N. Y. Thence we sailed with captain *Howard* to N. London, who generously gave our passage; as did Dr. *Brush* his BILL at N. Y.

971. Held a number of meetings, and sailed to *Norwich*, spoke in the Baptist M. H. Hired a wagon, and came to *Coventry*; found my father well. Left Peggy; visited *Hebron, Stonington*, (where George's ship *Nimrod*, killed two horses, one hog and a goose;) so to *New-port*, Rhode Island!

972. My constitution is so broken, and nervous system worn down, that let me put on what resolution I may, I am necessitated to sit down every little while to rest, if I attempt to walk and go on foot.

973. After speaking several times in a large M. H. with a steeple and bell, occupied by brother *Webb*, and where he taught school, I spoke in *Bristol*, where I had been near twenty years before, in the beginning of my itineracy, and departed to *New Bedford*; where I had been about eight years before; spoke several times; designed for the vineyard; and attempted to sail to New York; in both I was disappointed; so returned by land; one offered a horse, another a chaise, and a third attended me to *Providence*; saw a vessel; found two boxes of books on board; disposed of them in the best manner I could; and after attending several meetings and experiencing some kindness from whence I had no ground to expect it, and in other cases it turned out the reverse, I returned to *Coventry*; made preparation to leave my Peggy for some time; and departed to *New Haven*; sailed in the dreadful gale to *New York*; came to *Philadelphia*, and visited

Baltimore. Spoke in the separate African M. H. and the one formerly occupied by old *father Otterbine*.

Friday, 22d Sept. 1815. Took stage for *Carlisle*; wheel came off, and we upset, but thanks be to God, none were materially injured; quit stage, and walked several miles through the mud; spoke several times: made remittance to my printer and book-binder; assisted ten miles with an horse.

Monday, 25. Spoke in the *Dutch* "United Brethren" M. H. near the big spring, to a simple hearted people.

974. Found my father to be entitled to a tract of crown land for service—probably will be cheated out of it, as many others are of their *just rights*—and as one day I may myself be also—but what is amiss here, must be rectified hereafter.

975. Tuesday, 26 Rode on the coupling tongue of the wagon; came to Shippensburg; feeble in body; *faith* revives, that the Providence of God will attend and bar my way upon this journey. But a few months will turn up something—I know not what; things cannot continue as they are; may I be prepared for all events!

976. Spoke in M. M. H.; well behaved; a few dollars to assist me on the way; the stage was full and could not take me: Providence provided; a man brought me a horse for his brother, to return from the college at Washington; thus I was accommodated two hundred miles over the mountains; while many were hurt by the upsetting of the stages on the way, about this time.

977. Wednesday, 27. Rode twenty-four miles to Kines; spoke to a few well behaved; next day to *Bedford*, and spoke in the C. H.

Here it is said that a *minister* wanted his elders to agree with *bonds* to pay him annually for life, whether he should preach or not—and *killed* one who opposed to prevent it. Another, who was a *magistrate*, committed him for trial; and after sentence, asked him what he thought of his state? He replied, I know I *have* had religion—and shall of course go to heaven, which I can prove by the articles of our church.

978. Friday, 29. Rode thirty-five miles, and next day came to Greensburg—met a preacher, who told me when, &c. he became religious. Those things are like bread cast on the water, and found many days hence; which circumstances repeatedly happen, and are a comfort to my poor heart, and tend to keep my head above the billows.

Sunday, Oct. 1st. Spoke three times—good attention.

970. Monday, 2d. Came to *Pittsburg*; staid about a week; spoke a dozen times; hundreds attended more than could get into the house; appears a serious enquiring spirit. Here are

some of my old friends from *Hibernia*, at whose houses I was received hospitably when on my former visit to that country—a stranger in a strange land. Among these are the Tackuburies and Joyces.

980. Pittsburg (once Fort Duquesney, then Fort Pitt, from the great Pitt-minister) has become famous in the New World—and by *nature*, combined with *art*, promises to be one of the greatest *manufacturing* towns in America; seven or eight glass works in this neighborhood, and as many different places of worship. The turnpike road is in a fair way to be effected, and the steam boats will accommodate the west.

981. I am free from pain in body—hence I call it well, though threats of inward indisposition:—the *spasms*, with which I am frequently attacked—the *asthma*, which interrupts my sleep, and tends to weaken my strength—the *piles* also, which are painful and distressing to a travelling life—also the *scrophula* on my neck. The frequent speaking tends to create inflammation in the organs or glands of my throat, which causes me keen pain at times. To walk six or eight miles in a day, is more fatiguing to me than 30 or 40 miles would once. Thus *nature* will fall beneath that which once it was capable to resist and throw off. This I could never realize from theory—I can know it only by EXPERIENCE, to what a state of *health* one may be reduced by exposure, fatigue, *sickness*, and wants of various kinds! Anxiety of *mind* is impairing to health—hence *religion* is the only real support to keep the mind in PEACE through the vicissitudes attending the journey of life. But I feel a measure of *gratitude* to the Great Disposer of *events*, that it is as well with me as what I now enjoy, and that I have as much strength remaining, and can labor as much as I do.

982. Monday, 9th. Came to *Washington*, just as the man was starting in the stage. He saw the horse, got out, and so I delivered him up. Spoke in the C. H.—took stage to *Middletown*, where I was beset to preach in a barn, it being election day. A religious BIGOT made a motion to *mob* me; but none would second it. A wordling replied to *him*, “Let the dead bury their dead.” The same night and next day I spoke in *Charleston*, when Mr. Fetter lent me a horse to ride to *Wheeling*. Here I spoke three times—found a *Quaker family* who had been kind to *Peggy* when she had travelled the West with me. Here it is probable the great roads from the Atlantic will intersect with the waters of the Ohio—and of course the grand place of deposit between the East and Western country. Though the Alleghany, Muskingum, *Sciota*, and Miami, with the Wabash, &c. intersect with the waters of the

lakes of Canada, with only small portages of a few miles—connect with that round the Falls of Niagara, and from Albany to Schenectady, yet the principal will be through the waters of the Mobile and Tennessee, which are connected by a portage—one of 8 miles, by Coosee and Highwassee; one of 30, from Twenty-mile-Creek to Bear-Creek; and 69 from Main River to Main River. Mobile has a tide of about 150 miles.

983. Taking water with captain Wood, I arrived at Marietta on Sunday, 15th, and spoke in the Methodist M. H. to more than could get in—generally well behaved.

984. Monday, 16th. This day I am thirty-eight years old. Sixteen years ago I embarked for Europe; nineteen I was in Orange meeting, addressing the youth. Thirty-eight more, no doubt, will change my state. Above half of “seventy-six” is gone.

985. Spoke at sun-rise to about two hundred—at about nine, in the two steepled, or rather horned meeting house. Spoke several times; and also at Point or Fort Harmer.

986. The marks of *antiquity* in this western world are so conspicuous, that should New England be depopulated, the monuments would not be so visible in a few hundred years as what these are now. And it is remarkable, that where Nature appears to have formed it commodious for a town, those ancients, as well as these moderns, fixed on the *same scites* in a great many places.*

987. What is a-head I know not, but this one thing I am conscious of, that it requires more *grace* to be able to *suffer* the whole will of God, than merely to do it only.

988. A young gentleman and his lady returning from a visit to her parents, having a *spare horse*, I obtained the privilege of riding it about one hundred miles, visiting Gallapoleese and Greensburg† by the way.

What now is my *object* and *aim*?
 What now is my *hope* and *desire*?
 To *follow* the Heavenly Lamb,
 And after his *image* *aspire*!

*The works of *antiquity* are beyond any description as yet given, that I have seen, by *Morse* or others. Here are two circles, including several acres each, with what is called a covered way to the water. In one of these circles are two platforms—one of which I found to be fifty *paces* square, eight feet high, and three convex and one concave walk to ascend it. The *earth* appears to have been brought from a distance to make the *top* a hard walk, like that near Natchez. There have been *brass* and *copper*, polished beyond what is common in our day, “steel bows, iron, silver, glass beads, a salt well laid in cement—flint knives, and stone axes.” Also a stone “image,” large as life, denoting great antiquity.

† Here an old gentleman replied that I should not preach so—for, said he, it will

989. Thence in a family boat to Portsmouth and Alexandria, where I was recognized and embargoed to stop. So I held several meetings; saw the "mammoth orchard" of America; and thence to Limestone and had meeting. Was driven ashore at Augusta; the court house was soon filled. After meeting the *wind* fell—so we departed, and arrived at Cincinnati, where I had never been before, as was the case with most of the towns on the Ohio, but found many of my *old friends* from different parts of the Union.

990. There was soon a large collection on the bank of the river, to whom I spoke. Was requested to stop a few days, which I accordingly complied with, and in eleven days held about thirty meetings, in the vicinity of this place, and trust it was not time spent in vain.

991. I got several thousand *handbills* printed for distribution, and received some remuneration from those whose hearts the Lord had touched; among whom was *General Taylor*.

Wm. B. one of Snethen's men, got vexed, as is said, at something I said in the market at Baltimore, 1804.

.

. "Chickimaw exshow."

The laws from Europe—tribunal in France, Spain and Italy—to restore the order of *Jesuits*, which were exiled as dangerous to papistical governments—and the *Inquisition* with all its horrors.

Here Lawner Blackman was drowned. I accompanied him to Natchez. He was retarded by no danger—by land or crossing streams of water. It appears he felt ominous preludes of his dissolution, and the concomitant circumstances show that he came to his end by Providence.

"Who plants his footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm."

992. Captain C——, of the barge *Defiance*, took me in a skiff down the river to the Falls, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles. Visited Lawrenceburg, in Indiana, which has 68,000 inhabitants, and will soon become a state.—First time I was ever in this territory.

hurt the feelings of my neighbors. Thus he interrupted two or three times. They made a *collection* for me, which was given to bear the expenses of another. At a public house the *woman* charged fifty per cent more than her husband. I made some remarks upon it. It was replied, "that is nothing—for it was a customary thing in this our day." I observed, that I liked *honest* women to maturity, and honest afterwards.

Thence to the *Rising Sun*, about seven at night. The people assembled before eight; and before day in the morning likewise. So I took my departure by sun-rise to Vevia; thence I spoke at the mouth of Kentucky river, held two meetings; at Madison likewise standing on the logs to collect the villagers, which had the desired effect. Then to Bethlehem.

November 13th, I came to Lewisville, at the Falls of Ohio, and went to distributing handbills through the town. Though I had never been there before, was recognized by many. Thus I was provided for, and gained access to the people.

993. On the 15th I embarked in the United States' boats, after speaking in a fine large new brick meeting-house, and circulating subscription papers for a new edition of my works.

This river is a gentle *stream*, and by no means so rapid as is commonly supposed—it is rising fast. This branch of the army is going up the Mississippi to build a *fort* near CARVER'S Claim, which by purchase and transfer from Carver's heirs belongs to *Benjamin Mun*—one hundred by a hundred and twenty miles from the Falls of St. Antina to the mouth of Chipewa river—east.

994. One who had stolen hospital stores was condemned to receive 200 lashes with rods, which were inflicted while the boat gradually drifted down the current—he being tied to three guns which were braced in a triangle. This was called running the gauntlet—but my feelings were shocked at the sight; though performed by *deserters*.

I doubt if the punishment did not exceed the crime—and whether it is agreeable to the laws of the land—punishment should be apportioned to the crime; or else how shall we make a proper distinction between Vice and Virtue?

995. One thing is observable, that for hundreds of miles on the Kentucky side, the people were dilatory at night and morning in coming to meeting, &c.—but on the opposite side the thing was quite different. The only thing as a *reason* that I can assign for this, is, SLAVERY!

996. Some of the “Articles of war” by Charles the XII, were good, considering the *time* in which they were wrote, but some of the *Relicts of Priestcraft* still remain, which may do for the *old world*, but should be expunged and kept from the *new*, which is reserved for a new era of new things.

The oath of *honor* is more binding to the *soldier* than any other, in most cases.

Sunday, 19th. The time on board is something solitary, though the *officers* are jovial, and civil to *me*; yet this is not the kind of company I want, though they render themselves as agreeable to me as they can.

This evening while at camp on shore, by the request of some of the officers, I stood on a log and lectured the *Cantonment*—good decorum.

Col. H. had some *paddled*, but not striking hard enough to please *him*, were ordered to take a turn—about a *dozen*; one stretched and a *cat* drew by the *tail* across his back, others disgraced by their hats, and called “*pioniers*.”

1997. Thursday, 23d. Arrived at the *Cave*, formerly inhabited by *Mason's* band of robbers; 120 feet back, and proper proportions—60 wide at the mouth and 25 in height; I cannot well describe the *music* on the *water* from the *cave*!

1998. Spoke at the Red Banks. Quit the boats at the mouth of Cumberland River; embarked in a boat from that river going to trade with the Indians up the Arkansaw. At the mouth of Ohio I embarked in a *keel-boat* and descended the Mississippi to New Madrid, in Missouri Territory.

1999. The Earthquakes here made awful distress among the inhabitants, as may be seen by the following letter.*

* *New Madrid, Territory of Missouri, March 22, 1816.*

DEAR SIR—

In compliance with your request, I will now give you a history, as full in detail as the limits of a letter will permit, of the late awful visitation of Providence in this place and its vicinity.

On the 16th of December, 1811, about two o'clock, A. M. we were visited by a violent shock of an earthquake, accompanied by a very awful noise resembling loud but distant thunder, but more hoarse and vibrating, which was followed in a few minutes by the complete saturation of the atmosphere, with sulphurous vapor, causing total darkness. The screams of the affrighted inhabitants running to and fro, not knowing where to go, or what to do—the cries of the fowls and beasts of every species—the cracking of trees falling, and the roaring of the Mississippi—the current of which was retrograde for a few minutes, owing, it is supposed, to an irruption in its bed—formed a scene truly horrible. From that time, until about sunrise, a number of lighter shocks occurred; at which time one still more violent than the first took place, with the same accompaniments as the first, and the terror which had been excited in every one, and indeed in all animal nature, was now, if possible, doubled. The inhabitants fled in every direction to the country, supposing, (if it can be admitted that their minds were exercised at all) that there was less danger at a distance from, than near to, the river. In one person, a female, the alarm was so great that she fainted, and could not be recovered. There were several shocks of a day, but lighter than those already mentioned until the 23d of January 1812, when one occurred as violent as the severest of the former ones, accompanied by the same phenomena as the former. From this time till the 4th of February the earth was in continual agitation, visibly waving as a gentle sea. On that day there was another shock, nearly as hard as the preceding ones. Next day four such, and on the 7th, at about four o'clock, A. M. a concussion took place so much more violent than those which had preceded it, that it is denominated the hard shock. The awful darkness of the atmosphere, which as formerly was saturated with sulphurous vapor, and the violence of the tempestuous thundering noise that accompanied it, together with all the other phenomena mentioned as attending the former ones, formed a scene, the description of which would require the most sublimely fanciful imagination. At first the Mississippi seemed to recede from its banks, and its waters gathering up like a mountain, leaving for a moment many boats, which were here on their way to New Orleans, on the bare sand, in which time the poor sailors made their

1000. The vibration of the earth, shook down trees; thousands of willows were snapt off like a pipe stem, about wrist high, and the swamps become high ground, and high land be-

escape from them. It then rising fifteen or twenty feet perpendicularly and expanding, as it were, at the same moment, the banks were overflowed with a retrograde current, rapid as a torrent:—the boats which before had been left on the sand were now torn from their moorings, and suddenly driven up a little creek, at the mouth of which they laid, to the distance, in some instances, of nearly a quarter of a mile. The river falling immediately, as rapidly as it had risen, receded within its banks again with such violence, that it took with it whole groves of young cotton-wood trees, which ledged its borders. They were broken off with such regularity, in some instances, that persons who had not witnessed the fact, would be difficultly persuaded that it had not been the work of art. A great many fish were left on the banks, being unable to keep pace with the water. The river was literally covered with the wrecks of boats, and 'tis said, that one was wrecked in which there was a lady and six children, all of whom were lost. In all the hard shocks mentioned, the earth was horribly torn to pieces—the surface of hundreds of acres was, from time to time, covered over, of various depths by the sand which issued from the fissures, which were made in great numbers all over this country, some of which closed up immediately after they had vomited forth their sand and water, which, it must be remarked, was the matter generally thrown up. In some places, however, there was a substance somewhat resembling coal, or impure stone-coal, thrown up with the sand. It is impossible to say what the depth of the fissures or irregular breaks were; we have reason to believe that some of them were very deep. (The site of this town was evidently settled down at least fifteen feet, and not more than half a mile below the town there does not appear to be any alteration on the bank of the river; but back from the river a small distance, the numerous large ponds or lakes, as they were called, which covered a great part of the country were nearly dried up. The beds of some of them are elevated above their former banks several feet, producing an alteration of ten, fifteen, to twenty feet, from their original state. And lately it has been discovered that a lake was formed on the opposite side of the Mississippi, in the Indian country, upwards of one hundred miles in length, and from one to six miles in width, of the depth of from ten to fifty feet.) It has communication with the river at both ends, and it is conjectured that it will not be many years before the principal part if not the whole of the Mississippi, will pass that way. We were constrained, by the fear of our houses falling, to live twelve or eighteen months, after the first shocks, in little light camps made of boards; but we gradually became callous, and returned to our houses again. Most of those who fled from the country in the time of the hard shocks have since returned home. We have since their commencement in 1811, and still continue to feel, slight shocks occasionally. It is seldom indeed that we are more than a week without feeling one, and sometimes three or four in a day. There were two this winter past much harder than we have felt them for two years before; but since then they appear to be lighter than they have ever been, and we begin to hope that ere long they will entirely cease.

I have now, sir, finished my promised description of the earthquake—imperfect, it is true, but just as it occurred to my memory; many of, and most of the truly awful scenes, having occurred three or four years ago. They of course are not related with that precision which would entitle it to the character of a full and correct picture. But such as it is, it is given with pleasure—in the full confidence that it is given to a friend. And now, sir, wishing you all good, I must bid you adieu.

Your humble servant,

ELIZA BRYAN.

The Rev. Lorenzo Dow.

There is one circumstance which I think worthy of remark. This country was formerly subject to very hard thunder; but for more than a twelvemonth before the commencement of the earthquake there was none at all, and but very little since, a great part of which resembles subterraneous thunder. The shocks still continue, but are growing more light, and less frequent. E. B.

came the low ground, and two islands in the river were so shaken, washed away and sunk, as not to be found.

After speaking once, descended to the *Iron Banks*, acres of which had been shaken down, the effects of which were awfully impressive! Being very high, some trees, the tops just above water; others just ready to fall and slide off.

There are many sawyers in this river, i. e. trees fastened by the branches or roots in the bottom of the river, which saw up and down, by virtue of the pressing of the water; while others are so firm as not at all to yield to the current. Those things make it dangerous going at *night* or in the *fog*.

We lay by two nights and one day; the *wind* and *fog* being our hindering cause.

New Madrid had been designed as the metropolis of the New World, but God sees not as man sees—it is deserted by most of its inhabitants; the upper Chickasaw Bluff does not wash like the others, and probably will be fixed upon one day as a proper *scite* for to convene the portage up and down the river, which now is inconvenienced by the *Indians* owning the soil, or the inundation of the water.*

Our boat got aground near this *bluff*, but two men coming along in a *canoe*, helped us off—then we struck a *planter* and split and hung the boat—which with difficulty was got off and mended, so I quit her, paying my *fare*, and took to another.

There is but few inhabitants for several hundred miles. *Indians*, or whites *degenerated* to their level! There are natural *canals* from the Mississippi to *Red River*, and so to the sea, far west of Orleans, the map of this country is but little understood—ten companies are now surveying the public *military* land.

At length I landed at Natchez, obtained several letters, and not finding any friends, I embarked in another boat—after paying my fare, and on the 20th of December, I arrived in New Orleans, having changed from one boat or canoe to another, thirteen times.

Thus by the Providence of God—after many restless days and nights. got to my journey's end—stayed about a month, mostly at the house of Captain William Ross, who was flour inspector of the port; and at whose house I was treated as a friend, in *Europe*—when I *first* landed in a strange land! May God Remember them for good!!

* From New Madrid to New Orleans, there is no high ground settlements on the west side of the river, the high water flows back in some places 30 or 40 miles, rising 50 feet and the Ohio 65; on the east side also, between the mouth of the Ohio, and the Walnut Hills, the places for settlement are few.

My books through the delay of the BINDERS, did not come in time for me, I only got a few—took Steam Boat, ascended to Baton Rouge, visited St. Francisville and several places in Florida, thence to Woodville, Liberty, Washington, Greenville, Gibson Port, and Warrington, Natchez and many country parts, saw some of my old acquaintance, bought me an horse and thought to return by *land*, sold him again, being unable to endure the *ride*—so I went down the river visiting such places as God gave me access unto. On the island of Orleans, I find the influence of the *Clergy* is going down hill—many of the people came to some of my meetings.

Mr. Blunt requested me to preach his *wife's* funeral. She told *when* she should die, and pointed out the place where she chose to be buried. But few men feel the union in the bonds of nature more than he did.

I *baptized* twelve, by request, showing that *water* was not the essential point—but the answering a good conscience—the *ancients* used water; I availed myself of the opportunity to impress the subject of INWARD RELIGION home to the heart—without which we could not be happy in *time* nor in Eternity. We had a solemn tender time, and I trust profitable to some souls.

1001. About the twentieth of March, I arrived in New Orleans to take shipping for the north—none for P. so I engaged my passage to New York—the Captain run away with my passage money and things, which left me in the lurch.

Governor Strong sent to the Governor here to have a “*Convention*,” to, &c.—deep laid scheme! Thank God it did not succeed—could not give up the ship.

Governor C. invited me to dine; observed how many of his colored people were religious, and the satisfaction he took in hearing them *sing* and pray at devotion at night; one who was not religious was of more trouble on the plantation, than all the rest.

His Excellency gave me the privilege of a Court room, to preach in when I was *here* several years ago, and also at this time.

1002. April 11. I was over the ground where thousands were killed and wounded on one side, and but *six and seven* on the other! surely it is plain that the GREAT BEING has a HAND to attend, and superintend human affairs to *eventuate* the same.

On the night I could not sleep; went down to the shipping; Captain Toby generously gave me a passage, after I had been on board his ship—took up a round-about way, called at an

house, he was there---thus the hand guides by the way we have not fully known.

On the 12th, embarks---several days to *Balieze*, and from thence went within a few miles of the "*Tropic line*"---saw the Bahamas, had but few fair winds, but many contrary and high seas; vessel pitch much and leak a good deal; preached numbers of times on the way---32 people on board; arrived safe about 12th May, went to Philadelphia, returned to New York, and so to Coventry, and found my Peggy and Father still on these mortal shores. Thence I got me a horse and wagon, and with my Peggy came to New York---went to P. came back, and am now visiting through Jersey, and *verging* towards my *fortieth year*; the DAY of my LIFE is advancing away fast, and the *evening shades* come apace; the *night of death* draws near, and now to be in a state of readiness is my chief concern---so I may not be called from the stage of action unawares, but fully prepared for the scene.

1003. * Whether those INFIRMITIES with which I am AFFLICTED may necessitate and compel me to leave the field for want of BODILY POWER to continue, I know not: to "lay up *treasure* on EARTH is not my *desire*," nor yet to be a BURTHEN to my FRIENDS: but the prayer of *Agur*, "for neither RICHES nor POVERTY"---for

"Man *wants* but little *here*,
Nor wants that little *long*."

In a few weeks I expect to start for the WEST again, but where I may be this time twelve months, is very uncertain with me; whether in England, Sierre Leone in Africa, West Indies, or New England---or ETERNITY; but the CONTROVERSY with the NATIONS is not over, nor will it be, until the Divine Government be reverentially acknowledged by the HUMAN FAMILY.

1004. Nov. 1st. 1816. Finding the season so far advanced that I could not accomplish my object in the west, started to return to New England; but was attacked at Bridgeport, with a severe sickness, which confined me for some weeks; but by the kind attention given me at the house of Mrs. (Col. Blanchard's widow,) B. so far recovered, as to reach my father's in January.

1005. March 4th. 1817. By request I attended meeting in Mansfield---I was conveyed there; but after the fulfilment, was

* October 4, 1816. I have just returned from a tour through Genesee, Vermont, New Hampshire and Connecticut, to Philadelphia---find the spirit of enquiry increasing, and heard of revivals among four different Societies---saw three of my sisters whom I had not seen for eight years. Left my *Companion* at my Father's until my return in the spring. Hard judged by man, but which must and will finally be decided by the judgment of GOD only.

permitted to be conveyed off as well as I could. Thus many find it convenient to have their own ends and desired objects accomplished, at the inconvenience and expense of others, and then leave them in the lurch to paddle their own canoe! But I found a conveyance from place to place until my arrival at Shipingsburg, and soon to the west.

1006. My books of Journal had been sent across the mountains in the fall, and exposed to be lost; as the person to whom the business had been entrusted, betrayed the confidence reposed in him, by not attending to the same; but spoke against the work by action and re-action from others, to prevent the sale; which became a source of trouble to me; as the only way to discharge the expense and cost of the work, was, to make one hand wash the other!

1007. Here then I was in a strait, exposed to difficulty, out of which I saw no way to escape, unless the SUPERINTENDING HAND should undertake my deliverance!

However my tide of fortune began to turn, as in a glimmer, step by step. Found my boxes and most of the contents. For some time I knew not what to do or how to get along. But sent off about an hundred appointments in all directions—was enabled to keep up with them; first, by the assistance of friends, and then by procuring me an horse.

1008. In a few weeks I sold a sufficiency to meet my exiguity; the rest of the work became as the "*omner of manna*," much or little, it would come to the standard of necessity, and there stop! the remainder were LOST to me!

1009. Two men who had followed me from meeting to meeting, day after day, and were very urgent and inquisitive to know the rout I intended to take on my return over the mountains; which circumstance, on reflection, caused me to suspect their intentions, and a secret impulse of mind occasioned me, when the last of my meetings were accomplished, to alter my mind; and suddenly to turn towards the Lake, and return by the northern route, which gave me quietude of mind and a settled peace!

1010. Returned to *Hebron* in July, where I found my father had removed to, a little before with my Peggy.

1011. In September I visited several Camp Meetings in the interior and near Cayuga Lake; thence to Vermont, to attend the removal of Joseph Bridgeman's and my sister's families down to my father's house!

At the close of the year, I visited the South as far as North Carolina and Virginia, where H. HARDY attempted to show his zeal in behalf of *Episcopacy*.

1012. 1818. Towards spring, returned to New England and prepared to depart for Europe!

TO THE PUBLIC.

COURTEOUS READER,

AS there is but one true Church, which is the Family of GOD; and but one true Religion, which is ever immutable, so there can be but one worship acceptable with the MOST HIGH—which ACT of worship must be “*in Spirit and in Truth*,” therefore, there is great need of caution, not to be partaker of party spirit of the times; but to have views expanded worthy of the Kingdom of GOD, that the Kingdom of Righteousness, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost may be set up in the *soul*, and so expand your heart with Love to GOD and Man; whereby you may say with Peter: “Of a truth I perceive that GOD is no respecter of persons: but in every nation [or denomination] he that FEARETH HIM and WORKETH RIGHTEOUSNESS, is accepted with him.” Acts viii. 34, 35. For there is but one way of salvation, and there will be but one song in the *Happy World*—“THOU wast *s/ain*: and hast *Redeemed* us to GOD by thy *blood*, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.” Rev. v. 9.

Therefore *attend* to the influence of the *Spirit* of GOD on the *mind*: and be careful to obey its dictates, that you may be under its guidance, and so be renovated and Regenerated, as to become the New Man in *Christ Jesus*, walking in the Light, to Life Everlasting. Amen.

L. D.

Philadelphia, December 10th, 1822.

RECAPITULATION.

Oct. 16th, 1777. The Journey of Life with me commenced among the children of men, in Coventry, Connecticut.

1781. My grandfather, James Parker, died. The only thing on memory—he stood with solemn attitude, closed eyes and up-lifted hands, in the act of saying grace at my father's table, when a tremor of conviction ran through me, with a dread awe, that he was addressing God Almighty. Shortly after, returning from communion, the words impressed his mind: "*Henceforth, I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom:*" which he mentioned to my Grandmother, as a prelude to his dissolution; and soon after met his last sickness, and rejoiced at the prospect of the exit to a better world.*

His wife continued to great age, and rejoiced on the verge of her departure, whilst others were weeping around, she requested them to dry up their tears, for she was going home!

Three brothers from Ipswich, below Boston, (whose ancestors came from Norfolk, England; one settled in Plainfield, one in Voluntown, and the other in Coventry; the last of whom died when my father was young. And from these three, in Connecticut, the Dows spread abroad.

His wife, my grandmother, when I was a child, frequently said: "When I am dead I shall be carried into the Meeting house." And I will remember the deep impressions on my mind the day her words were exemplified.

In dreams of the night and incidental ways, wrought deep awakenings during those tender years of childhood; but my mind was disheartened to despondency; arising from a prejudice in my

* His grand parents came from England—had three children, and then were murdered by the *Indians*. The children escaped—and when fleeing, the eldest, a girl, let the youngest, an infant, fall out of her arms; but her brother in the rear, caught up the little brother, and they got over a fence, and hid in the grass. The *Indians* pursued them, came to the fence, looked over, but never happened to see them, though they were in plain sight: and remarkable to tell, in this affair, the child was still and quiet!

education, that Jesus Christ came to save the "*Elect*," who I thought were the "*GOOD FOLKS*," but feeling myself to be a *sinner*, and alienated from God, I drew the inference of my being a "*reprobate*!"

Hearing the words delineated: "this is a faithful saying, and *WORTHY* of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." JESUS came to "save sinners"—a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation," thought I: I feel the need of such a Saviour, and if I accept the saying, I must admit a degree of *Hope*! Hope began to dawn, particularly after an exposition on Jeremiah viii. 22: "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?"

Nov. 12th, 1792. Was the morning of deliverance to my troubled mind, through the enjoyment of pardoning love!

The enemy would have got away my *shield*, by suggesting that my joys were not divine, but only the power of *fancy* and *imagination*. As I queried, I feared, and then doubted—my joys were gone—my mind eclipsed, and my heart was full of sorrow! But going to the fountain, to be taught my situation, whether *delusion* or *divine*, the delightful joy sprang up in my heart—my mind was composed and settled in *peace*! The devil cannot excite LOVE! "LOVE TO GOD AND MAN," is the sum of true Religion.

Thirteen of us joined in *society*—the first Methodist society ever formed in those parts. Some are gone, I trust, to a better world, and some are scattered into distant lands.

1795. In deep exercise from convincement of mind, I came out in public testimony, and afterwards obtained a *certificate* from the society to which I belonged.

1796. When journeying from my father's house, being then but eighteen years of age, while looking round to see the rocks and hills, and trees, &c. where had been my youthful rambles, and now in my mind, bidding them adieu, with the prospect of a wide and open world of wickedness before me—among strangers, I espied my *mother* in the road, looking after me, while the words ran in my mind: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head?" And thus I launched forth into the harvest field. But oh, the trying scenes, subsequent to that day!

My brethren sent me home. Warren and Greenwich circuits, in Rhode Island, were the first of my career. I *obeyed*, but with a sorrowful heart. Went out a second time to New Hampshire, but sent home again; I *obeyed*. Afterwards went to Conference by direction—who rejected me, and sent me home again, and *again* I *obeyed*.

Was taken out by P. W. on to Orange circuit, but in 1797, was sent home again: so in obedience to man I went home a fourth time. But my heart was in the field. At length went on to the Granville circuit, with Smith Weeks and Joseph Michel, where the Lord gave me souls for my hire; and now began to lift up my drooping head: and thought I understood the meaning of the passage, where the spirit of the Lord began to move "*him at times in the Camp of Dan.*" Judges xiii. 25. And also why David was anointed to be king so long before the time. See his faith. 1 Sam. xxvi. 10.

This year application was made again to the Conference, but there was no admittance; and finally, I was given into the hands of the Elder presiding, to do with me as he saw cause. This was *Sylvester Hutchinson*, who thought to take me to Long Island, but the word never reached my ears; hence, what should I do?

To go home I cannot—To travel without permission, I shall be advertised as an imposter, if I go in the *name* of a *Methodist*.—Therefore I see no way but to give up the *NAME*, and to go on my own footing, so raise societies, and then return and give myself up and them for conviction. Hence, with *J. Ballard*, I went to the North-east, where were no Methodists in that day; we had a gracious work in revivals in several places.

He was for sitting up *independence*; I said *NAY*—and the contention caused us to separate. In the mean time, a letter being received, I rode upwards of an hundred miles in 24 hours, and came back to Hutchinson's Quarterly Meeting, and finding out the friendship of H. and the mistake of the message to meet him on the Island, I rescinded my departure, and *submitted* to his direction, but was allowed three months only as a trial for a trial; and was stationed on the Cambridge circuit, with *Timothy Dewey* and *Joseph Mitchel*.

1798. Was the year in which I was admitted on *TRIAL* for the first time, and my name printed in the "*MINUTES*" of that year. The circuit was divided, and about six hundred members were taken into society, and as many more went off and joined other denominations.

1799. Was sent to the Pittsfield circuit, to labor with Brother Sawyer, for about six months: in which time hundreds were awakened, and about one hundred and eighty joined society.

During this time my health began to decline, and I requested permission to try the salt water, but Mr. Asbury would not admit it; but sent me into *Canada* to form a new circuit, and break up fresh ground; my name now being on the minutes as *remaining on TRIAL*.

After visiting my native place once more to see my parents and friends, I set off in August for my destination—have seen a good work of God during my stay.

After my arrival in Canada, found a field open before me, and a circuit was soon formed; but my health was going down hill. A revival took place in those parts where I labored, and the Wilderness did bud and blossom as the rose.

However, I was not the commander of my feelings. My mind was still drawn to the water; and Ireland was on my mind.

Without permission I went. Why without permission?

Because I **COULD NOT** obtain it.

In matters of Religion, *Conscience* is involved. And how can another judge for you better than yourself? Unless GOD has given them clearer views: and even then they cannot *act* for you; you must act for yourself; for every one must give an account for himself to GOD.

To day I was twenty-two years old, I embarked at Montreal; having sold my horse, watch, &c. for a small part of their value, and had a few dollars left after paying my passage, which was about five guineas, but not enough to get provision.

However, this was provided for at Quebec, by those who were strangers to me; and all my wants supplied by voluntary inquiry and contribution on their part. So my heart was encouraged to trust in GOD and look forward!

After a series of dangers landed at Larne, in the North of Ireland, where a revival of religion took place, and I was provided with friends.

From thence to Dublin, and so over various parts of the country, which I found to be a profitable school in various respects; and in some good degree recovered my health, and had many precious souls for my hire!

1800. Had the Small Pox the natural way, which led to the acquaintance with Dr. Johnson, who had attended Job Scott in his last illness, and whom I have found to be such a friend to me since.

Dr. Coke wished me to sail Missionary from Ireland to Halifax; and threatened me with informing Lord Castlereagh, &c. which was at the time when I had taken the infection of the Small Pox the natural way, and before I knew it. What must have been the consequence had I gone by his direction?

1801. Returned to America with a view to travel the Continent at large for a season; for so was the leading of my mind.

But as the Conference was sitting, they of my old friends solicited me to take a Circuit, and argued that it was more likely for one to be mistaken, than twenty; and offered to restore me

where I was when going away, viz. remaining on TRIAL; and so it was stated in the *minutes*.

Thus was prevailed on to yield my judgment to theirs; which circumstance I conceive was an error in my life; for although I went to the Dutchess and Columbia Circuits, and also to Litchfield Circuit, and endeavored while I travelled them to do my duty faithfully; yet my mind was depressed, and I was but a burthen to them; neither did I enjoy myself, as in the order of GOD, as heretofore; and my depression of mind impaired my health, so I declined again, as in time preceding.

Sought for permission to retire to a warmer climate, but to no purpose; hence, if I went at all, must break away, which was disagreeable in contemplation; but I had no alternative to clear my mind with a prospect of recovery.

1802. In January I landed in Savannah, and recovering strength gradually, walked hundreds of miles into the country of Georgia and South Carolina; and then returned to New England, where I labored for some weeks; and visited Upper Canada this year.

Bishop Asbury said, If I had staid at York Conference after my return from the South, I might have been ordained. The Credentials were prepared according to Discipline, and a day appointed for that purpose.

But the Discipline had been altered in the mean time concerning Local Preachers. Here I felt to stop and inquire their views of the parts that I should be apt to run against. The answer was—a *Local Travelling* Preacher is a contradiction; and gave me to understand, that *that* part of the Discipline would be put in force!

Here then I could go no further, without being involved in a serious dilemma. So I gave up the papers, lest they should say, that I acted a dishonorable part, and appropriated them to a treacherous use.

1803. Returned back to the South BY LAND for the first time; and extended my travel to the Mississippi through woods with Indians, bears and wolves—though mostly inhabited since—and returned to Virginia by Tennessee and Kentucky; and so on through the Carolinas to Georgia.

1804. Introduced Camp Meeting in the centre of Virginia; and it was the beginning of good times in those parts: and then spoke in the Market House in Baltimore, while the "*General Conference*" was sitting there, and had a good time. Some preachers came here to get a GENERAL VOTE to hedge up my way—but the thing was omitted.

But the *New York Conference* passed a Law this year, to shut their houses against me, and that a travelling Preacher should

not give out my appointments: which ACT OF CONFERENCE was enrolled on their records, and has never been repealed.* Also a Certificate had been obtained from me almost by extortion, to bind me, and cut me up in future, by a Presiding Elder in the South.

Here it must be observed, that I had never put my Journals to press, or wrote any thing about the subject of my affairs, anterior to these movements of the New York Conference; neither had I any thoughts of doing it. And so innocent and untainted was my mind, that when the Certificate was requested by the Elder to bind me, that I was surprised that such a spirit of jealousy should be found in my Brother's heart. But the Southern Conference took up the matter next; and objections were raised to my receiving a deed for a lot of ground at Washington City, which a gentleman offered me gratis, on condition of my causing a Meeting House to be built thereon.

I had no thoughts of making private property of it, though I could have done it according to propriety, justice and the fitness of things—but for the sake of peace I gave it up; which lot cost several hundred dollars afterward for the same purpose.

O Jealousy and Prejudice! Where can it be found, but in a corrupt heart or a *little* ungenerous mind!

These things gave rise to the publication of my Journal, that the world might judge of my views, rather than attack the Conference, or attempt to injure the influence of the Connexion.

Here I was in hopes the matter would have ended, and that at least offensive operations would be prosecuted by them no more, and that I should be under the disagreeable necessity of standing on the defensive no more! But the hope was but a dream!

This year was the time of my marriage; and I took another tour through the Western and Southern States, as far as Florida. Having attended the first Camp Meetings in New York, Mississippi, Connecticut and Massachusetts, and since that time in Rhode Island.

1805. Was spent in travelling about ten thousand miles, in less than a year. and in fitting my affairs and concerns for Europe—having from five to eight hundred meetings of a year, for several years past.

My health had become somewhat impaired; and my heart was drawn to the *Old World*.

*The P. Elder had agreed to my holding a Camp Meeting in his *District*, but rescinded it in consequence of the Conference Law; but that I might not come on a fool's errand, permitted a *Local Preacher* to give out four appointments, and so evade the Law, which made me think of the mode devised for the Benjaminites to get wives. Judges xxi. 22.

Having obtained a Passport, and things about ready, to sail with my companion from New York, *Daddy Blades*, as he was called, being an Englishman by birth, stopped at my lodging and secretly told me, that letters unfavorable to me were to be forwarded to Europe, and I might prepare and fortify my mind accordingly. This was all he would tell. And I could not conjecture who, what, when nor wherefore!

But after landing in England, the Riddle which had been so mysterious, was unfolded.

Here it must be remembered the Law of New York Conference was in force; and that I had never attempted to officiate in any of the Methodist Meeting Houses in New York city. But the day I sailed, was carried officially into the public discourse from the pulpit—"And is there not a cause?"—three times in the course of the day.

One letter to England was virtually put in motion to fill the public mind with prejudice, and then never shewn to the public, because it would not bear scrutiny—being no doubt of the same principle and character as the one sent to Ireland, which was as follows:

"New York, November 16th, 1805.

"My unknown Friend,

"Having received information from Mr. Kirk, respecting your situation, and supposing you to be a proper person, from your influence in the Irish Connexion, I take this opportunity, the earliest that offers, to write to you by the way of Liverpool, on a subject in which our brethren are deeply interested. Mr. Lorenzo Dow has embarked again for Europe, better furnished perhaps for success than when he was with you last. His confidence of success must at least be very considerably increased, having succeeded so well in *deceiving* or *duping* so many of the preachers in the American Connection. I hope that our brethren in Europe will unanimously resolve to have nothing at all to do with him. There is the greater necessity of this, as it appears to me, that if you should suffer him to have any access to our people, it would not only do us an injury, but him also: for such is the nature of his *plan* or *system*, that he estimates truth and right, not so much by principle as by success. If he should not make immediately for Ireland, please to use your ability to put the English on their guard. I expect he embarked for Liverpool. If he did not take such grounds as to lead our people into an acquiescence, and even approbation of his measures: if he did not affect to act as a Methodist, I should say nothing about him. But as an itinerant plan may indirectly lead to imposture, it stands us in hand to be very cautious to distinguish between the true and the false itinerant: the lines of distinction should always be kept very clear between the Methodist preacher and his *ape*. I am sorry, my dear friend, that we can give you no better specimen of the fruits of Methodism in this country. Alas! Alas! shame! shame! Shall it be published in the streets of London and Dublin, that Methodist preachers in America, have so departed from Wesley and their own discipline, as to *counenance* and *bid God speed* such a man as Mr. Dow; the last person in the world who should have been suffered to trample Methodism under foot with impunity or counenance. His manners have been clownish in the extreme; his habit and appearance more filthy than a *savage Indian*; his public discourses a mere rhapsody, the substance often an insult upon the gospel: but all the insults he has offered to decency, cleanliness, and good breeding; all his *impious* trifling in the holy ministry; all the contempt he has poured upon the sacred scriptures, by often refusing to open, and frequently choosing the most vulgar saying as a *motto* to his discourses, in preference to the Word of God—all

this is as nothing in comparison. He has affected a recognizance of the secrets of men's hearts and lives, and even assumed the awful prerogative of prescience, and this not occasionally, but as it were habitually, pretending to foretel, in a great number of instances, the deaths or calamities of persons, &c.

"If he makes converts as an apostle, he will not meet with your interference; but I have this confidence in my elder brethren, that as the disciples of the great Wesley, whom they have known in the flesh, they will make a public stand against this *shameless intruder*, this *most daring impostor*.*

"Grace and peace,

NICHOLAS SNETHEN.

"To the Rev. MATTHIAS JOYCE, }
Dublin, Ireland. }

"A true copy: The original is in Mr. Joyce's possession.

"JOHN JONES.

"P. JOHNSON."

But the one to Ireland was investigated by about seventy official Characters, such as Local Preachers, Stewards, Class Leaders, &c. who unanimously agreed it must have been written in a bad spirit by a wicked man. And a certified copy was given me to bring back for the American Preachers, under the idea of their not knowing what kind of a man there was among them.

But afterward the Irish Travelling Preachers, in their Legislative and official capacity, overruled Matters, as may appear by their Minutes of Conference—1807.

"Q. 22. A preacher from America, whose name is LORENZO DOW, travelled lately in Ireland, without any official recommendation from the American Conferences, or any of the Rulers in that Connexion; and yet professing himself a friend of the Methodists. What judgment is it expedient for this Conference to pass concerning the conduct of that man?"

"A. WE ARE MOST SINCERE FRIENDS TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY; but we consider ourselves called upon to inform the public, that Mr. Dow has no connexion with us; nor did he receive the least permission or encouragement from the Conference to travel through Ireland as one of our body, or as one of our friends; and we are determined, that if he return to this country, none of our Preaching-houses shall be opened to him upon any account."

The English Conference passed a similar Law, and put it first on the minutes of Conference, and secondly into the Magazine of 1807.

"What is the judgment of the CONFERENCE concerning what are called 'CAMP MEETINGS?'"

"It is our judgment, that even such meetings to be allowable in America, they are highly improper in ENGLAND, and likely to be productive of considerable mischief. And WE disclaim all connexion with them.

"Have our people been sufficiently cautious respecting the permission of *strangers* to preach to OUR Congregations?"

* Compare this letter with his oath in the Preface to this Journal.

"WE fear not; and WE *again* DIRECT that NO STRANGER FROM AMERICA, or elsewhere, be *suffered* to preach in any of OUR PLACES, unless he come fully accredited: if an Itinerant Preacher, by having his name entered on the Minutes of Conference of which he is a member; and if a Local Preacher, by a recommendatory note from his Superintendent."

1806, Was spent in England and Ireland, itinerating and preparing for America. This year we had a daughter born, and after about four months she went to her long home.

From the letters sent from America as above, some people, to shew their loyalty to the king, and ingratiate themselves into the good opinion of the Government's "Most obedient and very humble servants," turned *informers* to set the blood hounds upon my track, and offer me for a sacrifice to tyranny. But the Lord delivered me out of their hands. Two instances as a specimen for the sequel.

When on my last tour in Ireland, I hired a horse and gig for ten weeks, for which I gave twelve guineas. In this time, 67 days, went about 1700 miles, and held about two hundred meetings. Drive to a town—tell the boy to feed the horse and be ready for a start—would mount a stone or pile—sing—collect—remark I was an American—arrest their Prejudice—finish my public talk—jump into the gig, which by most would be supposed to belong to some gentleman and his servant, in the neighborhood—with such expedition move off, as none could follow my windings and turnings; and of course would not know who I was, where I came from, or was gone to. Thus ignorantly I escaped those pursuers a number of times.

When I got back to Dublin, I felt so unhappy in my mind, with the strong impression to return to England to escape the storm—though then I had heard nothing of those pursuers! Without bidding a friend farewell, I went down to the Pigeon House, found a Packet ready to sail, and only hanging by the cast off rope—stepped on board—was off immediately—saw a company coming down—knew not who they were—supposed they belonged to the Navy—but afterward found they were the public officers in pursuit of *me*!

1807. Engaging my passage in a vessel from Liverpool to New York, it was necessary for Aliens to have a passport to leave the Country, to avoid the danger of being sent back by a British Cruiser on the way.

The *Consul* applied twice—but was answered none but the *Ambassador* could obtain it. Application was made through this avenue, but in vain. The vessel engaged sprung a leak, hence I was transferred over to another; and when I embarked, and while

coming out of the Harbor, under sail, the King's *Massenger* arrived express from London, and began searching the Vessel I had just left—in the pursuit of *me*!

Finding no tribunal constituted to which access might be had for redress, considering my abstract situation; so in publishing my Journal, added that letter, written by a public man, and designed for the public, thinking there was no injustice by so doing.

However, it was judged otherwise by those on the other side of the question. They condemned me sorely for *publishing* it, but did not call him to account for writing it, which virtually may be considered a sanction of his conduct, and corresponded with the Law made by the N. York Conference concerning me, as though it had its origin and foundation there!

But many candid, judicious minds were hurt, and condemned the work with indignation, which caused some uneasiness in society; so matters continued for a season. I sent a Journal to the author of the letter.

On my return to New York the Rule of Conference was violated, with circumstances, involved in mystery, that I never could explain, considering who were in the city when I went away, and when I came back, as the meeting Houses were then opened to me for the first time. The remainder of the year was spent in ranging from New England to Florida.

1808. Returned from the Mississippi to New England, and visited the Northern and Western States. And in this time means were used to undermine my character, and fill the public mind with prejudice, to block up my way through the land.

1809. Retired to the Mississippi, and spent somewhat over a year in Louisiana and the settlement in those parts. Being in a low state of health, arising in part from an abscess breaking in the cavity of the body, as was thought by the Faculty, and was attended with spasms of a remarkable kind.

In this time, on examination of characters, it was suggested by the B. that a difficulty existed between Mr. S. and Lorenzo Dow, that ought to be looked into! And when a committee were appointed to inspect the matter, who were they? Persons that had *never seen me*, nor never saw the letter; of course incapable of forming a correct judgment. But they called in Mr. S. to hear what he had to say; and on his *say so*, made up their Verdict, and gave it to the Bishop, in which Mr. S. was *justified*, and Lorenzo is condemned; and the Bishop wrote his letter accordingly, that Mr. S. had "given *satisfaction* to the (Baltimore) Conference," and of course the Meeting Houses must be shut against L. D., and he must be his own *Presiding Elder*, and go upon his own footing—Debts unpaid—and

"The Star which arose in the EAST, has set in the WEST," &c. &c.

Therefore I was made an example of at Camp Meeting, although my presence was but as a spectator attending.

Here was one of the sore struggles of my life. How can it be he has given satisfaction to the Conference? What *kind* of satisfaction? He is justified and I am condemned! Thought I, the *Jewish* law did not condemn a man until or before they heard him! The Pagan Romans had the accuser and the accused *face to face*! But here is a circumstance different from the Jew or Pagan, who are called Christian. I was unwilling to believe it, and strove to put it out of my mind: but was too deeply interested in the implication to get over it. Requested to see the letter, or have it publicly read or shown to some of my friends. A reply they were under no necessity to show the Bishop's letters, or give an account of their matters; and if people would not believe their word, were at liberty to let it alone. Thus my ruin was sought for years; and no way for redress or satisfaction.

The principal reason assigned for the opposition was, "He will not be subject to *rule and order*" of the B——'s power.

The *Discipline* had prevented my being a *local* preacher and given up to the work. And my heart expanded beyond the bounds of a *circuit*; and to a *Missionary* life in the bounds of a Conference, it was objected to, as being a bad precedent; although they afterwards adopted it, and admitted others, after refusing it to me!

Though an individual may be wicked, and do wrong, yet to think of a Conference of Preachers with a Bishop at their head, to sanction such conduct and procedure, was such a *forfeiture* of CONFIDENCE, as to wring my heart and try my soul to the centre! And caused me to cry out with lamentation—Is it possible? How can these things be! And nothing but the FACT itself would have ever made me *believe* such a thing possible! My sleep was gone, and my desire for food was fled.

Here the *enemy* of souls took the opportunity, to try to *reason* me out of the belief of all *religion* whatever; and had it not been for past enjoyments, and the *witness* of God in my own soul, I think it is possible that I should have become an established *Deist*.

If I had been deceived once, why not deceived again? of course deceived myself, and all religion be a deception from the power of imagination, and the whole be an imposition of cunning, artful, designing men, to take advantage of the simplicity of the credulous, and so dupe and govern mankind?

And I verily believe, many have been wounded by the improper practice of Christian professors in their research after truth; and involuntarily became Deists in their minds, by such evidence preponderating against it.

And as above intimated, had it not been for the inward **WITNESS** of divine grace in my own soul, I might here have fallen upon the same rock!

But after examining the motives which led me at an early life into the field—the many snares set for my feet, and which I conscientiously escaped with the skin of my teeth; the crosses of self-denial I had taken up, with the many sacrifices I had made, the spirit and effects of my labors in different parts, on the minds and practices of others, in its consequence to effect both their life and death; by reformation in conduct, and a triumphant dissolution.

Thus upon a candid examination, and by an *appeal* to matter of fact, on the reality of inward religion experimentally. Is it a *fabulous imaginary* thing or not? The evidence not being “circumstantial evidence,” but “*self-evidence*” bottomed on experience, sapped the temptation; and my “soul escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowler, the snare was broke, and I escaped.”

1810. Returned to New England, through Georgia and North Carolina, and saw *Francis* for the last time, at Raleigh Conference. We had both called for breakfast at the the same house, not knowing each other was there, till he came out of the other room to sit down to eat. His and my feelings and countenances as an index, might more easily be observed than described!

It was thought by many that my race was ended, and that I should be seen in those regions no more.

On the way heard my friend, Mr. S. preach from, “the Lord *knoweth* how to deliver the Godly out of temptation,” i. e. the *best way*: “And to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished:”—not the general judgment, but some *particular judgment in this world*, bringing in Sodom, &c. as samples; adding, He that will not be subject to “*rule and order*,” puts himself out of the power of the magistrate, for he cannot follow him, through every lane of life, and of course surrenders himself into the hand of God only; and hence, we may expect some particular judgment to befall him in this life, to make an example of him as a warning to others.

1811. Brought my companion from the Mississippi to Virginia, and afterwards to New England, but was still in a feeble state, being reduced by those spasms which for years baffled all medical aid, until a method was adopted to fling it off the nervous system upon the blood vessels.

1812. Was spent from New England to Virginia.

1813. Pennsylvania and North, as also


1814 and 1815, in the middle and northern states, while the cloud was arising higher and higher, to darken the public mind and narrow my way more and more.

As the public mind became darkened by those aspersions, to fill the world with prejudice, to block up my way and ruin my character, and so justify their conduct; I found it necessary to subjoin a few remarks on "CHURCH GOVERNMENT;" which was seized upon as the *cause* of *their* conduct, and a justification thereof by the Connection; whereas, they had taken their public stand against me, both in Europe and America, from American stimulous, as above exemplified, before I had put pen to paper for publication, except my Journal, which publication originated from necessity, after the laws of the York Conference, as above stated in the foregoing part of this work. For many had exemplified their expressions, not to attend my meetings, and strove to prevent others, unless some explanation was given, concerning my "*eccentricity*" upon the Journey of Life! Hence the exigency of those observations in 1815 or 1816.

1816. Returned to the Mississippi, and after visiting that country, returned by the West Indies to the North. In

1817. And began to make preparation for Europe.

And going on from New England to the South, a gentleman stranger, in the stage near Washington, asked when I expected to be in Richmond? And some body. I know not who, published an appointment for me in the paper before I came.

" The Rev. LORENZO DOW is expected to preach at the Old Methodist Meeting House, at 11 o'clock, on New Year's day, December 30."

Which was replied to as follows:

"*To the Editor of the Compiler.*

"I observed in the Compiler of this morning, a notice stating that Mr. Lorenzo Dow would preach in the Methodist Old Town Chapel, on Thursday next. You will please inform the public through the same medium, that Mr. Dow will not be permitted to occupy the Methodist pulpits in Richmond.

"I therefore recall that appointment; there will be no service at that hour on that day. *Mr. Dow's clownish manners, his heterodox and schismatic proceedings, and his reflections against the Methodist Episcopal church, in a late production of his on Church Government, (which are viewed as so many slanders) are impositions on common sense, and furnish the principal reasons why he will be discountenanced by the Methodists.*

(Signed)

"HENRY HARDY,

"Stationed Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Richmond."

Dec. 30th. 1817.

Then some body, I know not who, made some strictures on his publication, which produced the following from him :

“ *To the Editor of the Compiler.*

“ SIR—

With yourself, I am not friendly to religious disputes in the Newspapers,—neither am I friendly to them, in any other way ; and if every person while they claim the prerogative to think for themselves, would let others alone, with the enjoyment of the same prerogative, there would be but little cause for disputes of any kind. I certainly should not have taken any notice of any anonymous reflections made on the Methodist Episcopal Church, or myself, had not the piece in your paper of the 14th instant, been professedly signed by ‘A METHODIST ;’ because it is deemed condescension in a minister of the Gospel, to notice such productions in any way. But lest silence should be taken for assent, on the present occasion, I will give you the fair state of the case. Let it be remembered that Mr. Dow’s appointment to preach in the Methodist Old Town Chapel, was published without a word being said to the Minister, that had charge, or any person that belonged to our church. We do not wish it to be understood that our places of worship, are like public roads ; and had the writer of the piece been “*a Methodist*,” he would have known this.

“ If the notice had not been published in the newspaper, there would not have been any thing said about Mr. Dow by us ; but our doors would have been shut against him, for the reason assigned with others ; and under circumstances as above, it became necessary to give the public our reasons, and particularly so, as Mr. Dow had formerly occupied our pulpits ; but he, in 1816, having published and insinuated, degrading and shameful reflections against us, which are incorrect in themselves, and still viewed as so many slanders by us ; so that if we had permitted him to preach in our pulpits after casting such reflections, upon us, to any person of discernment, it would have appeared a tacit acknowledgment of his reflections, and that we only wanted to silence him by taking him into our bosom ; but we feel no hesitation in saying they are misrepresentations, and we wish the world to know that they are such ; for as to our fearing any thing from Mr. Dow’s publication, we would observe, that we pity him as a *de-luded man* ; and that we have withstood the tongues and pens of men, of more splendid abilities than his, for more than thirty years—still we remain the same. Our church in its present form, was organized in 1784 ;* our people consented to it then, and consent to it still ; and no alterations can be made, by the preachers or people, so as to change the original plan without disorganization. As Dr. William Phœbus of New York, in an essay on our Episcopacy, has observed, page 80 :

* This is not correct the people had no hand in it, and there was a restriction about 1800, and a CONSTITUTION formed 1808.

"Our government grew up under the appointment of a superintendent, by the consent of preachers and people: as such, our Episcopacy is constitutional. It cannot be altered but by the general consent of preachers and people. The alteration of any thing in a government long established, is like removing ancient landmarks:—it must be done by the consent of all parties concerned."

"If we are satisfied with our condition, it is no part of Mr. Dow's business to meddle with our affairs, because he belongs to no church, neither is he accountable to any body of Christians for any part of his moral conduct; but all officers civil and military, with every member of the community, are amenable for their conduct, and how much more necessary it is for us all in a religious point of view to be so, in order to rectitude of conduct?

"But Mr. Dow is to be set up as the infallible oracle for all? Although his conduct is exceptionable in one place, and he flies to another, and returns no more for years; yet he is to set the world right, by denouncing all denominations, and pointing out no better way!

As to any reflections on myself for serving and defending the cause of the blessed Jesus, I cheerfully sustain them, for the honor of *his* name, and the glory of *his* grace. It appears from the *opinion* of Mr. Dow, and his adherents, that there is no medium between the manners of a courtier, and the manners of a clown—which are insults on decency, cleanliness, and gospel simplicity. If the writer of the piece in your paper had been "*A Methodist*," he would have *known*, that the Methodist discipline, page 45, makes it ever Methodist preacher's duty, "to recommend every where decency and cleanliness;" and if this writer had been acquainted with the manners and customs of the people among whom, and the times and circumstances under which, the harbinger of our blessed SAVIOUR lived, perhaps he would not wish to impose them on us at this advanced age of the world.

"In the year 1799, Mr. Dow commenced his HETERODOX and SCHISMATIC proceedings. His *proceedings* have been no other than such, from then till now; and they have become more *daring* latterly; as but little notice has been taken of his proceedings, except that he was published in the minutes of the British and Irish Conferences, in a caution to the British and Irish Methodists against him. He has travelled all over the United States, on the bounty of the Methodists where they have been in his way: and because he would have no money, they bought his books, not for their intrinsic worth, but *out of pity* to the man.—Now that he has by his speculation in this way, collected a considerable sum of money, he is the ungrateful man, who, because he could not make us to serve all his purposes, makes erroneous representations of us, and insinuates more than he says. I will give one instance out of many, as a sample. In speaking of Bishop Asbury, and a black man of Philadelphia, by the name of Allen, he says; "*Francis* being jealous of his *power*, noticed Allen with a watchful eye—and finally embargoed him to locate and become stationary." The fair implication, is, that Bishop Asbury was afraid Allen would wrest his Bishoprick from him, and that the Methodists would have a *Black Bishop over them*; to prevent which Bishop Asbury made Allen become stationary; which is a glaring misrepres-

sentation; for Allen, nor any other Black man, has never been admitted into our itineracy; as may be seen by having recourse to our records. He says also, that Allen "after looking round, fixed upon the city of *Philadelphia*;" Allen after he got clear from his master, never resided any where else but in Philadelphia, (I believe)—hence we see what prejudice will influence a man to do.

"But the writer of the piece in your paper, discovers great wisdom, in the framers of our constitution," "in permitting every man to worship God agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience." Does the constitution give Mr. Dow or himself, the prerogative of monopolizing that right? And the case he cites, is not analogous, for Mr. Fletcher was not immediately attacked, but Mr. Wesley; and Mr. Fletcher was only his defender; and Mr. Shirley was a *regular Minister*; but Mr. Dow is not. This writer talks of fifty years standing! I hope he does not mean to tell the public that he has been "*A Methodist*" that length of time, without being a better adept than his production proves him to be—I fear he is too much like a great many others, who are often speaking of their long standing, and former enjoyments, and say but little or nothing about present enjoyment; and are building their hope of *Heaven* upon what they once were, *instead* of what they are *now*. Such boasters, make their limited views, and information, the foundation of their objections; and in this they are like the man deciding on a case before he hears the evidence in which it is founded—hence they are more to be pitied than envied.

"I shall not take any further notice of any publication of an anonymous or fictitious kind, nor any other kind, on this subject; unless he is a man that has a right to *meddle* with our affairs, and is worthy of notice: neither should I have taken notice of the piece now before me, if it had not been signed, *pretendedly*, by "*A Methodist*."—(*Methodism* is a cause that I esteem more SACRED than my life)—because I have not time to spare, from the duties of my station, to waste in idle scribbling in the news papers.

"The motives of the writer of that piece may be good; but like Uzza, he seems UNWILLING TO TRUST the ARK of God, to God's MINISTERS.

"HENRY HARDY.

"Richmond, Jan 17, 1818."

1818. I had never seen Mr. Hary, but took the liberty to call on him and have an interview, for which afterwards I was sorry, considering his gift and spirit to strive to hurt feelings.

In the course of conversation, asked him if he thought he had done me *Justice*? Whose answer was in the affirmative.

Asked when or where I had strove to make a schism, or wherein I was "*heterodox*?" which implied *heresy* and *heretic*!

Taking down his Lexicon, said, *heterodox* was dissent from common received opinion! I replied, that a few hundred years

ago, there was but one religion, called Christian, in Europe, and Martin Luther dissented from it, of course was *heterodox*—but when his opinion was received and established by law, then it became orthodox; so in England in the time of Henry 8th, Edward 6th, and Mary and Elizabeth—what is orthodox at one time, is heterodoxy at another; and so vice versa—hence, orthodoxy and heterodoxy mean any thing, every thing, and nothing, according to people's whims and notions, in the revolution and turn of times

As I was about to leave him, observed that I thought if he was to reconsider his conduct in private prayer, would feel a sorrow for it, requesting that he would take the newspaper with him to the Conference, and give my respects to them, and tell them I did not ask for *mercy*, and if I did, I should not expect to find it; but all I asked for was JUSTICE, and justice the Devil was entitled to; and if the Conference thought I had justice, so be it: but if not, to rectify it.

And that was the last I heard, although his advertisements of me passed through most of the States of the Union; I found no redress in the bosom of that body.

Went on to Raleigh, N. C. where the following appeared in a public paper:

"A CARD.

"*Mr. Editor*—Please to give notice in your paper that the appointments of Lorenzo Dow are countermanded and recalled by his request. But the one recalled by Mr. H. at RICHMOND, had been made for *Cosmopolite* without his knowledge or request. And should Mr. H. conclude or think that he has got Lorenzo upon his back, NOT to *trample* his **** OUT!

"B not yy nor

nice, lest u c how A fool u b."

"*Lorenzo Dow*.—Whatever unfriendly hindrance or opposition may have been extended towards this Preacher by an individual in Richmond Va. it is certain that in this state he has met with marks of courtesy from all denominations, and that the warmest countenance has been afforded him by the Methodist Association. However his independent way of thinking, and his unsparing candor of language may have offended others, he has been treated here with the respect due to his disinterested exertions, and the strong powers of mind which his sermons constantly exhibit."

From thence to New England. Left my Companion with my Father in Hebron; and without a cent in my pocket set off on foot for New London; and sailed with Captain Howard for New York, where I found letters containing the necessary aid for my Voyage; and hence I sailed for the Old World, having experienced much kindness from Captain Anderson and others in the exigency of my affairs.

Wednesday, June 17th, 1818.—Am now in the Irish Channel, standing for Holly-Head in Wales. Four weeks ago this day, embarked in the ship *Alexander Mansfield*, for Liverpool, leaving my friends and native land, once more to plough the briny deep.

This visit has been upon my mind for years; though it was my resolution when leaving England eleven years ago, never to return to that country, unless I felt it laid upon me, so as to involve my soul's welfare; but after mature reflection, and weighing the subject for time and eternity, my mind was made up—I felt I should feel better satisfied to go than stay—leaving the events to GOD, as the disposer and Governor of the World: and felt, as it relates to consequences, peace of mind.

The terrors of the sea, storms, &c. which had occupied my thoughts by night, alternately for years, was now gone; for as soon as we were losing sight of land, and my all was cast on Divine Protection, I felt peace of mind, as if in the hollow of His hand.

The wind began to blow afresh, which brought us into the latitude of Virginia; but by this means, we avoided the Fields and Mountains of *Ice* on the Banks, which have floated down in an uncommon degree from the North this season, which has so chilled the air, and stagnated vegetation.

During the Voyage I got my usual sleep every night but one, when the *air* began about 11 o'clock to grow uncommonly chilly; but a good *favorable* breeze sprang up, by which we moved on, and early in the morning discovered an Island of Ice, an hundred feet high or more; and we passed a second before *night*, which was a favor, as there were a number of floating pieces, which in the dark the ship might have struck against unperceived, until it would be too late to avoid and avert the consequences, being in latitude 38, and long. about 40.

One evening, relating to the two Mates, that when in Baltimore, was sent for—was told that a Mr. Gibbons, when dying, swooned away—reviving a little observed “I have seen Lorenzo Dow shipwrecked, and cast away on a Rock on the Western Coast of Ireland, and can obtain no relief,” and then expired; he had been esteemed a pious man and died happy.

This relation caused an alarm on board, being whispered among all hands, and some shed tears. Mr. M. the first mate, afterwards observed he could not sleep—he had once felt happy, but it was otherwise with him now; but as he lay down, and lifted his heart to GOD, the circumstance of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery, and the ship in which Paul was at *Malta*, though there was to be no loss of life, only the ship; yet said Paul to the soldiers. *except these (sailors) abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved—which*

impressed his mind with a belief, that by due attention they might escape.

Next day the Captain resolved to alter his course, and asked whether to the North or South? The *LATTER* was *recommended*. We passed Cape Clear about 27 miles to the South—the Vessel had outrun their calculation near 200 miles; though I had frequently hinted to the Mates, probably it would prove true. The water had appeared *green*, and rock-weed was in plenty at the time we were opposite the Cape; but afterwards *blue*; when we fell in with a Bristol Pilot Boat, and sounding, found 60 fathoms water.

The wind had been fair for about two weeks—we ran before it from five to nine miles the hour, generally; except one calm, and once the wind went round the Compass—about 22 sails set, and almost constantly agreeable weather, until we got on the Irish foggy coast. But had the Captain kept his course, the night following would have brought him among the rocks of *Bantry Bay*! Then came on a most tremendous gale of wind from the S. W. and fears were entertained the vessel might run under, as her *heavy* loading was in her bow and stern, and also too deep by fourteen inches, and too much by the head—and the cargo getting one side, made her lean a number of inches oblique—but fortunately the *heavy* top-masts were timely taken out: but before night, the wind abated, and the weather clearing up, we saw land in Wexford County, and the Mountains of Wicklow presented to view, though fears had been entertained that we might be outside of Cape Clear, and on the Western Coast.

17th. Saw Wales—still a gentle favorable breeze.

18th. Took Pilot on board—fell in with two Dublin Packets. Two of our Passengers, British officers, left us—wrote to my old benefactor, Doctor Johnson, and also to my friend John Jones—came to anchor for the night.

19th. This morning reminds me of December, 1807, when anchored in the same place with my *Companion*—how different this voyage from that—then I had the Companion of my earthly joy, but severe storms—now she is left behind, no doubt with anxiety, while we have had a pleasant passage, such as is rarely known.

When I left America, vegetation had hardly put forth—here the green fields present to view.

What awaits me on shore I know not; many of my friends behind must feel anxiety, but my hope and trust is in that Invisible *Power*, whose tender care hath been over me hitherto, and whose hand hath in times of trouble and difficulty, interposed and delivered me. To look forward by *sight*, the aspect is gloomy, and my spirits would flag, and my heart be ready to sink; but by

Faith and reliance only on GOD, my *mind* is composed, and feels a sweet peace.

Landed at Liverpool, in Old England, not knowing the things which might befall me there. But my mind was brought to my situation, and my feelings were to commit myself to the Divine protection, leaving my destiny with Him : here all inwardly was calm and peace.

From those anterior circumstances, many had inferred, that should my lot ever be cast on these shores again, the consequence must prove fatal to me. But in the name of the LORD I came—went to the Custom House, and presented myself according to law as an *Alien*. My passport was taken away and sent to London—my *description* was taken and put in a book, and also on a Certificate, which I must present to the Chief Magistrate of any place, where I should stop : and for neglect thereof one week, should be subject to thirty days' imprisonment. This Law empowers the Ministry with authority to send any man out of the Country, by banishment to any place which they may choose, without assigning any reason why, or wherefore ; and the *Alien* can have no redress but patient submission.

Here lived James Aspinall, through whom access was attained to Zion Chapel, where I spoke a number of times to crowded assemblies. Hence to the City of Chester, where I had received an invitation from the officiating Members—held several meetings, and visited the border of Wales.

A friend came from Warrington, accompanied round to several Meetings, and gave me an invitation from the Society, to visit them as soon as convenient. But oh ! the feelings of my heart when I came to the place ! The former scenes—the revival—Peggy's sickness—the attention of the Doctor—the death of *Latitia*, whose remains were deposited here—with the concomitant circumstances attending, were like opening wounds afresh, and gave me those feelings that no language can describe. Some of my Spiritual Children still stood fast : some had died in Peace ; others had turned again to folly. I spoke several times in the little Chapel, and had good times, refreshing from the presence of the LORD. Visited the Potteries in Staffordshire. Here I found a new *Sect* of People, known by the name of "*Ranters*," or "*Primitive Methodists*," as they called themselves.

Their origin appears to have been something in the following order, in Miniature.

When in this country before, a meeting on "*Mow Hill*," where I was drawn to speak particularly on the origin, and progress and consequence of *Camp Meetings* in America, which affected the minds of the People, who were in the spirit of a Re

vival; and from a combination of antecedent circumstances, they now resolved to spend a whole Sabbath day in prayer together, for an out-pouring of the Spirit of God, which thing they had agitated, but could never bring it to bear until now; when the day being appointed to meet, should the weather prove favorable to the design, a signal from the Hill, a sheet or *flag* hoisted on a long pole, which might be seen in the surrounding country.

The Morning was threatening—but the flag was hoisted, and Preachers from remote parts attended, who did not belong there, but in a kind of Providential way.

The old Preachers had opposed this meeting, and strove to prevent it from taking place. However, such was the effect produced, that another was agitated and resolved upon. The old Preachers gave a Local Preacher his choice, to give up "Field Meetings," or go out of Society. So he was dismissed—then a second and a third. The last, however produced a different effect from what the Old Preachers intended. For as he had been a grog-bruise, and a debtor for spirits at tipling houses, many had despaired of ever getting their money. But after he became religious, he also became industrious and sober, temperate and just; which enabled him to pay off all his old debts for spirits, &c. and gained the confidence of the People. And as he had two Classes committed to his care, these would not forsake him when put out of society; wherefore, they were out also—hence they were driven to become a party, whether they would or no.

J. F. was supposed to be friendly towards them, hence he was watched with a jealous eye. And as he was seen one evening to pass *near* a door where this Society was holding a *Love Feast*, it was thought he went in, so he was turned out of society likewise; and on Sunday morning was driven out of the Chapel in an arbitrary manner—which caused most of the Children to follow him from the school, as he was their *master*; and moreover, their Parents with flattery and stripes could not prevail on most of them to return; hence a new place was occupied, and a foundation laid for this Society to become settled, established and permanent. I made collection for this School, where about twenty-eight pounds was gathered.

After spending some time about here, I visited various branches of this Society in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire, where I found they had been the means under GOD of turning many from darkness to light.

The reason why they were called *Ranters*, was their peculiar mode of proceeding. A few of them would go through a Village singing the Praises of GOD, then take some convenient stand to address the People so as not to stop up the road for travellers. And the places were designated by "The Ranter Stand." In-

quire for "Primitive Methodists," and you could not find what you wished, but on inquiring for *Ranters* any one could tell you.

It is very singular, a few years since one of *Old Sam's* People attempted to put a stop to itinerancy, by reviving the *Conventicle law*, with an Appendix; but the result was, that *that* Law was virtually repealed, and the remnant so modified, as to be far more favorable to what is called *Dissenters*.

One man preached in the street—the Magistrates could find *no* law to stop it—hence they wrote to the *Privy Council* to know the meaning, spirit and intention of the Law—who returned for answer to let them alone, while they behaved peaceably, sung and preached in an innocent manner, and did not block up the King's Highway.

Still, however, *places* for worship must be licensed from the Bishop's Court, whether it be a house or *inclosure*; but the *streets* are the King's Highway—and the King is supposed to be "*omnipresent*"—hence those in the streets to be under his *immediate* protection; therefore his very *humble servants* could not give a License, except only as it relates to the *private* property of individuals, for the streets were above their control.

This Society amounts to several thousand strong—and I visited between thirty and forty Chapels. They have three Circuits—about 150 *Preachers*, among whom are about thirty *WOMEN* on the *Plan*. I heard one of them with a degree of satisfaction—to view the simplicity; and also she stopped when she had done—whereas a great many *men*, instead of stopping when they have got through, must spin it out and add to it or have a repetition over and over again.

Went to London; called at the *Alien Office*; was chid; Dr. R. was with me; paid them in their own coin. Principally where I had been, and what I had been about during the two months—that more Magistrates names were not annexed to my Certificate, which had been given me at the Custom House, and was signed by the Mayor of Liverpool. I replied, that I had not spent a week in any one place on my Journey; and moreover, that most of the Magistrates did not know their duty as it relates to *Aliens* not being in possession of the new Law. With some difficulty obtained my Passport and Permission to leave the Country, by going to the office of the American Ambassador, and have the same Countersigned by the Secretary of Legation; which being done, I returned to the Alien office again to know if any thing more was necessary, or whether I might consider myself dismissed—who now seemed as willing to let me go, as to call me to account before. Soon after this the French General was sent out of the Country under this Law.

There was a Chapel or place of Worship, in my sleep, seen four times—which was now sought for. Three Chapels opened to me, but it was neither, of them; a fourth presents—is a *new one* in which man had never preached—this seemed natural, as I entered to open it by *Dedication*. Three others afterwards were opened, and large crowded Congregations; and some refreshing from the presence of the Lord.

☞ Charles Atmore, on whom I called five times when in this country before, and would not give me a chance, but treated me with contempt, now took a squint at me across the Chapel, about the time of his finishing reading Church service in the desk, and going to preach in the Pulpit. This was near Spitalfields.

There are three grades of Preachers in London—the “Travelling,” “Local,” and Understrappers. These last are not on the *Plan*, but go into corners and dark holes, and cellars and garrets, to hunt up the wicked. They hire rooms at their own expense in different parts of the City; and have them seated and fixed with a pulpit—these are a nursery for the old body; and the old Preachers come only once a Quarter, to receive the TICKET MONEY, which ORIGINALLY was given out of RESPECT, but is now *claimed* as a RIGHT!

This third Class have a Founder, who is called a “BISHOP,” by the name of *Palmer*, who invited me to preach in one of *their Rooms*. I told him if the Conference had any power or cognizance over it, it would not do for me to accept the invitation. He replied, that they had none, it being private property—hence an appointment was made accordingly.

Afterwards a request for a second meeting, in another room for a collection for Sunday Schools, and handbills circulated accordingly. But *C. Atmore* sent word to have the door *shut* and *locked*, and also written upon with chalk, “*postponed*,” which the people could not read in the dark; so hundreds went home, not knowing the reason why they were disappointed, which was thought proper by me and others, to be explained in public, though it gave great offence to some. Hence, I went off, and the same evening attended meeting at “New Chapel, City Road,” where seven Missionaries, for foreign parts, were set apart by their overseers. The Missionaries gave in their experience, it seemed like old times; but the best of the meeting was, or appeared to be, in their “*silent, solemn prayer*.” Two men spake considerably on the subject of missions, their sufferings, &c., yet how little did those who are raised on the *fat* of the land in Old England, and have never been in practice, realize the subject, except in theory, like a parrot repeating a borrowed song. There was a strict charge to be *loyal* to his Majesty, though two were to go to the *republic* of *Hayti*.

Therefore, as the British Conference, in their legislative and official capacity, as a body politic, had made the before mentioned law for me, I went into but three of their houses while in England, though several times invited. The first was a *loan* to another society, for a charity sermon, for a Sunday school; the second was filled with people to avoid the rain, where I had an appointment, and was there assembled without my knowledge or consent; the third was a lease house, where an appointment had been made for me before I came, and one of the old preachers fulfilled it, so the people were disappointed: but to make atonement, another appointment was made at half past nine at night, for a watch night, to drive out the old year and bring in the new, in a town with an old Abbey, or castle, where the king keeps his *brimstone*, about ten or twelve miles from London; I think in Essex county; the two first at Tunstall, in Staffordshire, the other at Bullwell, in Nottinghamshire.

Attended the *Queen's funeral*—saw the procession, and followed it about twenty miles to Windsor from "Kew Palace," and beheld an end to all human grandeur and earthly folly!

On remarking the circumstances attending the *scene*, to one who had waited on the *king* for some years, to receive his daily instruction, how this appeared like the *Romish do*: he replied, that all except the D. of Cambridge, was contaminated through *her* avenue: but the king George 3d, was free; also that the arrangements had been left to the decision of a *Catholic* peer. Many ten thousands lined the road, and the procession extended about three miles in length, and for miles flambeaus were used to adorn the scene! More than two hundred *chaplains* attended on the father and son, and one is denominated "*The Family confessor*."

When going from Manchester to Sheffield, across a dreary moor, we came to a solitary village, where I was taken sick, and had to leave the coach, but the landlady, who kept a public house, would not allow me to come in. At length I found a grog shop, where I lay down upon a bench, and with difficulty obtained a cup of tea. Night soon came on, and three suspicious men came in, and were chatting among themselves that I must be a *Jew*, and being a foreigner, of course possess a good deal of *money*, which conversation I overheard, and drew the necessary inference accordingly.

Those men appeared to withdraw, the family disappeared, all but a servant girl, and she soon extinguished the light.

Thus, in awful suspense, I waited with a heart raised to God, when *Berothy Ripley*, having felt a concern come upon her mind for my safety, now arrived at the door with a post-chaise, and called for me! The landlord was very unwilling to open his

house, but I told him he should not sleep unless he let me out. I had been expected at Sheffield this evening to hold meeting, and some friend had come out three or four miles to meet me, and returned with the reply, that I was not to be found; however, I was now soon conveyed to my place of destination, among friends, and staid a few days.

Spoke in the Mason's Hall, and to some thousands in the square several times; and thence to *Hull*, in Yorkshire, where I spent a few days; spoke in a ware-house sundry times, and once by the monument of William the 3d, Prince of Orange, who gave "LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE" to Britain.

Thence to *Beverly*———where his Majesty's humble servant, *Alderman Hall*, ordered another servant, a Constable, to take me to his Majesty's tight house, the *Jail*, under a pretext of raising a riot; whereas the truth was, that all was quiet with silence and attention, until he disturbed them by this wicked act. The town was turned topsy turvy, and caused my dismissal as imperious as the imprisonment. After liberation went to the *Cathedral*, where hundreds followed; the Steeple House was so filled, that the Sexton's wife locked me up about an hour, which gave me an opportunity of viewing those monuments of antiquity, which had been kept for ages. By permission, I attended service, and thought to stop till the assembly was dispersed, but would not go, till his Majesty's very humble servant gave me the hint; I withdrew—the street, doors and windows were filled in all directions, and inquiring who and what? For my part I felt solitary, and thought of the saying about the sparrow on the house top; but never did I realize it until now. However, two men conducted me through a gate into a gentleman's house, where I was to dine.

Thence to *York*, where I sprained and put out a bone of the foot, the effect of which I expect never to recover;—so to *Leeds* and on to *Halifax* and visited the adjacent country—and so on to *Birmingham*, where I held some meetings; thence to *London* again; thence to *Bristol*, where with expense and difficulty, meetings were attained and attended.

Convictions and reformation broke out while here; some came out as spies; but God touched the hearts of some. One stranger, a local preacher, I caught by the collar, remarking, take hold and do your duty, and leave the event with God! The tears flowed from him like springs of water. The old connection opposed the work; hence they drove off a number who built a Meeting House that would hold 1500 people.

From thence circuitous to *Holly Head*, where I embarked to *Dublin*, to see my friend *Dr. Johnson*, and Mammy Letty, after an absence of almost twelve years—thus we are permitted to see

each other again, after various trials and trying scenes, while many of our friends and acquaintance are gone the way of all the earth.

Here I found the Methodists had split into two parts and a new connection raised up, with a representative form of government from the people with the preacher; and one third of the societies gone off, which for distinction sake, may be called K ites, as the blame is laid to him.

The Conference party could not open their Meeting Houses consistently with the *minutes* of Conference, which was considered as being still in force. So a *steward* was permitted to give me an invitation in his own name; but this I could not feel free to accept, lest it should give my opposers occasion to say, I sanctioned a *breach* of TRUST, and by that means attempts were made to justify the remark, as a charge of Mr. S. of truth—"a SHAMELESS INTRUDER," AND "MOST DARING IMPOSTOR," or with Mr. Hardy's public notice.

Called on MAJOR SIRR, the officiating Magistrate, having understood that officers were sent by him to apprehend me when leaving here before. So I observed to him, having understood he wished to see me when here before, I thought proper to present myself before him to know his pleasure, and to present to him my Papers, &c.

He acted the part of a Gentleman, and turned off the subject with an evasive laugh; countersigned my certificate, after registering the same in the Secretary's book, and caused the Seal of his office to be affixed to the same. Thus after much censure from various sources, and false accusations, have ventured to show myself again; which was thought by many would have cost me my life!

S. Wood, the stationed Preacher and Superintendant, said he would take the responsibility on himself, and so made an appointment in Cork Street, which I attended. Then some body else * made two more appointments—one at Gravel Walk, and the other in Cork Street, which I also fulfilled—when another appointment was given out at Gravel Walk—but Mr. Wood had made an appointment at Donnybrook for me at the same hour; which I did not know until he sent me a few lines, hoping I would not disappoint those *dear People* at Donnybrook; though there was but few attended, while a large assembly at Gravel Walk were disappointed.

I had given out four appointments for Sunday at Cork Street Chapel, as it was nearly deserted of hearers—but was questioned by whose request? I acquitted others and took the blame to my-

* These were both Preachers.

self, as the liberty inferred from the stimulous of S. Wood—attended the first appointment—was requested to alter the evening appointment from seven to five, (to prevent drawing the people from Gravel Walk Charity Sermon; though they had meeting at the same hour at Whitefriar street;) which was impossible, as the sequel proved; for though the meeting was withdrawn, many hundreds came out.

For this I was blamed, as well as for the other disappointments in which I had no hand, as they had not explained the thing to the people, so the blame was to rest with *me*.

S. W. afterwards made a kind of appointment twice, which were not notified or properly given out: but like a kind of sham to satisfy the public mind; so I thought proper not to attend.

Here the question will arise, why that Minute was made for me? And who was the *cause*?

Some said *Arthur Keen* was the cause—but perhaps it was envy and prejudice in some of the C. For how could one not a member, have such influence over a body who had *all* the power in their own hands? But the day of eternity must unfold this! For certain it is, that I never did strive to divide their Society, though I have been charged with a design to return for that end and purpose; yet numbers had been added to the Society as a consequence of my former visits; and the thing with which they had accused me with designing, they brought about themselves. 12,000 to 18,000 in the difference of the parties; and both parties claim to be the *old* society, and accuse the other of being the *rebels*!

However, when in England, after I received two letters from my friend Dr. *Johnson*, soliciting me to come over to Dublin, before I should embark for my own country. I endeavored to ask counsel at the hand of GOD, when it struck my mind with power, "They are dead which sought thy life." Exodus iv. 19. After my arrival, heard of two who died singularly and suddenly, somewhat with distress of mind, who are said to have had a hand in that dirty and unjust affair; hence, their officiousness with all those concerned, were abortive, thus far, and I am still preserved to blow the Gospel trumpet to a dying world.

Several meetings attended in different parts of the city, at two of which were collections, one for beggars, about seventeen pounds; the other for Sunday schools, about twenty-five pounds.

The Bishops of the Church of England, prevented one meeting at the *Rotunda*, after seven pounds had been paid for the use of it. And also one or two Clergymen of the same order caused a yard to be shut against me, where I had addressed about two thousand people, by applying to the civil authority.

The Roman Priests at the *Altars*, had cautioned their people against me also. Thus the "HIGH PRIESTS," in different orders, seemed to combine to proclaim war. Mobs also became so dreadful and noisy, that it gave the *Police* a plenty to do to guard the place, or assist me home, while the stones, brickbats, slush, mud, sticks and dead cats, and whatsoever came to hand, at times seemed to fly like hail, while the yells of the people seemed to cut and jar the air, as if the *imps* of the lower regions, had broke loose and come up—"impostor," "*Heretic*," &c. &c.

The Calvinists remembered me of old, and conducted themselves accordingly.

Thus the clergy of the four societies so affected the public mind, that it became dangerous for me to be seen much abroad. Such was the effect on the minds of the populace of the day, so I kept principally retired, until the arrival of Captain Cole, with whom I had some acquaintance, and with him I embarked for America, and after some trying gales and impressive scenes, reached the shores of Columbia once more.

Arrived back in the Dublin packet to America, with Captain J. Cole, June

1819, and found that death had not made any inroad on the family while gone, but my *Peggy* was in a declining state of health.

Several strangers had told me in different parts in my travels, that if I did not return shortly, would see my companion no more, which testimony so corroborated my own feelings as to give rise to my return sooner than intended anterior.

She travelled with me some days, and when in Providence, in Rhode Island, found her weeping: on inquiring the cause, she replied after some hesitation: "I shall return back to Hebron, and tell *Father Dow* I have come back to die with him." We returned in September, and from the time of my return from Europe, was absent only twice afterwards, once for a night, and five days to Boston, on business, until she died.

She said, she frequently felt more comfort than she expressed to others, and remarked that her death might be *sanctified to some*!

She asked me if I thought her dissolution was near? I replied, that I thought she would continue until spring, if not longer: she replied she thought so too! But the night following, she awoke me up, and asked what time of the month it was; I told her, when she remarked that she thought she was bound in all by the month of January.

She counted every day until the year ran out, and then almost every hour, until the morning of the fifth, when she asked if I had gone to bespeak a coffin for her? I said no. At evening, she asked, if I had gone to call in the neighbors; I told her no.

About two o'clock at night, she requested me to call up the family, which being done, she soon began to fail fast—asked her if she felt any pain? She said no! And while supporting her in my arms, my heart replied, Lord THOU gave her to me! I have held her only a lent favor for fifteen years, and now I resign her back to thee, and commit and commend her soul to thee until we meet again beyond the swelling flood. She replied with an hearty Amen—and soon expired as the going out of a candle, without a struggle, contraction, or groan! And although I viewed my marriage contract ended, yet what were my feelings on that occasion, words cannot express: But my mind, in some good degree, was prepared for the occasion, by the dispensation of preparation, from those words to Ezekiel, applied to my mind years before: "Behold I take away the desire of thine eyes with a stroke!" Jan. 6th.

1820, Were the words accomplished in my heart, as a sword through my soul! A respectable congregation attended her burial, after that her funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Burrows, in the Methodist Meeting house, in Hebron, on the 7th, which was felt by the neighbors to be a solemn impressive occasion!

The loss was too sensible in contemplating in my feelings. Hence, my *judgment* dictated the departure from usual custom, and to change my condition again upon the Journey of life.

Towards the close of this year, *we* went to the Southern States, after travelling over the six New England States first.

1821. Being arrested at Charleston for an alledged LIBEL against the peace and dignity of the state of South Carolina, under the old British *feudal system*, called "Common Law," "the greater the truth the greater the libel." My companion returned to the north, not knowing how long I should be detained as a state criminal! But after my trial, and condemnation to pay one dollar fine, I sailed to Boston, where I officially published the whole account, and returned to my companion in Montville.

1822. I travelled as far South as Virginia, and also visited Long Island extensively, for the first time.

Sept. 6th, felt a drawing to visit my *Father*, not knowing any thing in particular was the matter, except the passage of Joseph and his father's sickness being on my mind, until I got near the house, when a neighbor told me, "*your Father is sick!*" When entering the house, saw death coming in upon him fast. He asked, "have you any bad news?" On being answered in the negative, replied "all is well!" I fell upon my knees to commend him to God, when he suspended his agony, and at the close, expressed a very hearty Amen!

Previons to this he had closed all his temporal concerns, made his arrangements, wound up his business, as one finishing a piece

of work for the day, and then laying aside the garments to go to rest at night.

He had expressed to a number of persons for some weeks before, that he viewed the Friday or Saturday of this week, to close the scene of life with him—while the words "*The Lord is my portion, saith my soul!*" was the expression of his mind, by impression! He expired about half past eight at night on Friday, being a little over 80 years of age. His funeral was preached: "The righteous hath hope in his death." After which he was conveyed twelve miles to the place of our nativity, and buried by the side of my mother, who had been dead almost nineteen years: who when she was expiring, replied to the Doctor, how her faith held out "stronger than ever!"

Thus the family is broken up and scattered as young birds from the nest, after they come to maturity.

After attending to my father's affairs, according to his "*Will*," started with my companion for the East, but my beast dying suddenly on the way, I borrowed another for the time being, and proceeded on our journey, and after a few weeks returned home to Montville, where she was raised, and leaving her with her mother and friends, came on to Philadelphia by New York, where I now am preparing this manuscript for publication, being near the close of the year 1822.

Public opinion is as a whim, which is lost and vanishes as a vapor—their sneers and frowns will not adhere as the dirt adheres to the shoe in the street, and their applause is as the bubble on the water. The former will not injure your virtue, nor the latter feed, clothe, or put a penny in your pocket. And that which could neither do harm nor good, is not worth minding; therefore an expanded soul rises above such little things, and hence the propriety of parental advice to the Son:

"Let talkers talk—stick thou to what is best,
"To think of pleasing all, is all a jest."

SALEM, Aug. 15.

"*Lorenzo Dow*.—This celebrated travelling preacher is now on a tour through the New England States. He preached at Portland, in a field, on Sunday the 6th inst. in presence of 2 or 3000 people. He then proceeded through a part of New Hampshire, preaching in the principal towns on his way, and he is to preach at Newburyport this afternoon. He generally holds his meetings in the fields or woods, finding it difficult to gain admittance to a house of worship. He wears his hair long and flowing, and his beard unshorn in imitation of the Apostles!—his dress is mean, his voice harsh, his gesticulation and delivery ungraceful in the extreme, and his whole appearance and manners are calculated to excite the curiosity and wonder, if not the disgust of his hearers."

NEWBURYPORT, Aug. 18.

"*Lorenzo Dow*, according to promise, held forth last Wednesday, in the open air, to a multitude of 3 or 4000 who assembled to witness the performance of one, whose

eccentric appearance had gained him, in anticipation, some celebrity. He told where he was born and raised, said he was the friend of all sects, and believed in none of them—cautioned his hearers not to pin their faith on those who preached in steeped houses, or to believe a thing because their grandmothers before them believed it—and after a rhodomontade, without argument or eloquence, of forty or fifty minutes, was off in a tangent."

RALEIGH, (N. C.) Jan 23.

"*Lorenzo Dow*.—We were highly gratified, last evening, with a sermon delivered by this celebrated itinerant preacher, at the State House. The name of *Dow*, is perhaps, not more extensively known than the eccentricities of his character. These eccentricities have doubtless, in various instances, led to a doubt as to the sanity of his mind. But if we were to judge from the specimen which he last night gave of his understanding, we should say that there was no better foundation for such an opinion than there was for the accusation which Felix preferred against the most eloquent of all divines—the apostle Paul. We verily think that the tenets of Mr. Dow, as far as we comprehend them, are extremely liberal, and that he is as much divested of sectarian prejudices, and as free from bigotry, as it is possible for one to be, zealously engaged in the cause of religion. We shall, perhaps, say more respecting this extraordinary man at a period of more leisure. He is expected to preach at the State House on Thursday next, at 11 o'clock. As he expects to embark in a few weeks for Europe, those who desire to hear him, would do well to avail themselves of an opportunity, which may not shortly, if ever, occur."

A world of contradictions, falsifications, and imbecile with outward inconveniences, as heat, cold, hunger, thirst, with pain and sickness, in the vicissitudes of life, have been analects of my journey: but GOD has been my protector and consolation, as a tender parent during the thirty years of my pilgrimage thus far, through time—hence my hope to the end!

1823. Crossing the Susquehannah River, visited Green Castle, Carlisle, Little York, Columbia, Hagarstown, Lancaster, *Harrisburg*, &c.

Here I saw the "POPE'S LEGATE" who was sent over to curse "*Priest Hogan*"—they were both at meeting. The Legate appeared like a little contemptible looking fellow, but the Priest appeared as a MAN of sense and superiority.

The Roman Priests are bound to the Pope—but what allegiance do they owe to our Government, or country? Or what assurance of fidelity can they give to any body who are not Catholics, seeing they are not bound to keep faith with heretics? What right hath the Pope, as a temporal prince, to make use of the name of religion, to interfere in our temporal and political affairs in this nation? Their body of Clergy are a unit—and they pull together—all in one way!

Their proceedings are kept "*Huga mugah*" to themselves; but they are gaining strength in the land.

Returned to Montville in the spring, after visiting many places and holding numerous meetings in the country, finding much friendship among the *Dutch Methodists* or "*United Brethren*," who assisted me from place to place.

We visited Rhode Island this summer, where once a year, the manners and simplicity of the people excited an anniversary desire to go.

This year, by request, with reluctance, an estate devolved on me to settle; which proved insolvent, yet paid 66 cents on the dollar—which the judge acknowledged to be a very large dividend in such a case!—Still, many spoke hard, with severe wishes and curses; because a disinterested person did not pay that which they had trusted to another: although there was not enough left to pay the expenses of the Court at the close of the affair, exclusive of all the anxiety, trouble, and vexation.

This fall, we visited the FALLS OF NIAGARA, with the intermediate country, where we attended many meetings during the journey of a few weeks.

Was arrested at Troy on a false pretence, just after attending meeting of 4 or 5,000 people—and put to much trouble—for which see the vexation and charges under the law suits and prosecution at the close.

1824. This year an *abscess* was formed, as was supposed, by a cohesion of the liver, diaphragm, and the stomach, in the lower cavity, and the cohesion of the lungs to the diaphragm in the upper—which abscess, became so prominent or exuberant, that there was not *animation* sufficient to produce the necessary *animal warmth*: and fire heat could not be made by any means to answer the purpose! A *cold spot*, sensible to the touch, was the consequence; equal to that of a corpse. However, at length, the abscess broke favorably, and was raised up; though fears were entertained that had it been otherwise; it must have been strangulation, or a mortification as the sequel.

The soreness, the chills, and the effect on the nervous system, with pains, attending; there is a want of language to express or communicate a full and proper idea on the subject; but my escape was narrow.

There are many who possess a theory from books; but few, it is to be feared, have a *sound judgment* of their own, in point of practice.

But the best of prescription, without good *nursery* will not avail—for this is a *science* to itself—and how few have experience and *judgment* on the subject to act on the case! It would be well for society, if this subject was more attended to. Visited a variety of places, as far as the State of *Maine* this year.

1825. Visited Nantucket, the Vineyard and Elizabeth Islands, and also Cape Cod; very extensively this year; with many good meetings. Br. Taylor, the *sailor*, was stationed on the Cape who was very friendly to me and brother Perry also.

Towards the close of the year we started for the west, via. N.

York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore to Washington City; thence to "MOUNT VERNON," and saw the tree which Washington had planted with his own hands; and also the vault where his ASHES lay; but his *name* must go down to posterity, with a different impression than is made by the example of most men.

In Hagerstown we became acquainted with a kind family by the name of *Martinna*. From this place we were franked to Cumberland, and so on the Cumberland Road to Brownsville.

We passed near the *grave* of general BRADDOCK, who is said to have been shot by one of his own men; whose twin brother B. killed with his sword, for attempting to fight behind a tree, in Indian style; which, had the Englishman taken up with the advice of a Buckskin, might have saved himself and army.

From Brownsville to Pittsburg, by water, in the Monongahela. Col. Gormley called up a man in the night, who was friendly to me, in his *first wife's* day; but things were different now; so we went to the "*Lafayette Inn*"—dear enough for our poor fare; but it was cold and night: and any asylum is desirable at such a time as that.

A council among BIG BUGS was held concerning us, before our arrival—the result was, that they would not receive us, but we should put up with one under slander, and by contribution be supported there as paupers; to sink us in the mire; as appeared afterwards. But they were disappointed; for Dr. ARMSTRONG gave us an asylum, until we found an opportunity to depart to *Wheeling* by land, where we found some kind friends; from thence to *Marietta*, and so down to *Cincinnati*, where we found a number of friends.

1826. Visited *Indianapolis*, the capital of Indiania, and many adjacent places; thence returning to *Cincinnati*; we ascended the Ohio to *Marietta*; thence hiring a wagon and two horses and a driver, we proceeded about 130 miles to BEVERLY, in Randolph County, in Virginia, via. Clarksburg, where we staid a few days. The land in this vale on Tiger River, is beautifully good; and the crystal streams are excellent. The mountains that surround the country are awfully sublime; but the soil is not so good—and the *fee* of the land is very uncertain—as there have been "*Warrants*" upon warrants laid; and hence, the surveys clash; and the same ground may have been granted away by the government ten or even twenty times over! So, that, under existing laws, it will and must be a very long time before the question is finally settled; whether the occupier is the owner of the land on which he lives: although he might have bought it of a dozen different claimants.

This place is one hundred and five miles from Cumberland; across mountains, up and then down; I think one of the awfulest

roads I ever travelled : as the path, if I may so call it, follows the streams or water courses up to the summit, and then down on the other side. In one case, in the space of about three or four miles, I think we crossed it about thirty-six times.

From Cumberland to Fredericktown, our old *friend*, REESIDE, franked us again. Thence to Baltimore, and took the steam-boat to Philadelphia and New-York, and arrived back to Montville in June following.

Visited *Boston* and the *east* this year, and prepared for the west.

1827. Went to New-York, took steam-boat to N. Brunswick, thence stage No. 7, strangers, crossed words and *cut eyes* ; hence a stranger, as we parted, replied, " My name is ADAMS ; I live in Pittsburgh ; when you come there, call on me ; and make my house your home."

I called, and was introduced to his wife ; staid seven weeks ; and found it to be a home indeed, during very cold weather—his wife is a " mother in Israel"—obtained what I stood in need of in time of exigency and refunded the same, and took my departure for the lower regions, visiting various towns by the way, to *New Orleans*.

Thence returning by steam, up the Mississippi, Ohio, and Tennessee Rivers, Tuscumbar and Florence, (above the Muscle shoals) in the State of Alabama ; so to *Huntsville*, in Madison county ; and scaling the country by the way, crossed over land to Nashville, in the State of Tennessee ; thence down the Cumberland river to Smithfield ; where *Lynch's Law* was put in force ; the thief was led to a meeting, in the house of a *magistrate* where I officiated ; and here he requested protection, and that the law might take its course ; I plead to the company, but without effect ; when night come on, *they* took him out, and give about an hundred lashes with rods ; and then let him go, with a threatening, if he was found there any more after day light. For my part, I was glad to be off with a whole skin ; where a stranger, seemingly, could not have protection of law ; although the people generally, used me respectfully, civilly, and well ; considering all the circumstances.

Thence in the steam-boat, *Hercules*, to *St. Louis*, in the State of Missouri. Here the Methodist and Presbyterian meeting-houses were open to me ; and found some of my old acquaintance and kind friends.

The artificial mounts of antiquity, for labor, strength, and beauty, exceeds any thing I have yet found in the western curiosities, in point of magnitude.

Thence across the State of Illinois to *Vincennes*, on the Wabash, thence up the same to Tarra Hoote, near Fort Harrison ; so on to *Indianapolis*, in the State of Indiana ; and visited many of the

counties round about, and the most principal places ; speaking generally in the open air, under the shades ; and so through the Ohio to New-England, taking Columbus, Worthington, to Cleveland, Painesville, and to Buffalo and the Canal, on the way.

Found, on my arrival at Montville, my property attached, under as false allegations as ever existed ; and that was not all ; but there was *insult* added to injury ; and all this without any reasonable and just pretext for a cause, whatever ! But envy, malice, and covetousness, to possess that which belonged to another, without giving an equivalent.

The author and instigator of this fraud and mischief, when I first saw him, made me think of Milton's Devil, in the form of a TOAD, *whispering* in the ear of *Eve !!!*

The first place where I attempted ever to get a *small home*, was in the Mississippi country, but failed. My second attempt was at Lynchburg, in Virginia ; but did not succeed. The third was in *Hebron* ; but the Charleston, S. C. business, was so serious to me in its consequences, as to cause a sacrifice ; and hence a disappointment there ! But my *Father* leaving some little property, another trial was made in *Montville*—but this prosecution has been so serious in its effects, to bring me near to a level with the world : that I can scarcely say, this or that, are my own.

In addition to all this, another prosecution from an unavoidable source, transpired about the same time.

When things transpire under circumstances, beyond the power of my control ; the only safe way, is, not to attempt to take it out of the hand of Providence ; but to bring my mind to my situation, resigning myself, to HIS disposal ; and leave the events with him after acting the best judgment that I can.

For to give away to anxiety, is to destroy one's peace and disqualify him for action ; but the ART of living by the day, is the doctrine of the New Testament.

Those who instigated the trouble for me at Charleston, S. C., or contributed thereto—were all cut off within about the space of three years—except ROBERT Y. HAYNE—who was then the Attorney General for the State ; and is now the Governor for the *nullifiers*.

Those at Troy, who have put me to so much trouble and expense, by demanding what THEY KNOW to be UNJUST, must answer it to the court of conscience in their own breast, (if they have any ?) and to the bar of justice, to the Great Judge—there I leave them !

Those who attached my property in my absence, are gone to pot—then figured away more than ever !

But these things are not over ! There is an invisible *hand* in the affairs of mortals, that will reward virtue and punish vice—

which is frequently and awfully exemplified in the dispensations of retributive justice—and as I believe, in this case, will be exemplified to the view of society in this world as well as in the next.

Those who were concerned in the fourth and last scrape out of which the Lord delivered me—as well as those who strove to add other subjects of *law*, so called, to seek my downfall, ruin, and destruction, are gone the way of all the earth : a solemn, impressive lesson, to those who know the concomitant circumstances !

1828. Went to New-York, Albany, by canal to Buffalo, by steam-boat to Sandusky ; visited the country to the Ohio ; so down the Mississippi to New-Orleans ; thence took shipping for Philadelphia, in a passage of eleven days around Cape Florida, escaping the *pirates* and the storms that are dangerous in those seas, having travelled by land and water more than five thousand miles, in about ten weeks. Thence to Montville.

When a man figures away on a false capital, borrows all he can, as far as his credit will go ; then shuts up shop ; cheats the *GIRLS* out of years of hard labor, by borrowing all their earnings, then pay them but a fifth part ; and when the news first strikes their ears, to bring such a shout of mournful lamentation, as might strike the heart of any, but a stone, some of whom, were fifty miles from home without a cent to buy them a dinner : what must be the feelings of such an one, when he goes to jail, to “swear out,” and so pay with a ramskin ?

1829. Visited Boston—heard an *INDIAN* preach—he spoke some in Indian—it seemed more oratorical to me than any thing I ever heard !

He related his experience of the Indian Creed, which cast more light on the subject of the Heathen Mythology, than any thing I had ever seen, as a *key* to the subject.

“The white man believes in one God—the Indian believes in the *Great Spirit*.

The Indian believes in subordinate deities—and the white man believes in angels.

The white man belives in a future existence—a heaven and a hell. The Indian belives in a future state of rewards and punishments.

The white man get drunk, and Indian get drunk too—Indian steal ; white man steal—white man lie ; Indian lie !

Thus when he compared their creeds and their practice, he could see no difference !

Again, the Indians take much care and pains to teach their children the *art* of hunting, to catch the bear and the deer ; and that they may become expert in it, they are taught to pray a great deal, and to fast much—after which, to go to sleep, to com-

muné with the Great Spirit—and what they dream of first, they then consider it ominous of their future life, and fortune. For example: Should one dream that a snake spoke to him, he would kill the first snake he saw, and preserve the skin as a sacred relic—supposing that the spirit of the animal, as an attendant geni, angel or Deity, would attend him in all his future journey through life;—an eagle, dog or cat, or whatever they might happen to dream about. Hence the variety of Deities in the eye of fancy, both animal, vegetable, &c. among the Indians and Heathen!

He said he was put to school at fourteen, and continued there until twenty; when he attended a woods meeting, where he felt the power of the Great Spirit to come upon him; he then felt he was a sinner; and the burthen of it was such, that he could not eat, nor drink, nor sleep—but the cry of his heart to the Great Spirit, was, mercy, mercy! At length the love of the Great Spirit streamed into his heart, which made him happy—he went home to the village to tell his *parents*;—when Indian tell Indian, “It is so”—then Indian believe him; his parents and the whole village became subjects of the work, with the exception of six, who quit the place and retired, to live in their former way.

They then wished the white man to come and teach them how to read, and the *art* of raising corn, beans, potatoes, &c. Hence civilizing and Christianizing went hand in hand together; it went into about fourteen villages, which he named, and geographically described—the courses and distances from each other, with the name of each place, and the number of the inhabitants, &c. &c.

From near Rochester, I crossed Lake Ontario to Canada side; soon after, I heard a sound which I followed perhaps one or two miles; when I came to a body of several hundred *Indians*, in the act of devotion of singing, exhortation and prayer; not a word did I understand, though the tunes I knew! But such order and decorum and seriousness, I think I never saw before! Such evidence of feeling sincerity!

The next day they put posts into the ground, and barks of trees, worked in so tight, about six or seven feet high, as would be difficult to see through, as there was brush put the outside, as a guard around to keep off intruders. The inclosure embraced, perhaps one third of an acre or more, with a covering of barks to shed rain, which extended two thirds round inwardly! There was two strong narrow *gates*, with three Indians constantly at each, to guard the same, or as they said, to keep out the bad white man!

There were about two thousand whites encamped on the ground—seats, and a stand, and a number of preachers.

The white man must go to the spring, out with his *pocket pistol*, loaded with the life of man—drink grog and have a high. The white woman, must whisper and chat her little talk—and the young be running about; whilst the Indians, old and young, male and female, seemed to behave as though they felt to wait upon and worship the Great Spirit.

From such a contrast of circumstances and behavior, I remarked to the people, that much was said in the *States*, about raising money to send missionaries to civilize and christianize the Indians; but if some of the money was expended to aid the Indians to travel and learn the white people decorum, I thought it would be money well laid out.

Visited a village on grape Island, where not a lazy or a drunken Indian was allowed by them to reside. This spot, seemingly, would have been a terrestrial Paradise to reside in, if it had not been for the tormenting musketoes.

Continued down the lake shore on the Canada side till I came to *Kingston*. Saw many of my old acquaintance and former benefactors, some of whom I had not seen for more than thirty years; Mary Switzer, that was—name changed—is now a widow—children grown—but keeps her religion still! * * * *Emphy*, who when I saw her last was a child, but still, there was something that might be read. She I recognized after an absence of thirty-two years, and called her name.

Crossed the lake from Kingston to Oswego, and so returned to Rochester, Lockport, Geneseo, and attended several Camp meetings. At one of which the preachers held a Council, how to treat me, if I came; the result of which was, to meet on fair ground. I designed to attend as a spectator. They however broke the ice, and I spoke from the stage—but mostly in camps of satan about in the woods, here and there, wherever I could find a party, give them a preach and lead them to the Camp—whether by night or day—many such meetings during the time.

All was peace and friendship, and the best order, so considered, ever known at a meeting of magnitude in that part of the country.

At another Camp Meeting, the P. Elder had his officer ready if I attempted to officiate, to take me off the ground.

Not a word did I speak, good, bad or indifferent, whilst on the ground—not even to answer a question—but remained entirely mute.

When strangers were ordered off the ground at night, I retired about a mile; and finding the door of a school house open, I went in, and laid down on the table until morning; when a man came to me, who lived about a half mile from the Camp, who wished me to see his sick wife—she requested me to preach

there; I said, if you will get me twenty hearers in twenty minutes.—Three or four young men started full speed to the Camp—it was whispered among some thousands of persons, like a shock—they left the P. Elder, or his Antimasonry stuff, which he was designing against me, to raise a prejudice, and that no Mason must preach on that stand! However, there was three or four thousand came out to where I was, leaving him, as was said, from one hundred to hundred and fifty to hear him out.

The house was filled, the roof and fences were covered—as many as my voice could command, to whom I spoke till I got my talk out—and then requested them to return peaceably to the Camp and get all the good they could! Yet about fifteen hundred followed me near two miles—so I gave them another talk for near two hours, and went on my way.

The P. E. as was said, had an officer to do with him before the meeting broke—whether justly or not, is not for me to determine; but the master said—that which ye measure to others, shall be measured to you again! How conspicuous is the doctrine of Retributive Justice!

At an other place, I saw Br. Dewey and his wife and daughter—went on to the Camp ground twice—retired a couple of miles to my lodging place—many came near, to whom I spoke, there being a plenty of sawmill logs, to accommodate the people with seats. I told them, to go back to the Camp ground, and by watchfulness, prayer and faith, to lay hold on the power of God—they afterwards had a good time.

The Spirit of *Anti-ism* seemed to intoxicate the people, and to sow the seeds of discord in society—politically, socially and morally—that the peace of neighborhoods and of families and religious communities, were disturbed if not deranged and destroyed. Millions of dollars and years of days have been lost as a consequence! But something must and will occupy and agitate the public mind; which if the subject matter be not good, they will seize on something bad; for there will be no neutral! Ambitious men, for purposes of self-aggrandisement, generally fabricate and disseminate excitable matter to disturb the public peace, for their *own* objects and ends!

“Devils with devils damned—*firm concord hold—*
“*Men only disagree!*”

A good reason for it—there is but one spirit to actuate; and that is, the pursuit of *Evil* for enjoyment!—hence, says Milton's Devil—

“EVIL, BE THOU MY GOOD!”

Their spirit is a unit among the HORNED GENTRY—fallen angels—so represented by hieroglyphics, as sin, (moral evil, a transgression of the law) converted them into devils.

But mule-devils—i. e. the *bad principle* in man so constantly exemplified in his actions and conduct towards his contemporaries, shews the *degenerate* state of the human family—and hence the propriety of the doctrine of REDEMPTION AND SALVATION!

The *power* of the former upon the latter, is, to tempt, buffet, harass, and inject evil thoughts into the mind; for spirit may operate on spirit, as well as matter upon matter—and a *bad* spirit can operate as well as a good one; and also present objects to the view of the mind to affect or operate on the *senses*, but cannot force the *will*: for this is volition; hence the *consent* of mind must be given, in order to commit the *act* of sin, which is a moral evil. For it is the *spirit* and motive or *intention* of the heart, which gives *character* to action; whether good or bad, in a *moral* point of view.

Cold water societies among Indians, expelled *hot water* from the village; some people moving, being encamped near by, seduced one to drink and got him intoxicated, in order to tantalize and twit the other Indians and argue—it is all a fudge.

The villagers held a council—then taking the young Indian who had got drunk, down to the Camp, in presence of the whites, and there cut off his head!

1830. Visited Coventry, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the district of Columbia; thence a few hundred miles into different parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, by Vincennes to Vandalia; so on to St. Lois—thence into Pike county in the State of Illinois, Green, and to Jacksonborough in Morgan county, and so on to Springfield.

About three fifths of this state is savannas, or natural meadows, called Prairie. There are to be found many feet under ground, different kinds of wood, which growth is not to be found in several hundred miles of here; also, wild hens, snakes and wolves, peculiar to these natural openings; and also wild oats and rye, with an endless variety of flowers, seemingly to the eye, as one advances along.

The soil is strong and good for cultivation, and when the sod is once broke, it is easy to manage in future. But one curse seems to attend this part—the growth of corn &c. &c. is so luxuriant, that it tends to make people lazy and idle, and destroys industry.

Spoke to many large assemblies; and having finished my tour wished to return to the East; a stranger came up with an horse, saddle and bridle, which he offered for sale—his price was twen-

ty dollars—whence I started and fell in company with a man who was going my way, through the grand Prairie of more than one hundred miles, except a streak of woods on the water-courses, which were frequently from ten to twenty miles asunder. In one place there was a furrow ploughed for the benefit of travellers, as a guide, for more than fifty miles.

Found it very severe travelling on horseback ; and yet there was no other way without going several hundred miles round, as there was no stage conveyance on this route ; the roads and country being new.

Frequently met from thirty to fifty moving families of a day, with flocks, and herds, and wagons, &c. Came by Indianapolis to Cincinnati ; sold my horse and took stage to Circleville, and so on to the Canal, holding many meetings by the way.

The "*Vicar General*" had followed me, on a former route, from meeting to meeting, and from place to place, though I knew it not for some time after.

There had been an impostor in New Hampshire, Vermont, New York and Ohio States, who had *assumed my name*, and travelled on my credit, and so made himself master of the public and private history of my life, and had become so perfect an imitator, with his acquaintance with human nature, that he would dupe those who were well acquainted with *me* without mistrusting the imposition ; hence I had to bear some of the follies of his conduct ; and twice, narrowly escaped the hickory, (on the principles of Lynche's law) as being considered the COUNTERFEIT LORENZO !

Doubtless, with me, *he* was and *is* an *Italian Jesuit* as one of the many agents, as a tool, to spy out the state of society and make report to the proper source, for the ruin of this land.

Seeing so many concurring circumstances to corroborate the idea of the design of the Jesuits to set up their empire in this country, caused me to fling some ideas together, to call the attention of the public to the subject, which has given offence to some ; and hence objects for seduction, to take an advantage of me secretly to my injury, in a *clandestine* manner : but thus far I have been preserved.

1831. Spent principally in New England, visiting many places, as circumstances and strength permitted.

1832. Called on *Jackson* at the President's house, through the medium of the Rev. Wm. *Burke* of Cincinnati.

In the course of conversation, remarked—Washington was the means, in the hand of Providence, of saving the country once ; Jefferson once, and you twice.

Washington was twice a candidate for the Presidential Chair, and twice elected—so Jefferson, Madison and Monroe !

Twice *you* have been a candidate, and virtually in the hearts of the people, *twice elected* ! But once you was defrauded out of it. Should you be a candidate a third time, it will be once beyond what any of your predecessors have done ! And should you be elected, it is a query with some, whether you would continue to occupy the Chair after the 4th of next March, unless you take very good care of yourself.

He replied, I believe in a superintending Providence. I have been exposed to danger, and have been preserved.

I ever aim to act for the public good, in my official capacity; according to the best of my judgment, and if Divine Providence sees proper to allow me to fall a victim in the discharge of my duty, I feel resigned to the dispensation.

From thence I proceeded to Richmond in Virginia, where I had not been for about twelve years ; called on Governor *Floyd*, obtained permission of the Capitol, where I strove to deliver my testimony with fidelity. Thence to *Petersburg*, and spoke in the Court House ; also at Powhattan and Cumberland and some adjacent parts. Found many of my old acquaintance gone, and most of the houses and plantations with new improvements and new occupants ; a few of my old spiritual children I found whose awakenings were dated when I was travelling here about thirty years' ago. They have now families of their own, and children grown, some of whom have families also, and many of these are serving the MOST HIGH !

Took steam-boat, up the bay, and so by rail-road, and stage, &c. and returned to *Montville* !

1833. Visited Newburg, Bloomingburg, Shangum, Fishkill, Johnsville, Middlebush, Latintown, Milton, Poughkeepsie, Hyde Park, Rhinebeck, Hudson, Albany, Troy, Greenbush, Kinderhook and many other places, and returned to Montville, after an absence of about seven weeks ; having attended about twenty meetings per week, most of the time.

I am now in my fifty-sixth year on the journey of life ; and enjoy better health than when but 30 or 35 years old, with the exception of the callous in my breast, which at times, gives me great pain.

It is upwards of forty years since I first found the comforts of religion—and near *thirty-eight* in my public sphere of life.

The dealings of God to me-ward, have been good. I have seen his delivering HAND, and felt the inward support of his grace, by faith and hope, which kept my head from sinking when the billows of affliction seemed to encompass me around.

Much hath been the enquiry after my Journal—hence the addition and present publication for the perusal of those who may survive me, when I am dead and gone, and for the information of

those who are yet unborn, to view the dealings of God, Man and the Devil with one, whose experience and standing is peculiar to itself.

And should those Hints exemplified in the experience of COSMOPOLITE be beneficial to any one—give God the Glory *Amen and Amen!*—FAREWELL!

LORENZO DOW.

Montville, Feb. 26, 1833.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFLECTIONS.

When I was a Child, my Father had Salmon's Geography, which contained twenty-four maps, which I thought to be *pictures*, and yet could see no meaning in them; hence, inquiring for satisfaction, what such and such things meant, advantage was judiciously taken of the occasion, to instruct and improve the subject to benefit my mind.

1. *Query.*—What is that—pointing to different parts on the Map.

Answer.—A *River*.

2. *Q.*—What is a River?

A.—A large *Brook*.

3. *Q.*—What is that—

A.—A *mountain*.

4. *Q.*—What is a Mountain?

A.—A large *Hill*.

5. *Q.*—What is that—

A. The *Sea*.

6. *Q.*—What is the Sea?

A.—A *Large Pond*.

7. *Q.*—What is that—

A.—A *Country*.

8. Q.—What is a Country?

A.—A large tract of Land where people dwell.

9. Q.—What is beyond where the sun sets?

A.—A Country and People, like this neighborhood.

Here my little mind began to expand to grasp the subject of Countries distant, and ORIGIN OF MAN, and HIS END, and the GREAT FIRST CAUSE!

Being presented with a new Spelling Book with *pictures*, my sister, (who was older than myself) read the *fabulous moral explanation*, which opened my understanding, that BOOKS COULD TALK! Hence my little soul was on fire to learn to read, and to understand the things of Nature and of Nature's GOD!!

There were three brothers in the neighborhood with whom I used to play—they would do things that I knew they would be chastised for, and so did they. I would remonstrate with them. They would reply—What is Father's *old black whip*? it will soon be over! When the black whip came, their shouts might be heard afar, but when it was over, by themselves, would turn it into diversion! Thus to harden each other.

When I *thought* on what was coming, I verily believe, that I suffered more in my feelings, than they did under the lash of the *black whip*! The blood receding, would press to my heart,—there was an end of diversion—quit their company, and retire home to my *Father*.

Do not remember the time HE chastised me; but there was a trembling at his word; if I did amiss; he took an opportunity by *ourselves*, to make me sensible of it, which was very *feeling* to me.

I thought that if he was angry and should chastise me, as the neighbors did their boys, that it would not make me *feel so bad*—hence to be very guarded in all things that he would disapprove, lest *he* should be induced to lesson me again.

But such judicious conduct, as it is viewed by me since, hath had its influence upon my subsequent life. But the evil of chastising children when they dont deserve it, and passing over their faults as with a sanction, if not even rewarding them for it, by some indulgence, sugar toy or a promise, which they never mean to fulfil, an attendant evil to corrupt the tender Mind! O that Parents felt their weight of obligation and would beware of consequences!

One of the worst acts of mischief, that occurs to my mind, was when a child of about five or six years old; the county being divided, there was a *tax* to build a Court House and Jail; the Collector came; and the conversation attracted my

mind, to know what a *Jail* was ! The reply—a house to shut up bad men and keep them confined.

This alarmed my mind, that the actions of men should expose them to such consequences—to be shut up in Jail ; but the subject running in my mind, about a Jail—a Jail—that one day a number of men were in a tight *shop*, to escape the rain, chatting ; but I was playing round, watched my opportunity, put too the door, hooked it on the outside, to confine them in *Jail*, as some of them had given me offence, and took to my heels and ran. But it was a long time before I thought myself safe to be near where some of them were.

Surely *conscience* bears WITNESS, and the *thoughts* accuse or excuse in the actions of life.

Some of the neighbors going to wash sheep about two miles off, took me with them—got tired and weary of waiting—started for home alone—but missed the way and wandered off several miles near to a river. There was a man who found me, and knew me—who was one of the worst enemies my father had ; he was esteemed crazy, and the people were afraid of him. I attempted to escape him by flight, in vain. By main force, he carried me on his shoulders several miles, till we came in sight of my father's house ; he then put me down, but did not quit sight till he saw me enter. Just then, an awful thunder gust and shower of rain was overspreading the sky.

One day while at play and amusing myself with toys, the door being open, there presented the procession of a funeral train ; the *black coffin* gave me an awful alarm, which sensation I did not get over for a long time ; it being the first I had observed.

The Deity can be KNOWN no further than he is pleased to reveal and manifest HIMSELF.

From scripture and common sense reflection, are the following ideas :

1. That there *cannot* be one *action* without a *time*, when the action took place. Hence, whatever God does, there must have been a time when he did it. Therefore the first *thing* that God *made* was TIME ! And in TIME he made all things.

2. That he assumed the *Angelic* SHAPE or FORM, previous to the creation of Angels ; and hence, afterwards is called, “ The Angel of the Covenant.”

3. When Angels were created, could worship and behold an object for adoration.

4. Whatever God hath *done*, as it relates to creating, it was done by this visible manifestation—hence with propriety may be called “ THE WORD ! ” also it might be said to have been

in the beginning *with* God, and moreover it might be styled, **GOD**.

And when a "BODY" was "PREPARED" for the reception of this MANIFESTATION of the Deity, to be veiled in, with propriety might the same be styled the "SON OF GOD."

Then, "BY HIM all things might be said to be made," &c. &c.

Man could be said to have been created in the "IMAGE of God" &c. not only morally, but as it relates to his FORM of appearance, in "LIKENESS" and rectitude also.

This pre-existence, to the creation of *time*, in the order and succession of *days*, being *anterior* to such order and succession, with propriety may be styled the "ANCIENT OF DAYS."

The LUMINOUS GLORY which Moses saw upon the tree, in the likeness or appearance of FIRE, is styled, the LORD, or Jehovah; the "GREAT NAME;" which word a *Jew* will not speak, lest he should not do it with suitable reverence, and so take it in vain,—and not be guiltless. Also he is there called an Angel, as mentioned in Exodus.

This CLOUD of Luminous Glory, answered a threefold purpose; and was manifested to the Hebrews; first by night as a lamp to give them light: 2d. to keep off the rays of the sun by day: and 3d, as a guide to direct, when, where, and which way to go.

Was on the Mount and proclaimed the Law; rested visibly on the mercy seat, over the ark; probably in the shape or form of a man; and would speak with a sound like the voice of a man: and by the Jews was called the SHECHINAH.

When the Ark was taken, Eli said, "THE GLORY" is departed from Israel; referring to this Luminous glory.

When Solomon dedicated the *Temple*, the CLOUD of GLORY so filled the house; such was the power, that the priests could not *stand* to minister.

When Moses and Elias appeared to Jesus, the beams of glory so emanated, that his raiment *glistened* and became white as snow.

On the day of Pentecost, the good influence of glory appeared as cloven TONGUES OF FIRE; and was FELT by the people.

The same Jesus, who spake to *Saul* with power, accompanied the testimony with *light*, beyond the rays of the meridian sun.

The *glory* of the Lord is to fill the earth; hence the *light* of the *moon* is to become as the light of the sun. And the *light* of the *sun* is to become SEVEN FOLD, as the light of SEVEN DAYS!!

As the ancient veil to the sanctum sanctorum, which none might enter and pass, (except the High Priest, and he but once a year,

and that not without blood) was rent in twain by the power of God : so that all might see what was there beyond ; after Jesus gave up the ghost. So what light and manifestations shall open to our view, when the Temple of God shall be opened, and the *smoke* subside ; and the testimony—ark—be opened, and the heavenly Jerusalem descend. Here language fails ; the subject belongs to a future state ; or a time beyond the present period ; I here must stop.

But each will stand in their *LOT*, and happy will *HE* be, who hath *part* in the *first resurrection* ! on such, the *SECOND DEATH* hath *NO POWER* !

The *ascent* of the beast from the bottomless pitt ; the slaying of the *two witnesses* ; their resurrection and ascension ; the cities of the nations fall ; the destruction of Babylon ; the battle of Armegaddon ; the removal of the beast, and the false prophet ; and *HE* comes whose right it is to reign !!! How *soon* some of these times may be at hand, who knows ? Perhaps nigher than some think ! And those who are not on the watch tower, will be taken unawares, as by a thief in the night. Happy for those who shall be found *WATCHING* !!!

See the calculation of events in the order of time in succession, on the omens of prophecy ; time of the Church in the wilderness, and the age of the world, and the state of society, to which we have arrived ; for a conjecture on the future events.

The ancients supposed *Europe* to be an *ISLAND*, (and is so styled in Scripture in the original division of the world by Moses,) hence, in prophecy, is styled the *SEA*, to distinguish it from *ASIA*, the main, which in prophecy, is styled the *EARTH*. The former being surrounded by *WATER*, as the latter is by *LAND* ! This distinction and observation must be kept in mind, for a discrimination of circumstances.

2. John viewed things in a two-fold sense. First as represented in Heaven, and then, secondly, as fulfilled on the earth. This must be attended to, to prevent the confused idea of tautology.

3. Of what John spake of as in existence at his time, and then of the events in succession, with the circumstances attending each, by a transfer, with the order and succession of things, as they occurred.

4. The *DRAGON* is spoken of as one in actual existence, when John wrote ; and also as a Being, having existence in the *CELESTIAL REGIONS*, and yet having an ascendancy and government over some of the human family in this *TERRESTRIAL WORLD*—these associated ideas, should not be separated.

5. That a *Crown* denotes supreme government and authority ; and "*seven crowns*" are ascribed to him with *seven heads* ; which may be in order, and a *succession* of each other.

6. HE is called the *devil* and *satan*; and is said to rule or reign in the hearts of the children of disobedience; and also is styled the "*Prince of this world*."

7. The seven heads of the Roman empire; or different forms of government, while it remained ROME PAGAN, under diabolical influence, elucidates the *seven heads* of the dragon, as they succeeded each other, of which, imperial was the last.

8. The rise of the *beast* out of the *sea*, is mentioned; but not so of the dragon. Why? Because *he* was in actual existence when John wrote—whereas the *beast* was to come in future.

9. The *tail* of the dragon—i. e. latter part, would draw the *stars of heaven* and cast them to the earth:—Constantine's law religion.

10. The *beast* had seven heads but NO Crowns are ascribed to them; but there are TEN crowns ascribed to the *horns*; three more than the dragon had.

11. The crowns of the *dragon* were on the *heads*—those of the *beast* are on the *horns*. The difference of *number* and circumstance of placing them is a material thing, as a key to observation.

12. The dragon transferred his *power* and *seat*, and great AUTHORITY to the *beast*, i. e. from Paganism to the papacy, of many ages.

13. The *second beast* comes from the *earth*—ASIA—and exerciseth all the power of the *first beast* before him—which first *beast* arose from the *sea*, EUROPE.

14. The ascent of the *beast* from the bottomless pit—when the two *beasts* are together—and will be taken away at the battle of Armagaddon—when the Angel stands in the sun to call all of the fowls of heaven to the supper of the great God!!

15. After the ascent of the *beast* from the bottomless pit, and before the battle of Armagaddon, the mother of harlots sits as Queen—gets drunk with blood—and by the ten horns, is eaten and burnt with fire.

16. The *ten horns*, who transfer their power to the *beast*, after his ascent from the bottomless pit, still continue with him, after *they* destroy the whore, and aid in the execution of the *new mod-leism*, under severe penalties; for non-conformity, in the image worship.

17. Some messenger is raised up to proclaim the fall of Babylon.

18. Another is raised up to warn and testify against conformity to the *beast*, his image worship, or to acknowledge him, &c.

19. The two witnesses appear at Jerusalem, and are slain by the *beast*, who came from the pit.

20. Babylon is destroyed and the cities of the nations fall.

21. The resurrection of the witnesses and their ascent, convince 63,000, who give glory to God.

22. The Angel stands in the sun to call the fowls of heaven to the supper of the Great God; when the first and second beasts, or beast and false prophet are taken away, and cast into the lake of fire.

23. The thousand years begin, when Christ shall reign on the earth.

24. Satan is *first* bound in the other world; but we know not the time.

25. The loosing of Satan, and the falling away, which ripens the world for judgment; when satan is sent to the place where the beast and false prophet were sent before.

26. New Heaven and a new earth.

27. The mediatorial office is then resigned.

28. The consummation of all things.

In the town of S—, there was a man, whose actions exemplified the character of one, who neither feared God, man, or the devil; but he prepared a monument of marble for himself in the burying-ground, where he intended to be laid:—and all the poetry and *inscriptions* were neatly engraved except the *dates*, which were intended to be filled up afterwards. He requested me to stand by the monument and preach his *funeral* sermon from a text which he gave me—to commence about sunrise in the morning. The time being fixed, many came out to hear—and before meeting broke, the man was brought to his feelings. After this, the man lived a few months; and there appeared an alteration in his behaviour in the interim.

At the town of P—, a man of some property, had the weakness of *Bacchus*, “too much a drop a high!” But he was kind to the needy, and never was known to turn any away who applied to him in time of want. He waked up one morning, and observed—“This day God has given me to repent in!”—He continued in devotion—praying and desiring prayers—singing and wishing to hear singing, and to have the Scriptures read, &c. during the whole day—and then suddenly expired at night.

Thus it appears that God measured to him what he had shewn to others—he had shewed kindness and obtained mercy.

In a drunken frolic, one Indian killed another—the consequence was, life for life; the day and hour was fixed; but in the interim at liberty to go where he pleased. The Indian came into the settlement on the Mississippi and related the circumstance.—The white men advised him to run away. He replied, our law came from the Great Spirit; and by our law I ought to die. If I run away, the Great Spirit will be angry and not receive me, nor

give me good hunting ground—neither will my own father be glad to see me.

At the time appointed, the Indian came ; painted up, and singing a melodious war song ; he loaded a gun, handed it deliberately to a youth, of whom he was very fond, as a signal of readiness for the volley, and fell dead without a struggle, as he received the volley of balls—others being in ambush ready.

Was this the Indian's view of HONOR, or the force of *moral obligation* ! Or rather the former bottomed upon the latter ?

When at Louisville, on awakening in the morning, espied a pile of tracts in the corner of the room ; they were found, on examination, to be the third edition of a work—designed as a criticism on my reflections on the Church Government of Episcopacy—said to have been written by Bishop M——. But whoever was the author, he either must have been on the wrong side, or else not master of the subject.

He was once considered a republican, so was E. Cooper and Baskum, Waugh, and many others at the helm of affairs—but a change of circumstances brings a change of views, and practice, and principle, with mankind in general.

Paul submitted Timothy to the *prejudice* of Jews ; although circumcision or uncircumcision availed nothing, but the new creature.

Ordination is but a formal *ceremony*—and with a few others, answers the purpose of Clerical purposes, to keep the people in a state of subordination—yet there may be some *civil institutions*, in the present state of society, in which ceremonies are necessary, as in the conveyance of land, marriage, &c. &c.

Episcopal views of the subject of ordination are “by order and succession” from *Peter*. But Presbyterian ordination was, and is, derived from the PEOPLE, according to NEAL and TRUMBULL.

Episcopalians viewed the first day of the week as a time of *diversion* after the morning worship, until the puritans began the *latter mode* in the time of *Elizabeth*—and the *Presbyterians* perfected it in the days of Cromwell.

1. The Romans consider that the *Clergy* constitute the *Church* and their “*order and succession*” is claimed to be of divine origin—thus when in power in England.

2. When Henry VIII. shook off the Papal yoke, in order to obtain a new wife, the Church of England put up the same claim—of *DIVINE RIGHT* “by order and succession.”

3. When the Presbyterians cut off the head of Charles, and pulled down Episcopacy—the band and gown—by beheading Bishop Laud—claimed divine authority for their conduct.

4. When the *Independents* put down the “*Cloak*” or Presby-

terians, and formed the *Congregational* mode, they claimed *divine authority* for their proceedings.

5. The *Baptists* became very numerous in England—and for their mode of economy, claim *DIVINE AUTHORITY*.

6. The *Quakers* came on the stage and claim *divine authority* for their economy—but on a different plan from any of the preceding.

7. Up come the *Shakers*, and they claim *divine authority* for their government likewise.

8. Then up comes the Episcopal Methodist—and remarkable to tell, from the plea of *expediency*, in the days of Asbury, to that of *divinity*—by Dr. Bishop E——, a circumlocutious successor, of very modern date—which brings up the rear.

9. Then says one, "*Dowism*" holds the doctrine, "*That the way to God is open to every man alike.*" Hence equal rights, duties, and obligations, to each, and to all! On this ground there can be a general Judgment—and rewards according to the *deeds* done in the body—agreeable to natural justice, in the eye of a Moral Governor, who requireth, according to what he hath given.

Virginia was where the first *NAPIERS* were *bought* and *sold*—and there was the first of St. Domingo play in miniature, exemplified in the case of *Gen. Nat.*

South Carolina put in at the convention 1787, for twenty years grace to *import* the same—and in the last four years, by special act, such was the assiduity in the transportation, that there was not found *purchasers* enough, by the importers—without selling Dick, Tom and Moll by the pound—which was one dollar—which is an exhibition of the practical intoxication, on that delicate subject!

Caroline is still by her *digest*, through the whole time, attached to the King—and her arguments in favor of Nullification, exhibits her *love* to that Idol.

After the warning wrote in Charleston Jail for South Carolina, exhibiting the flight of the Quakers, &c. some affirmed that I must have known of the *association* of design upon "Mr." and "Mrs." by a different *colour*, and if they had me then, would know how to *dispose* of me, as *dried beef*, &c.

But the charge was false—I knew nothing about it—only such was the exercise of my mind, at that time, that I was led to write what I did in the Jail; and it came to the public light, about the time that thirty-five were sent off the stage, by human hands.

Afterwards Robert Y. Hayne, at Washington, enquired, when they might expect to see me again in the South? The answer was, that I should not like to trust myself with them any more.

Surely there is "*a cloud arising, though remote.*"

The "*sensorial power*" of the nervous system, accumulated and

expanded according to *Darwin's theory*, and the "*Halitus*" of North, may be one and the same thing, exemplified in what some call "*Animal Magnatism*;" and which operation, when it comes within the *sphere* of one, gives the *sensation* of attraction or aversion, MORALLY—and hence their company is agreeable or disagreeable, and that on the first sight and impulse of the mind; and has its influence and effect accordingly.

Let a man be prosecuted or have a case pending in Court, coming on before a strange judge—you catch the cut and glance of his eye, at *first sight*; and a tolerable judgment can be formed, which way *his* influence will go in the *case*; although it may be a day or two before the *cause* be called and tried.

Those who are well acquainted with "*Human Nature*," by experience and observation, can read the society or company which they are about to mingle with, provided they catch the physiognomy, or countenance, (which is an *index* of the mind) on the first glance. For first impressions are involuntary, and is simple NATURE DISPLAYED; but when they have time to recover themselves, then comes on ART—and where art exists, you know not where to meet a person, whether male or female!

Sympathy, *temptation* to seduction, love and hatred are all involuntary on our part, as it relates to the *first* impression. But as it relates to the *indulgence*, it requires the voluntary act and consent of the mind, or resistance by an embargo. For *love* and *affection* cannot be bought, if the sensation and principle be not there, money will not and cannot bring it.

Hence take care whom you TRUST and into whose hands you fall! For a bird at large, may range in ether, but when caged, its limits are confined! How different the situation and pleasure. Both have their convenience and inconvenience. There may be a comfortable warm room and plenty of food. There may be a want of both; and by confinement, the *power* of providing is excluded.

On the other hand, for the want of a dry warm cage and the proper attendance, one may suffer in the cold and perish by a lingering death with hunger—under circumstances beyond their present control.

To be under a good *influence* to unite with good, and thus be in the good sphere to feel good and to enjoy good, is the only good way.

By attention to this principle, evidence will preponderate inwardly, as a lamp to the feet, and a voice to direct on the subject of future practice.

In my Journal of 1816, the *remarks* on the system of conveyance of church property in the *deed of discipline*—that the General Conference was not known in law, and that their AUTHORITY

was only an ideal thing, except in a sectarian point of view; and that the meeting houses were deeded to no body in point of law, and that there would be cracking times by and by, &c. was by THEM considered as a piece of slander, bordering upon HIGH TREASON!

But after the publication of the New York *resolves*, and the Bishop's circular letter at Pittsburg—the opposition to both works was such, that hundreds read them to see the false statements and reflections of a crazy man, (so called) and found there was too much truth in the remarks. Hence the inquiry—shaking—split-off—expulsions and contentions, &c. about church property in point of law, which by the Supreme Court, has been determined in point of law, to be NULL and VOID in 1832!

When Asbury's letter (to clear *Snethen* and cast off all blame from him upon me, after the mock trial at Baltimore,) came to the Mississippi; a Camp Meeting was held near the *Red Lick*—I attended as a spectator—at communion, all who were in good standing in *other churches* were invited, and all others by EXPRESS negatived—this twice or thrice. I had never heard the like before—being in a tent, held my peace and kept my distance; many were minded I should speak on the stand! I was neutral and mute! But the opposition of the Preachers was such, that a mutiny began, which came very near breaking up the Camp Meeting; for there appeared a fixed determination, that if I should not hold forth, no body else should.

This being perceived, a council was held, and one of the Preachers, who was supposed to have the greatest influence with me, was appointed and requested to persuade me to overlook what was passed, and for the sake of the cause of God to occupy the stand, to appease the public mind.

Such trifling conduct appeared contemptible to me; but for the sake of the "*cause*," I mounted the stage to address the people—just then a large limb of a dry tree fell into a *vacancy*, where there were hundreds of people around, this gave me an opportunity of beginning upon the doctrine of Providence—my strength arose, the Lord laid too his helping hand, and many were soon laid on the ground, as slain or wounded; and a refreshing time it was!

Many attempt to "*cart the ark*," when it should be "*shouldered*," and to steady it by human reason, systematically, that when, or by the time they have regulated the *work* in their own way, God hath nothing more for them to do!

It is well to see and attend to the openings and leadings of a good influence in the order of Providence, and to follow it.

When in Boston, having had the privilege of Bromfield Lane meeting house; after meeting, I mentioned where the "*cry from*

the wilderness" might be had, which gave offence, as the work hinted on the subject of *Episcopacy*; and in their paper, appeared a piece, headed "*Lorenzo Dow vs. Episcopacy.*" And the doors were closed. Then the Bishop H. sent letters ahead to block up my way, at Marblehead, I attempted to occupy the public square, having obtained permission; and no other place opening, but before I had got through, the *constable* came to pull me down. What a difference between this visit and a former! Then all was peace and friendship!

At Salem an attempt was made to block up my way, but the door was opened; and the same at Lynn! Also at Lowell, the preacher was from my native town, but he was the Bishop's tool, hence after one meeting, I occupied the street three times, and returned.

The imposter under my name and on my credit was well received here, better than myself.

When at Zanesville, the Court House came near breaking down by the weight of the assembly, which caused a dispersal. "The Protestant Methodist meeting house, would not hold the assembly; and as some had interrupted in the public meeting, it was feared that the place would obtain a bad name; hence a request that I would stop and hold meeting on the public square, which was prepared by the proper authority, and the peace was kept accordingly.


This gave me a fair opportunity to explain my views on some parts of prophecy, and the movement of the order of *Jesuits* in this country; there being three *popish priests* present and about three thousand people.

The stage house was kept by *Romans*, and the house where I staid, was beset by the *Romans*, the greater part of the night; so it was thought inexpedient to venture to take the stage. But a return carriage from Wheeling, being arrived in town, a passage was procured in that, in such a manner, that the driver knew not that I was inside until we were on the road some miles. He was so elated with the *prize*, that whenever he stopped to refresh himself and horses, that it gave me a chance to address the people, and so sweep every town upon the way.

At Norfolk in Virginia, the civil authority would not consent for me to occupy any public place; hence there was an interdiction. So also at Charleston in S. Carolina, and Augusta in Georgia. But at Savannah the MAYOR was a JEW—he gave me permission on the public green, and moreover sent constables and authority to protect me and keep the peace more than once or twice.

One man, who sometimes has been taken for me, by the name of F * * * * on, was on board a steam boat and flung into the Monongahela river, as was supposed, his body being found there.

A. P. was frequently taken for me—met with much abuse; being several times taken up by the police, from an excitement by his testimony against the *practice* of the *times*, which gave them great offence. He at length was found without a **HEAD**, nothing but the body remaining.

A man who was a stranger in Philadelphia, received a **DIRK** at the  door of my lodging, he being (by mistake, as was supposed,) taken for another person, his dress was similar to my own. I had left the city just before.

How many instances might be mentioned where individuals have followed me, for reasons best known to themselves; sometimes in silence, at other times with threats; and at times to induce me to go one side for a private interview, under suspicious circumstances, which in reason, was but judicious to avoid.

The dangers by land and sea—the perils in the wilderness, and among the *Heathen* and by *false brethren*, are and have been many. But thus far the Lord hath kept and delivered me from the **PAWS** and **MOUTH** of the **LION** and of the **BEAR**!

The Attorney General for the U. S. is a Roman. The Chaplain to the Senate, is a D. D. and also a *Jesuit*. (So much for the ambition and influence of disappointed men.) The wife of the Secretary L. is a *Roman* and leads him by the nose.

The buildings and lots on Capitol Hill, are mostly owned by Romans round about, with a church, &c. &c.

In the *District*, there are Romans enough, by the systematical order Jesuitically, to cut off the President and all the officers of state, to seize the Marine barracks and Navy yard—the magazines, &c. besides the treasury and all the public buildings, including the three cities, in one single night—if one may judge from their number and arrangements, and the standing position they have taken.

Their Colleges and institutions of Literature are beyond other societies—their influence with their own people is a unit, for they all pull together.

The *points* which they have seized upon for establishments in different parts of the country, as a judicious introduction for a permanency, exhibits a deliberate premeditated procedure from first to last, within this 18 if not 31 years past.—Whether we look into the six New England States—the Middle, South or West—Eastport, Burlington, Boston, Newport, Providence, Hartford, &c. &c. &c. presents the work to be great and uniform, in order to embrace and seize upon the whole for an empire.

The increase of nunneries, where the ladies are imprisoned under the name of *religion*; and the chastisement of the body by the priest, as a fatherly action to the people, for the good of the soul—the subterraneous vaults, as a rod of dread to keep them in obedience—donation bibles destroyed, as spiritual judges and guides, which if done by another, would be *theft* in the eye of the Law—but being done in and under the name of religion, they must go free; because their orthodox Faith is the only true one, and they are not bound to keep faith with others, who are all heretics! A “PRIVILEGED ORDER” indeed!!!

The *Quakers* opened their large meeting houses, at New Garden, Ohio and Indiana, where the yearly meetings were held, and also many more in different parts of the U. States, and some in Europe, where I was permitted to hold meetings.

These people have kept their plainness of language and dress, agreeable to primitive simplicity, for so long standing, beyond any society with which I am acquainted; and their children are polished and improved beyond any other breed of young folks, as it relates to mind and manners, as far as my acquaintance and observation extends: whatever may be their departure from first principles in other things.

The *Jailor* at Charleston S. C. was a *JEW*—his wife died, and “ten men” came to have prayers twice a-day, in *Hebrew*—a lamp kept burning, and the family sat on the floor. They permitted our attending with them. At the synagogue, great respect is shown to strangers—they gave books in English, what they read in *Hebrew*—turning to and keeping pace, which, with the explanation given as they went along, was very satisfactory to me.

They are a unit from America to India, and their leading people are of the fraternity of *ancient masons*! They admitted that Christianity was as good for the Christians, as Judaism was for them. Their liberality of sentiment, where there is sincerity of heart, is beyond what most possess. And if they will *Jew* people, they cannot flourish among *YANKEES*, who are said to “*out-jew*” them in trading. But the term “*YANKEE*” is a character renowned; and of which we, nor I, have occasion to be ashamed of, as a community of people.

For 1800 years, the Jews have been kept as a body from the *promised Land*, and now appears to be the first time of opening as a dawning presage to their return.

Prophetic history foretold it would be so; and a superintending Providence, has exemplified it.

The wandering Arabs, whose hand is against every man, will seize the fruit before it gets ripe, and take from the possessor what they please! And if perchance, the occupier's fruit gets ripe, it

must be hid in the caves or among the rocks, &c. to prevent it being taken away.

Four years ago the Pacha of *Egypt* received honorary titles from England, which, (with other circumstances involving trade) made me write the idea of his setting up his independence of the Grand Sultan under *ENGLISH* protection; which no doubt is secretly done, that the way to the *East may be prepared*," by the isthmus of Suez. *RUSSIA* gives money to help the Pacha on.—*CATHOLIC* France has aided with men; and so the matter goes.

The "*Jew of kings*" may have a hand in all this also. For the *Pacha*, though a *MAHOMETAN*, shows such liberality to the *JEWS* and *CHRISTIANS*, as no Jew or Christian has done to them. But there may be policy in all this—yet beyond, there may be a wheel within a wheel, the providence of God.

The Euphrates, or Turkish empire, is drying up very fast within a very few years. The *Sultan* carried the half moon in their colors, to denote a government over one half of the world.

The Russians have taken several Turkish provinces on the Euphrates—two provinces on the west side of the Black sea, have gone off to govern themselves—Greece with a large territory is gone off also. Algiers, on the coast of Barbary is in the power of France. The Pacha of Egypt, has taken Egypt, Canaan, and the plains of Babylon, &c. &c.

Hence the Sultan has but his capital with a small territory around, like a garden spot left.

Hence we see the "*waters of the Euphrates*," (by the phial of the sixth angels) so far dried up, that we may soon expect the three unclean spirits to appear consolidating the whole ancient scripture world, under three general heads—for *ARMAGEDDON*!

DOROTHY RIPLEY—the first time I saw her, was in Albany, when she was going to visit the western Indians. The second time in New York, when I was about to sail for Europe. The fourth in Philadelphia, when she bought a book saying, "*Lorenzo, has thee got any money? I feel as if thee had none!*" which was the case; I had been without any for several days. The fifth time was in *England*, where we travelled together, holding meetings in testimony, for several hundred miles. The last times were at Philadelphia and Camden, at the latter place the Quakers opened their meeting house, where we held meeting, after which, she went to France and England: and then returned to America; soon after which, she suddenly died, in Virginia—having crossed the ocean nineteen times; on religious visits.

She travelled by *Faith*, through many discouragements and dangers—hence much resolution and perseverance; through much opposition in different parts. She belonged to no particular society, but was a kind of Quakeress more than any thing else.

But few people were well acquainted with Dorothy—her private life, her walk with God, her unbounded kindness to the poor! The visiting the sick, in prisons and hospitals, &c. &c. is far beyond any thing I have ever known in any other person in the course of my extensive acquaintance with mankind!

Many things which she had been heard to relate in America, I saw;—those which she had spoken of; and they related a corresponding testimony in England, of which country she was a native, in Whitby, in Yorkshire.

She has closed this mortal career, and now is beyond the reach of the tongue of slander, where I have no doubt, the wicked shall cease from troubling and the weary are at rest; there to sing the song of Moses and of the Lamb for ever and ever, where the faithful in the Lord shall meet to part no more!

Neither superstition, bigotry or sectarianism will answer the purpose—Elijah supposed he was the only one, who was accepted, that was left; but the answer was, I have reserved to myself seven thousand in Israel, who have not bowed the knee to Baal!

Conformity to the will of the *Master*, is the sacrifice that *he* requires of man, whether in a society or belonging to none.

They that “*hear and keep*”—“*heareth, and doeth*”—“*hear and follow*”—is the testimony of the *character* that is accepted with him, who judges in Righteousness! From the east, west, north and south, shall *they* come; whilst the opposite character will be rejected and cast out, however exalted be their standing in their own conceit and fanciful imagination!

The Rev. Benjamin Jones—travelled his circuit on foot—he was an INJURED man—was taken sick with a fever, and although one hundred and forty pulse to the minute, be considered death—yet from the exaggeration by the excitement and aggravation, that death seemed to be counteracted and thwarted, the pulse being brought up to 180, or 190 times to the minute, from the usage of others! Hence it seemed he lived longer than what otherwise he would.

What must have been his exquisite feelings in that suffering and conflicting *scene and death*!

So poor Truman Bishop. His character was unimpeached—his conduct being as an even thread, whether in the pulpit in public, or in his family.

Yet he was accused with nothing but preaching where a sycophant, (who found that episcopacy is every thing) thought he should not; and hence brought up charges, but he was honorably acquitted.

The question arose, if he might preach for the *masons*—the answer was, preach for any body betwixt heaven and hell.

From the tyrannical conduct of that individual, about two hundred and fifty men with their wives and children withdrew from society; and left the meeting in a ceremonious and formal manner, like the children of Israel departing out of Egypt.

The question was then agitated, whether T. B. might preach to that separate society? The answer was, no!!! So they of course must be considered beyond the *gates* of hell.

Common place trials, to those of little experience, seem *great*, but they are bearable!

But to try one to the quick, to exquisite sensibility, who can bear it? The nervous system must be agitated, and the body feel the effect—a sinking under it, a giving away of nature.—Thus Br. Truman Bishop, who commenced his travels about the time that I did, he being about my age—was sent out of the world by wounded feelings, no doubt sooner than otherwise would have been the case!

The *address* to the preachers, and to the members, &c. &c. are worthy to be reprinted and kept in every house, as the language of an honest and dying man! But his mind was supported by the consolations of Divine grace.

Those whose lives were careless and afterwards become the subjects of religion by experience—then with but a short race, quit the stage of action—such persons generally go triumphantly happy.

But those whose lives were naturally steady and habits good, when they obtain religion, there is but a very small change, visible in their conduct.

Such persons as live religion with fidelity a number of years, when they quit the world, there is not any thing very remarkable attending it: but they seem to die as they live—*calm* and *PEACE*!

The earth draws the carnal mind to the earth. But the Heavenly mind is drawn to heavenly things, by a Divine influence, which gives an *earnest* of future inheritance, or a foretaste of joys to come—*glory* in the *SOUL*!

END OF THE JOURNAL.

BEAUTY OF WESLEY.

Extracted from Rev. J. Wesley's Journal.

"1788, SUNDAY, May 18. I subjoined a short account of Methodism; *particularly insisting on the following circumstances.* There is no other religious society under Heaven, which requires nothing of men in order to their admission into it, but a desire to save their souls. Look all around you, you cannot be admitted into the Church or Society of the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, or any others, unless you hold the same opinions with them, and adhere to the same mode of worship. The Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion, but they *think* and let *think*. Neither do they impose any particular mode of worship, but you may continue to worship in your former manner, be it what it may. Now I do not know any other religious society, either ancient or modern, wherein such liberty of conscience is now allowed, or has been allowed since the age of the Apostles! Here is our glorying. And a glorying peculiar to us! What Society shares it with us?

APPENDIX.

CONTINENT OF AMERICA.

State of Virginia, Richmond Dist.

DEAR LORENZO—

4th February, 1806.

I expect you will be surprised and disappointed on the arrival of this letter, without complying with your request—“*send on your manuscript.*” I do assure you it is not for want of inclination, but the want of time to collect the materials for such a work. The vacancy wherein I flattered myself (when with you) I could occupy in the business you required. On my arrival at Lynchburg and New London, from the state of things I was continually upon the push; I went so far as to take with me the scattered accounts, in order to select therefrom, but could not take nor make time, so as to be composed for such a work; but as I cannot comply with your request in that, I will inclose to you “*Dr. Jennings's Vindication of Camp meetings,*” and “a short account of a *Camp meeting* in North America.

I received yours from New York a little before you embarked for Europe, together with your *Companion's* inclusive, and doubt not but that you have had the prayers and well wishes of numbers of your American Brethren and Friends, as well as myself, for your health and preservation at sea, and safe landing in Europe, and also for your friendly reception and usefulness among our *European Brethren*.

We are informed in Scripture, that we should “*render to all their ducs,*” and if you have your's it cannot be denied that your ministerial labors, amidst your indefatigable exertions, has been, and still remains a blessing to hundreds and thousands; and as I have been much in your company for the term of about four years, I have tracked your way in Georgia as P. Elder of the District there, as also in Virginia—and have had an opportunity of forming a considerable judgment—am conscious that many stubborn Infidels will praise God in time and eternity, that they ever heard the sound of your voice. Yet sensible I am that you have many enemies, and not confined to the irreligious alone. Yet for my own part, (although your manner has been much out of the common order,) that piety and extensive usefulness, as an instrument to pull down Calvinism, and Deism, and that accompanied with visible and sudden awakenings on the consciences of Sinners, and which has terminated in (as I believe) the sound conversion of many, has ever been a motive in me to bear with your apparent irregularities, and to encourage, by every possible effort consistent with propriety, rather than to “*forbid one so evidently casting out Devils in the name of the Lord!*” and, withal, one whom I conceived to be orthodox in the doctrine, and a friend to the cause of **METHODISM**.

Had you been with me the Camp meeting following at Kingswood Chapel, in the Amherst Circuit the first of November, from Friday until Tuesday, you would have discovered on your arrival a much better prospect than we saw by the first appearance at the Marquest Roads in Louisa. Providence so ordered that the week preceding which was the Quarterly Meeting at Keys, the weather was wet and cold and attended with snow, which in all probability moved the brethren to fortify themselves; so they marked off the ground, and felled trees, and built seven small houses, covered with boards, and snugly filled in with mortar, and six out of the seven had fire places, with doors hung on hinges, and fastening with a wooden button, and one of these house tents was set apart wholly for the ministers. On my arrival

Thursday evening I collected those who were on the ground, at the sound of the **RAM'S HORN**, sung a **MILLENNIUM** hymn, and joined in prayer for God's blessing on the meeting; and a melting time we had, which I received as an omen of good to come, and mentioned on the stage at the commencement of the meeting next day; if ever I felt an earnest of good to come, I felt it at my arrival on that ground: and though we had fewer preachers and people than usual at such meetings, the Lord was with us in majesty and great glory; sinners were awakened and converted, insomuch that it was adjudged not less than sixty souls obtained a saving conversion at that meeting, and many were engaged for, and I trust obtained the blessing of sanctification, and forty were admitted into the Church. Satan here as at other meetings of the kind, shewed his disapprobation at our breaking down his kingdom: a man threatened to break my neck; another fired off a pistol or gun. On Sunday evening I read the law, "Ten lashes on his or her bare back, well laid on." The work from this, as from other camp meetings, spread in every direction: one wagon company from near Lynchburg, the distance of thirty miles, had occasion to stop on their return near a tavern, and being all on fire singing the praises of God, several young people came out to the wagon, and being taken by the hand by those in the wagon were helped in, and being touched to the heart, they professed religion before they parted: God's blessing appeared with them as with the ark in the days of old. The meeting at the Marquest Road, terminated in the conversion of about thirty souls and a spread of religion therefrom. The meeting at Reedy Church, Carolina, the week before, was like the bread on the water. I am informed all the sinners in the wagon from Richmond obtained religion before they got back to town, and a work took place in Richmond therefrom, which proved the happy conversion of many, and added many to the church. The interview you had with Robert Sample, the Baptist minister, has (as I am told) greatly weakened his influence and opened the eyes of the people. The discerning worldlings, I am told, burlesqued Mr. Sample as follows: two officers were represented on the field of battle, and one being found too weak, dropped his sword and ran off saying "sword, fight for yourself." I suppose you recollect Mr. S. went off before you were done, and left his book.

The meeting at Roper's Chapel in New Kent, where our opposition was greatest, had been wonderfully blessed. Two of the old lady's daughters converted, who granted us the privilege of the Camp ground, and many others. Some of those daring opposers have been severely scourged since—**OLD SAM'S MONUMENT** yet sticks to the tree—it was a providence sure enough that it rained as we agreed. I am told since, the Collegians at Williamsburg, backed by their President the Bishop, say, had it not rained they would have been upon us. *So the beloved clouds came and helped us.* The work is going on in a lively degree about Roper's yet; our preacher, the Magistrate John Saunders, who was afraid to befriend us at that time, writes me since thus, "When you appointed our camp meeting some time last summer, so weak was my faith, and so hardened did I believe the people in our neighborhood to be, that it was a query with me whether one soul would get converted at it; yea, I feared, (although I can truly say I was a friend to the institution that through the wickedness of the wicked it would be productive of more harm than good (accidentally). But oh! the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God; how unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out! may light ever shine on that day that the camp at Roper's commenced. Whenever you see Doctor Jennings, of Campbell, please present my compliments to him, and inform him that if there was but one of his pamphlets in the world on the subject of defending camp meetings, I would willingly, gladly, give its weight in gold than see it no more."

I am just now from the Virginia Conference at Norfolk. The Bishop Asbury and Whatcoat were well, and we had a time similar to a Camp meeting. Preaching went on by night and day in both towns, and souls were awakened and converted; and although Satan raged, some spat in the faces of the Ministers, and one Minister had his nose wrung, they bore it with christian fortitude, and I trust 100 souls were converted during the time. Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to men.—My respects to Sister Dow.—The Lord bless you both and bring us all to glory, prays your brother and friend in Jesus.

STITH MEAD.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Warrington, April 16th, 1807.

To the Church of God in every place:

This cometh in behalf of Lorenzo Dow, itinerant preacher of the Gospel of God our Saviour: We, the undersigned, ministers and members of the people (called Methodist Quakers) late in connexion with the old body of Methodists, do testify, that although his appearance amongst us was in much weakness, many suspicions, good and evil report, his word was with power and the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven. From the time we have been favoured with his labours, he hath conducted himself on all occasions (in prosperity and adversity) as one whose sole aim is the glory of God and the welfare of mankind, far beyond his strength in labours more abundant, travelling night and day for the accomplishment of his vast desire to preach the gospel of the kingdom to many perishing for lack of knowledge, and we are witnesses his labour hath not been in vain in the Lord: Many of the stones of the street hath been raised to be sons and daughters of Abraham—backsliders reclaimed, and many of infidel principles shaken. From the impressive manner of his life, many, sunk into Laodicean ease, have been stirred up to glorify God with their body, soul, and substance, whom we trust and pray will remain stars in the church militant, and afterwards form one part of his crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord. Amen.

Being about to depart from this to his native land, we pray that the guidance of the same Holy Hand, which through a train of Divine Providence cast his lot amongst us, may conduct and protect him over the great deep to the American shores in peace and safety. Amen.

| | |
|----------------|---------------|
| R. HARRISON, | } Preachers.* |
| RICHARD MILLS, | |
| W. M'GINNIS, | |
| PETER PHILIPS, | |
| G. BRIMELOW. | |

* Also signed by upwards of one hundred persons more.

Dublin, October 18th, 1806.

My dear brother Dow,

As you are about to leave this city, I send you this small testimony of my esteem and love, as it may on some occasions open your way among strangers.

I had but few opportunities of attending your meetings; when I did, I had no doubt of the divine blessing attending your ministry: on other occasions, I have had the fullest proof, that although you were confined in your place of preaching, the word of the Lord was not bound, but became the power of God to the salvation of many precious souls. I suppose not less than thirty of these have, on your recommendation, joined the society; several of whom are rejoicing in God, and living to his glory in newness of life.

When you formerly visited Ireland, I witnessed the power of God attending your ministry in several instances, and I rejoice in the continuation of his grace to you. From all I have seen and heard respecting you, I acknowledge the hand of God, who is now as formerly, abasing the pride of man in the instruments by whom he works. —(See 1 Cor. i. 26—29.)

I have no doubt of your candid attachment to the Methodists, in affection and interest as well as doctrine. I believe your aim is to spend and be spent in bringing sinners to the Lord Jesus, and do therefore cordially "bid you God speed." May you have many souls given you in every place, to form your crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord! May the eternal God be your refuge, and protect you, and your dear wife and little one, is the prayer of

Your affectionate brother in Christ,

MATTHEW LANKTREE.*

Rev. LORENZO DOW.

* Superintendent Preacher of the Methodist Society in Dublin.

Dublin, April 21st, 1807.

My dear brother Dow,

I was in expectation of hearing from you ever since your departure. At present I must be brief. Whatever be the ultimate result of the emigrating spirit which is at present moving so many of our dear friends to leave us, I cannot tell. This I know, we already feel in a distressing way its painful effects—Our hands hang down, and our enemies rejoice. May the Lord interpose, and order it for our good!

I cannot unravel the providence which prevented brother Joyce from proceeding along with you. I fear he was not in the will of God.

With respect to the fruit of your labours, the general testimony of all I have conversed with has been, that the Lord has owned your ministry in various parts of Ireland. My desire and prayer for you is, that you may feel the Lord's presence and the power of God with you more fully than ever. I would thank you for a few lines before you leave England. My love in the Lord Jesus to sister Dow, and all our friends who accompany you.

I am your affectionate brother in Christ,

MATTHEW LANKTREE.

Mr. DOW, Liverpool.

My dear wife sends her love to sister Dow and you. The class under her care is going on well in general.

The following letter was from an old *friend*, and once a Colleague, who lives in a BARN, on the road from *Utica* to *Buffalo*—as the Methodists are able to afford him no better. I had not seen him for about eight years, until this summer, at his *residence*. As we were parting, he asked me if I knew what I had come into that part of the country for? I told him I did not know—only a *desire* led me to that sudden excursion!

Sullivan, Sept. 24, 1816.

My Dear Brother, and Faithful in the Lord,—

I AND mine are in health, and two, if not three, of my little boys happy in the Lord since you left me, and numbers of others date their conviction from your visit—it was not in vain. Preachers generally, and people universally, bid you God speed, and pray for your return. In eternity, if not before, you will be satisfied your visit was from God. It was to me like the coming of Titus. I am your friend—I never was your enemy, and I trust in God I never shall be—and mountains rise, and oceans roll, to sever us, in vain. Five or six hundred of your Journal can be sold in this country; you may send as many as you think proper—I will devote my time, and do the best I can. I have seen Smith M. and he seems satisfied. I have wrote a little, and almost wish it had been less. I am not fond of novelty. I have been a cypher for many years—a number placed at the left hand, might attract attention, and set me as a mark for poisoned arrows to throw their deadly hate of wormwood, slander and envenomed lies. But you are welcome to what I have wrote to use it as you please. I have not finished, neither could I, for the more I write, the more I hate the B.'s power—such power in all its grades as overleaps the bounds of Christian liberty civil or religious. As for names, they are nothing. Bishop, elder, priest, deacon, dean or preacher—it is all the same. It is the power they exercise; but how this power extends is not easily defined. But some power they must have, or they could not lord it over God's heritage. Yet it was limited power, or they would not have been enjoined to obey them that had the rule over them—for if unlimited, they would force them to obey—Did I say obey? 'Tis not obedience. I see nought but power. A medium then is best, where all distinctions fall—and names that imply equality; as brethren, friends, disciples—and each to act and speak for the good of the whole. Then in proportion to the good they do, their influence would extend, and no further, and this would be agreeable to our Lord's words—He that will be chief shall be servant of all. The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship, &c. but it shall not be so

among you. No bishop of bishops—no arbitrary power—no lordly authority—no unlimited exercise of power—no saying to this one, Go, or to that one, Do—but, submit yourselves one to another, as is fit in the Lord, as the servants of Christ, and not the servants of men. An instance we have of one casting out devils in the name of Christ, and the apostles forbidding him, because he did not follow them—that is, he went alone, and this they concluded was not right. Therefore they must exercise their authority—put a stop to the disorder—let the devil keep possession, rather than break in upon good order—steady habits. But hear the decision of the Judge: Forbid him not—for there is no man that can do a miracle in my name that can lightly speak evil of me. This does not look much like the despotic government too much exercised every where among the clergy over the commonality. I see no gospel law that authorises any man, or set of men, to forbid, or put up bars to hinder or stop any man from preaching the gospel, who casts out devils in the name of Christ—that is, reforms and turns the sinner from his sinful ways. Hence all power, usurped or delegated, that can stop, that does stop men from doing good, is not of God. Hence, to confine them in prison—to put them on the limits, within parish lines, as the standing order, or to station them on circuits, are nothing but prisons of a larger size, and saying in effect, you must abide within bounds of such a place, or be considered criminally guilty. For they are indirectly forbid to preach the gospel beyond their circuit, bounds, or parish lines. But the master says, Go ye into all the world—not, stay in narrow bounds, by walls and grates confined—preach the gospel to every creature—elect and reprobate, and not, preach by the year or years together, to a little number of cold, formal professors, because a great man, or number of great men, fixes your station, and commands you to stay and preach to those whited sepulchres. Ye men of God, arise, and break these chains that bind the servants of the living God, to keep them from obeying the call of God! The dragon gave the beast his seat, and power, and great authority. This was the pope, rising above all power, civil and ecclesiastical—that is, becoming a bishop of bishops, as well as king of kings. The second beast made an image to the first beast. Now an image is not the beast, but it resembles him. Now if the first beast was an overgrown power in the pope, what is the image that the second beast made, but the religious establishments among the protestants—the despotic power exercised by the clergy, as bishops, presbyters, or preachers in their different grades, over the commonality and one another—a power in the image or likeness of the pope, viz. to rise above their brethren, exercise an undue authority over, and lord it over God's heritage;—rule the whole Church either positively or negatively: positively, by taking in or putting out whoever they please, and when they please—or, negatively, the preacher's vote to put a check upon the whole church, as some of the Presbyterian churches; or where the preacher chooses a select number to try members; or where they cannot be tried without the preacher, and where the preacher can appeal from the judgment of the whole society, or even the select number, (selected by himself) to the official members, and these official members, the far greater part, put in and out as often as he sees fit, as may please his fancy, or suit his humour best—as in many instances among the Methodists, and all this without the church having any appeal in all this, and no redress can they get unless the preacher is immoral, or breaks the discipline; and even then he must be tried by preachers of the same grade with himself, if they can be had, like a jury of doctors to judge of doctors' prices. This has so much the resemblance of the beast, that, if it be not his image, it is so nearly like it that there is no word that can make a proper distinction. The people are mere cyphers; they can have no choice in their preachers—for, as they must take such as the Bishop sends, it cannot be a choice; they may be pleased with the preacher and not wish for another, but this does not prove the people free: for they must take such as comes, ordained or not ordained, gifts or no gifts, profitable or unprofitable, is all the same: it is them or none for them; you must have and attend their meetings, or be called to account by them for non attendance, and sometimes put back on trial, and sometimes expelled the society, and if you have a good preacher you may lose him. The P. Elder can remove him, and often does, without giving an account of any of his matters. He is the Bishop's agent, and qualified or unqualified, pleasing or displeasing to the preachers, if they please the Bishop they must be received; they must be obeyed: there is no appeal; he is the Bishop's agent; the preachers must submit; travelling and local: for he takes charge of all the official characters in his district, presides at the Q. M. Conferences, and gives the casting vote; changes the preachers as he sees fit; no appeal; he is the Bishop's agent; a wise change or a foolish one:

no appeal ; if he hears to advice from preachers or people it is because he pleases so to do, there is no discipline that requires him either to ask or hear advice. This is too much :—if they do not lord over their flock, it is not because the discipline does not give them the power ; but some do it, and all can do it, and if this is not the image of the beast it is the mark of the beast. I have given you a small sketch, and must leave it unfinished.

I am yours, in the bonds of a peaceful Gospel.

TIMOTHY DEWEY.

THOMAS COKE TO JOHN WESLEY.

“ HONORED AND DEAR SIR,

“ The more maturely I consider the subject, the more expedient it appears to me, *that the power of ordaining others should be received by me from you*, by the imposition of your hands ; and that you should lay hands on brother Whatcoat and brother Vasey, for the following reasons : 1. It seems to me the most scriptural way, and most agreeable to the practice of the primitive churches. 2. I may want all the influence in America which you can throw into my scale. Mr. Brackenbury informed me at Leeds, that he saw a letter in London from Mr. Asbury, in which he observed, ‘ that he would not receive any person deputed by you to take any part of the superintendency of the work invested in him,’ or words which evidently implied so much. I do not find any the least degree of prejudice in my mind against Mr. Asbury ; on the contrary, a very great love and esteem ; and I am determined not to stir a finger without his consent, unless mere sheer necessity obliges me, but rather to lie at his feet in all things. But as the journey is long, and you cannot spare me often, and it is well to provide against *all events*, and an authority *formally* received from you, will (I am conscious of it) be fully admitted by the people ; and my exercising the office of ordination without that *formal* authority may be disputed, if there be any opposition on any other account ; I could therefore *earnestly* wish you would exercise that power in this instance, which, I have not the shadow of a doubt, but God hath invested you with for the good of our connexion. I think you have tried me too often to doubt whether I will, in any degree, use the power you are pleased to invest me with, farther than I believe absolutely necessary for the prosperity of the work. 3. In respect of my brethren, (brothers Whatcoat and Vasey) it is very uncertain indeed, whether any of the clergy, mentioned by brother Rankin, will stir a step with me in the work, except Mr. Jarrit ; and it is by no means certain that even he will choose to join me in ordaining ; and propriety and universal practice make it expedient that I should have two presbyters with me in this work. In short, it appears to me that every thing should be prepared, and every thing proper be done that can possibly be done *this side the water*. You can do all this in Mr. C——n’s house, in your chamber ; and afterward (according to Mr. Fletcher’s advice)* give us letters testimonial of the different offices with which you have been pleased to invest us. For the purpose of laying hands on brothers Whatcoat and Vasey I can bring Mr. Creighton down with me, by which you will have two presbyters with you. In respect to brother Rankin’s argument that you will escape a

* Mr. Fletcher attended the conference in 1784, which was one of the meetings Mr. Wesley called in order to consider the subject.

great deal of odium by omitting this, it is nothing. Either it will be known, or not known ; if not known, then no odium will arise ; but if known, you will be obliged to acknowledge that I acted under your direction, or suffer me to sink under the weight of my enemies, with perhaps, your brother at the head of them. I shall entreat you to ponder these things.

"Your most dutiful,

"T. COKE."*

COKE'S LETTER TO BISHOP WHITE.

"RIGHT REVEREND SIR :

Permit me to intrude a little on your time, upon a subject of great importance.

You, I believe, are conscious that I was brought up in the church of England, and have been ordained a presbyter of that church. For many years I was prejudiced, even I think, to bigotry, in favor of it ; but through a variety of causes and incidents, to mention which would be tedious and useless, my mind was exceedingly biased on the other side of the question. In consequence of this, I am not sure but I went further in the separation of our church in America, than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had right so to do, with episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that our entire separation should take place. He being pressed by our friends on this side the water, for ministers to administer the sacraments to them (there being very few clergy of the church of England then in the States) *he went farther I am sure, than he would have gone if he had foreseen some events which followed.* And this I am certain of—that he is now sorry for the separation.

But what can be done for a re-union which I wish for : and to accomplish which, Mr. Wesley, I have no doubt, would use his influence to the utmost ? The affection of a very considerable number of the preachers and most of the people, is very strong towards him, notwithstanding the excessive ill usage he received from a few. My interest also is not small ; and both his and mine would readily, and to the utmost, be used to accomplish that (to us) very desirable object ; if a readiness were shown by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church to re-unite.

It is even to your church an object of great importance. We have now above 60,000 adults in our society in these States ; and about 250 travelling ministers and preachers ; besides a great number of local preachers, very far exceeding the number of travelling preachers ; and some of these local preachers are men of considerable abilities ; but if we number the Methodists as most people number the members of their church, viz.—by the families which constantly attend the divine ordinances in their places of worship, they will make a larger body than you possibly conceive. The society, I believe, may be safely multiplied by five on an average, to give us our stated congregations ; which will then amount to 300,000. And if the calculation, which I think some eminent writers have made, be just, that three-

* Dr. Whitehead observes, "This letter is taken from an attested copy of the doctor's letter, in Mr. Charles Wesley's handwriting."

fifths of mankind are un-adult (if I may use the expression) at any given period, it will follow that all the families, the adults of which form our congregations in these states, amount to 750,000. About one-fifth of these are blacks.

The work now extends in length from Boston to the South of Georgia; and in breadth, from the Atlantic to lake Champlain, Vermont, Albany, Redstone, Holstein, Kentucky, Cumberland, &c.

But there are many hindrances in the way. Can they be removed?

1. Our ordained ministers will not, ought not to, give up their right of administering the sacraments. I don't think that the generality of them, perhaps none of them, would refuse to submit to a re-ordination, if other hindrances were removed out of the way. I must here observe, that between 60 and 70 only, out of the two hundred and fifty, have been ordained presbyters, and about 60 deacons (only.) The presbyters are the choicest of the whole.

2. The other preachers would hardly submit to re-union, if the possibility of their rising up to ordination depended on the present bishops in America. Because, though they are all, I think, I may say, zealous, pious, and very useful men, yet they are not acquainted with the learned languages. Besides, they would argue; if the present bishops would waive the article of the learned languages, yet their successors might not.

My desire of a re-union is so sincere and earnest, that these difficulties make me tremble: and *yet something must be done before the death of Mr. Wesley, otherwise I shall despair of success*: for though my influence among the Methodists in these states as well as in Europe, is, I doubt not, increasing, yet *Mr. Asbury, whose influence is very capital, will not easily comply, nay, I know he will be exceedingly averse to it.*

In Europe, where some steps had been taken, tending to a separation, all is at an end. Mr. Wesley is a determined enemy of it, and I have lately borne an open and successful testimony against it.

Shall I be favored with a private interview with you in Philadelphia? I shall be there, God willing, on Tuesday the 17th day of May. If this be agreeable, I'll beg of you just to signify it in a note directed to me at Mr. Jacob Baker's, merchant, Market-street, Philadelphia: or if you please by a few lines sent me by the return of post, Philip Rogers, Esq. in Baltimore, from yourself or Dr. Magaw; and I will wait upon you with my friend Dr. Magaw. We can then enlarge on the subjects.

I am conscious of it that secrecy is of a great importance in the present state of the business, till the minds of you, your brother bishops and Mr. Wesley be circumstantially known. I must therefore beg that these things be confined to yourself and Dr. Magaw, till I have the honor of seeing you.

Thus you see that I have made a bold venture on your honor and candor, and have opened my whole heart to you on the subject as far as the extent of a small letter will allow me. If you put equal confidence in me, you will find me candid and faithful.

I have notwithstanding, been guilty of inadvertencies. Very lately I found myself obliged (for the pacifying of my conscience) to write a penitential letter to the Rev. Mr. Jarrat, which gave him great satisfaction: and for the same reason I must write another to the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew.

When I was last in America, I prepared and corrected a great variety of things for our magazine, indeed almost every thing that was

printed, except some loose hints which I had taken of one of my journeys, and which I left in my hurry with Mr. Asbury, without any correction entreating him that no part of them might be printed which could be improper or offensive. But through great inadvertency (I suppose) he suffered some reflections on the characters of the two above mentioned gentlemen to be inserted in the magazine, for which I am very sorry, and probably shall not rest till I have made my acknowledgments more public; though Mr. Jarrat does not desire it.

I am not sure, whether I have not also offended you, sir, by accepting one of the offers made me by you and Dr. Magaw of the use of your churches, about six years ago, on my visit to Philadelphia, without informing you of our *plan of separation from the church of England*.

If I did offend, (as I doubt I did, especially from what you said to Mr. Richard Dallam of Abington,) I sincerely beg yours and Dr. Magaw's pardon. I'll endeavor to amend. But alas! I am a frail weak creature.

I will intrude no longer at present. One thing only I will claim from your candor—that if you have no thought on improving this proposal, you will burn this letter, and take no more notice of it, (for it would be a pity to have us entirely alienated from each other, if we cannot unite in the manner my ardent wishes desire :) but if you will further negotiate the business, I will explain my mind still more fully to you on the probabilities of success.

In the mean time, permit me, with great respect, to subscribe myself,
Right Reverend Sir,

Your very humble servant in Christ.

(Signed)

THOMAS COKE.

The Right Reverend Father in God,

BISHOP WHITE.

Richmond, April 24th, 1791.

WESLEY'S INTERDICTION.

“With respect to the title of *bishop*, I know that Mr. Wesley enjoined the doctor and his associates, and in the most solemn manner, that it should not be taken. In a letter to Mrs. Gilbert, the widow of the excellent Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq. of Antigua, a copy of which now lies before me, he states this in the strongest manner. In this and in every similar deviation I cannot be the apologist of Dr. Coke; and I can state in contradiction to all that Dr. Whitehead and Mr. Hampson have said, that Mr. Wesley never gave his sanction to any of these things; nor was he the author of one line of all that Dr. Coke published in America on this subject. His views on these points were very different from those of his zealous son in the gospel. He knew that a *work of God* neither needed, nor could be truly aided, nor could recommend itself to pious minds, by such additions.”

Moore's Life of Wesley, page 279.

WESLEY'S LETTER TO ASBURY.

"There is, indeed, a wide difference between the relation wherein you stand to the American, and the relation wherein I stand to all the Methodists. You are the elder brother of the American Methodists; I am, under God, the father of the whole family. Therefore I naturally care for you all in a manner no other person can do. Therefore I, in a measure, provide for you all; for the supplies which Dr. Coke provides for you, he could not provide were it not for me—were it not that I not only permit him to collect, but also support him in so doing.

"But in one point, my dear brother, I am a little afraid both the doctor and you differ from me. I study to be *little*; you study to be *great*. I *creep*; you *strut* along. I found a *school*; you a *college*! Nay, and call it after your own names!* O beware! Do not seek to be *something*! Let me be nothing, and 'Christ be all in all!'

"One instance of this, of your *greatness*, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called *bishop*? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool; a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, call me *bishop*. For my sake, for God's sake, put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please; but let the Methodists show their calling better.

"Thus, my dear Franky, I have told you all that is in my heart; and let this, when I am no more seen, bear witness how sincerely I am,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"JOHN WESLEY."

Life of Wesley, page 285.

1. Mr. WESLEY says, in his notes on chapter 13, Rev. "The POWER of CHOOSING the Pope (or Bishop) was taken from the PEOPLE, &c. 1143, and lodged in the cardinals alone," which *power* of choosing could not have been taken from the people if they had never possessed it.

2. Coke's life of Wesley, 533; "*power*—I did not seek it; it came upon me unawares: I use it to the best of my judgment: bear it as my burthen.

3. But the conduct of those who came after him, bespeaks a very contrary and different language, when every artifice and intrigue is used, not only to retain power, but to beg and borrow it also, by the plea of *order* and *succession*—by "*WILL and DELEGATION.*"

4. Coke's letter to Wesley, for a *THIRD* ordination in the garret at Bristol, 1784, (as related in Whitehead and in Moore's life of Wesley,) was the beginning of this Episcopal *Babel*, out of which rose the *confusion* in Europe and America.

5. The prayer book articles of faith, and gown and band, was all concerted in this Episcopal Babel, to monopolize the *church* people and *glebe lands* betwixt Delaware and Georgia

* Cokesbury College, twice burned down. The name was formed from the names of its founders—Coke and Asbury.

6. But the *vestry* and *church wardens* not being brought over to give their consent, because the *sanctity* was not pure by order and succession ; hence the *cause* of that letter in the Church Magazine, from Coke to *Bishop White*, for a fourth ordination, so as to be certain of *pure sanctity* by "order and succession."

7. Coke was the first *regicide* among the Methodists. And as like begets like, so from and out of his conduct, consequences grew.

8. In his sermon at Baltimore and address to Washington, hoping the American government would be a model for European governments ; which implies, cut off *king's heads*—behold, the retribution.

9. Wesley's name was dropped off from the American minutes, as if *expelled* ; next the name of *Coke* is left out of the English minutes ; and moreover, gets *expelled* in time, from America in turn.

10. Takes the name of *bishop*, saying Wesley chose the *Episcopal*, &c.

21. Moore's life of Wesley, vol. 2, page 279, exhibits these assertions to be a *hoax*, a *libel*—without *his* sanction ; but assumed, repugnant to Wesley's interdiction.

12. Previous to 1785, "minutes of some conversations between the PREACHERS in connexion with the Rev. John Wesley," was the then title of men unordained.

13. But when "*three*" men *ordained*, had just come over from England, and had *only met* sixty preachers, it was then called "*Episcopal Church*," exhibits the principles of the doctrine of Rome : clergy constitute the church, *preachers* and *people* are nothing !

14. First edition of the minutes printed at Philadelphia, 1795, page 77, referring to the act of 1785, says, "*we*" (not Wesley) "*formed* ourselves into an independent church," taking the name "*bishop*" and "*episcopal*" by assumption.

See LEE's History of Methodism.

15. "1788—Who are the bishops of our church for the *United States* ?" "*conferences*" the plural—but the three preceding years, "*GENERAL CONFERENCE*" was the *term*, though met in detached portions at different times and places.

16. Bishop and counsel governed, i. e. chose the Presiding Elders, and out of them select the counsel ; like the figure 1 at the left hand side of 7 *noughts*, but cut the figure 1 off, and what do the noughts count ? Episcopacy is all ; preachers and people are nothing. Daniel's little horn, looked more stout than his fellows.

17. 1789—The joke was carried on to an unparalleled height—John Wesley is constituted a *bishop* by Coke and Asbury, when

in Europe, and they in America, 3000 miles asunder; when a Wesley had laid hands on Coke five years before, in the Garret at Bristol, 1784; and as Coke found that Asbury, 1785, was a *preacher* only, next day he made him a *deacon*, third day **ELDER**, and fourth day a **BISHOP**. He grew very fast—then stated on the minutes, in answer to the questions—

1789. "Quest. 1. Who are the persons that exercise the *Episcopal* office in the *Methodist Church in Europe and America* ?

"Ans. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, by regular order and "*succession*."*

"Quest. 2. Who have been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the General Conference, to superintend the *Methodist connexion in America* ?

"Ans. Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury."

1790. "Quest. 6. Who have been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the General Conference, to superintend the *Methodist Episcopal Church in America* ?

"Ans. Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury."

"Quest. 7. Who are the persons that exercise the *Episcopal* office in the *Methodist Church in Europe and America* ?

"Ans. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, by regular order and "*succession*."

1791. "Quest. 6. Who have been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the General Conference, to superintend the *Methodist Episcopal Church in America* ?

"Ans. Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury."

"Quest. 7. Who are the persons that exercise the *Episcopal* office in the *Methodist Church in America* ?

"Ans. Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury, by regular order and "*succession*."

18. Coke was *nominally* bishop in America, president of the Irish conference, and head of the missions for the West Indies, and "*would be*" Wesley's successor.

19. The regicide *principle*—(cut off king's head,) was elucidated with some *liberality*, which would be popular at Bristol, in a small degree, to the Trustees meeting house question; acting on the side of the people.

20. But to separate from the church, and have seven districts, seven bishops, and then *one* more over the whole for superintendence.

21. A number of *big guns* employed Alexander Kilham to oppose the intended episcopacy, and plead for a REFORM.

22. Those guns were to be masked until a time of exigency, then to fling *their* weight into *his* scale.

23. The doctor found the Dagon of Episcopacy would not succeed: gave it up, and levelled all his might against A. K.; and those of his associates, who had encouraged him, to seek a reform, now forsook him, and became his accusers, judges and executioners, by signing his expulsion.

* God said let there be light, and there was light—so Coke and Asbury said, Let Wesley be a BISHOP and he was a bishop—so constited by them, when 3000 miles off.

24. But A. K. was too honest to give up the ship, because others had deceived him and turned traitors to the cause.

25. About 5000 withdrew; hence the origin of the New Connexion, arising from the Dr.'s nonsense, first take up for the trustees and people, then change sides for an episcopacy, &c. &c.

26. Coke intended to call A. K. to an account for his political *sentiments*, but God took A. K. from the evil to come. High treason, loyalty, keep on the head, was now the principle, having taken the oath of allegiance to both governments.

27. The letters of those big guns to A. K. exhibited their *conduct*, as extracts were published in his *life* by his friends; hence the origin of a fuss at conference:—THEY belong to US, we must hush the matter, lest the latter end should be worse than the beginning.

28. From this came out a third party, called Independent Methodists.

29. Thirty-two persons, who were all official, petitioned conference for redress of grievance. But the Dr. as president rose up, took the pen from the hand of the secretary, and expelled the whole, for such an enormous crime, as daring to pray for a lay delegation. Hence the origin of the New Connexion at Lisburn, in Ireland.

30. Turning out two or three local preachers and members for daring to hold a "FIELD MEETING," gave rise to what is called "*Primitive Methodists*," or RANTERS.

31. Wishing to *dragoon* the Methodists from their church, without their consent, caused the *split* in Ireland, 12,000 to 18,000, in point of difference of parties.

32. The doctrine claiming all the power that *Wesley* had, by virtue of *delegation* to the conference, as exhibited in his "*will*,"—after the concessions made before, alluding to the Portraiture of Methodism, has given rise to another great split.

33. The monarchical power of the bishop, in this republic, *not* allowing privilege equal to the privilege in Europe, "*no appeal*," "the monster's born"—gave rise to the split off of James O'Kelley, and Wm. M.—somebody, for his *name* varies at different times in successive years.

34. "Wm M. *Kentree*" 1788, and 1789, and 1790, and 1791, and 1792, the name appears to be the same in the column and station, in all them five years.

35. In 1793, the name is not in the Catalogue of Conference columns, but in the *station* there is a name—William M. KENTRY—at the Norfolk and Portsmouth station. Why the alteration? Runaway, name changed.

36. M. "*Kentree*" as at the first; but in the *second edition* of those twenty years minutes, when reprinted at New York,

and twenty years more added, 1813, the name is altered again throughout and called "*McKendree*:" a *d* instead of a *t*.

37. Coke said to L. D. go on a mission under a promise equal to an *oath* for six years. If you refuse, your stay may do more harm than the conversion of 500 souls may do good! And I don't know what; shall have to inform Lord C. Reigh! [government] and if you once get into jail, it will be hard to get out.

38. Coke said he counted the *votes*, and it was a *tie* two or three times betwixt R. Whatcoat and J. Lee—but at length Whatcoat got one the most for bishop.

39. Jesse Lee said Coke *stole* one of his votes, and put it on the other side!

40. Others affirmed there were *more* votes than there were *persons* to vote.

41. Thus much fuss to obtain "*three persons*" in "*one head*"—(episcopacy) a "*trinity*" of English bishops.

42. Thirst for power—"BORN TO COMMAND"—"silver spoon in his mouth, and a mitre on the head"—Fie.

43. 2000 Rev. clergy, ministers, against one poor, "IGNORANT" individual, who sought to do them no harm, either in Europe or America. Yet laws were passed by those Rev. gentlemen, both in Europe and America, against one solitary person, as their records and minutes will show; an unheard of thing in the annals of the world.

44. Letters of falsehood and lies, to set the government to sacrifice an individual on the altar of tyranny, because "*he* goes so independent of the BISHOP'S POWER;" and others will hatch from the same nest, &c. &c.

45. Mock trials, because *he* is the bishop's puppet, *he* is one of *us*, we must clear *him* because ———

46. Better one suffer than many. If he is innocent, we must use POWER, and make an example of him. What for? as a warning to others not to dispute our power, which of right *we* have by Divine delegation, to enforce "MORAL DISCIPLINE!"

47. The last meeting of F. Asbury: O the agitated nerves; it was a sudden meeting. So M. Ken—— passed me on the causeway as a statue, although I addressed him twice.

48. "Shall we strengthen the episcopacy?" Never mind boys, the old man cannot stay long; then *we* can manage things to our minds.

49. "He died and was buried and published;" but the *death* of Wesley, whom he succeeded, was not mentioned in the minutes. Why?

50. The WILL of the deceased was to have a number of *bishops* made ; but others wished not to strengthen the episcopacy ; but rather to pluck out his "EYES," and cut off his "EARS."

51. "Adam begat a son in his own likeness"—and "his little finger was thicker than his father's loins."

52. Therefore the *eggs* impregnated in the episcopal Babel of confusion, not being likely to hatch, recourse was had to episcopal *art*, viz. "*Virtue of the relics of saints.*" Asbury was *dug* up and brought to Baltimore, right on the spot, and so powwowed about the streets, that terror struck the mind of the preachers, as though Asbury had rose from the dead and come back, because they had disputed his will and power, request and direction !

53. By the assistance of one hour and a quarter from *his* son and successor, pleading on the floor, the eggs impregnated by the episcopacy, brought forth and hatched two, who came by "order and succession," and several more have been born since.

54. The spirit of a bishop is sure to come upon a bishop, and also upon his EYES and EARS too, as acting by authority from the same delegation by assumption.

55. To degenerate a noble, generous mind, make a presiding elder of him ; but to cure a presiding elder of his folly, let him become a *local preacher*.

56. The doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance has become the order of the day ; and to dispute the power of episcopal authority, and call the same in question, is viewed as a *schism*, and inveighing against the "*powers that be,*" and is a *moral evil* ; and *they* as possessing moral authority, "received from the fathers" by "order and succession" to enforce moral discipline by virtue of this judiciary and executive power, have a right to expel people for the enormous crime of "CONTUMACY," for not loving the "MONSTER." "AN-ATHEMA MARANATHA," is the order of the day ; "to Satan," "for the destruction of the flesh !"

57. Look at the Rev. Wm. Burke, who bore the burthen and heat of the day ; when sleeping in the woods, and his wife to watch and see if the Indians were come for the scalp, not knowing the moment when the Indians of those days would be upon him ; he shrunk not from danger.

58. But after pursuing him for more than eight years, the episcopacy finally made out the great crime of "*contumacy*" at last, and so "CAST HIM OUT."

59. The bounds of a conference was denied to Cosmopolite, and for a local preacher to go and exceed the bounds of his

circuit, would have been contumacy. Out with him, was the order of that day.

60. The doctrine of episcopal authority has drove off and cut off one way or another, more than five hundred preachers, and thirty or forty thousand members, within the period of about two or three years; as if, instead of the gentle shepherd, the *wolf* was among the flock.

61. Most people who join society have never read the *discipline*, but they love the Methodist doctrine and the preachers; hence love leads them in, without knowing the *stuff* derived from the *Roman Pontiff* incorporated into the *theme*, which originally was derived from, and bottomed on the pagan Roman imperial code!

62. Chicanery in this electioneering business will not do, being repugnant to the simplicity of the gospel of Christ.—Therefore read *Wesley's* letter to *Asbury*; take his *there* advice, and give it up.

63. Those ancient sages that were in the field thirty or forty years ago, my heart feels while I write; those days of love; the bond of brotherly union; most of them are asleep under ground.

64. A new set of men are come to fill their place. They have come out of the *ashes*, or else have been raised in easy circumstances, and know not contradiction. They are strangers to those former sufferings and hungry, trying scenes. They cannot and will not bear contradiction; but we *must* be obeyed, and we will. How few are nursing fathers who feel for the flock.

65. Had those PRINCIPLES OF AMERICA been nurtured in *Virginia*, when one was rising with the other, the "*monster*" of episcopacy, impregnated by Englishmen, would never have been born.

66. Those tory English preachers who returned to Europe, brought the cause of Methodism to the brink of ruin in North Carolina, had it not been for old Mr. Green Hill; Garetson was true to his country, till others poisoned his mind. And how many were brought into difficulty by Mr. Asbury's keeping in White's garret, instead of returning to Europe with the rest of the gang!

67. A few alterations might yet remedy the evil already begun; but man is not disposed to recede and go back, but from necessity, not of choice; as exhibited both in France and Denmark, by the circumstances attending the revolutions, and fully exemplified there.

The doctrine of Bishop E—, at Pittsburg Conference, that, "*The great head of the Church himself has im-*

"posed on us the duty of preaching the gospel, administering its ordinances, and maintaining its moral discipline among those over whom the Holy Ghost in these respects has made us overseers. Of these also—viz. of gospel doctrines, ordinances and moral discipline—we do believe that the **DIVINELY INSTITUTED** ministry **ARE** the **DIVINELY AUTHORIZED EXPOUNDERS**; and that the duty of maintaining them in their purity, and not permitting our ministrations in these respects to be authoritatively controlled by others, does rest upon us with the force of a moral obligation"—will not be received as God's truth in this enlightened day, by people of independent minds, who think and judge for themselves.

Also this doctrine, that those innate, inherent and unalienable rights of man, by virtue of his existence, which all Americans admit as in the Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776, declared as belonging to civil society; but when associating with the Methodist Episcopal Church, *natural* and *acquired rights* are and have become extinct; except to *hear and obey*, is a ridiculous farce and also a mockery of common sense.

And **ARROGANCE** on the one side, and **STUPIDITY** of **BLOCKHEADS** on the other, to have such **ISM** in the *Land*!

The "**MOTHER OF HARLOTS**"—if she be the "**MOTHER**" at *Rome*, who are the "**DAUGHTERS**" abroad? Let truth and common sense say and determine.

See parallel between the Church of Rome and the Methodist Episcopal Church:

Church of Rome.

I. The government of the Church of Rome is Episcopal.

II. The Church of Rome is one universal church: uniting under one head, many distinct congregations, and spreading over a great part of the civilized world.

III. The government of the Church of Rome is administered by priests.

IV. In the Church of Rome lay-members have no voice in making the laws, nor in the administration of government.

Methodist Episcopal Church.

I. The government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is Episcopal.

II. The Methodist Episcopal Church is one and indivisible: uniting in one body many distinct societies, and spreading at present over ONE MILLION FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND square miles.

III. The government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is administered by preachers.

IV. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, lay-members have no voice in making the laws, nor in the administration of government.

Church of Rome.

V. At the head of this body of priests, is a chief officer or bishop, styled the pope, which name comes from the Greek word *papa*, and answers to our English word, father. He obtained the title of universal bishop in the seventh century, from the emperor Phocas.—Mosh. Vol. 2, page 163, and that of pope in the eleventh century. Mosh. Vol. 2, page 459.

VI. For several centuries after Christ, the bishop of Rome was elected by the presbyters and people. Mosh. vol. i. page 342. But in the eleventh century, (the darkest and most corrupt age of the church) the pope was elected by the college of cardinals *alone*, excluding the consent of the clergy and people. Mosh Vol. 2, page 474.

VII. The sacred college who elect the pope, is composed of seventy cardinals; who, again, are chosen by the pope. Mosh. vol. 4, page 165.

VIII. In all the Pope's decisions, relating to the government of the church, he previously consults the *brethren*, i. e. the cardinals who compose his privy council.

Methodist Episcopal Church.

V. At the head of this body of preachers, are three chief officers or bishops, of equal order, dignity and power. The oldest in years and office is styled by way of distinction, though not by express statute, the senior bishop; and by many, both preachers and people, father.

VI. There never was a period, in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, when the people had any voice in the election of their bishop. Nor at present have, say 4,000 of her clergy, nor upwards of 400,000 of her members, any thing to say in the election, either directly or indirectly.

Quest. 1st. How is a bishop to be constituted?

Ans. By the election of the General Conference, &c. Book of Discipline, ch. i. sec. 4. excluding the consent of the great body of the clergy and the people.

VII. The General Conference, in the year 1820, was composed of eighty-nine sitting members, sixty-three of whom were presiding elders, or had filled that station.

Quest. By whom are the presiding elders to be chosen?

Ans. By the Bishops. Dis. ch. 1. § 5.

Note.—In this year (1820) there were sixty-four presiding elders.

VIII. The presiding elders have been styled the "bishops' eyes" and the "Bishops' ears," &c. and with them he consults in the government of the Church, as his council. In this General Conference of 1820, it was part of the conciliatory plan, "That

Church of Rome.

IX. "In the latter end of the eleventh century the popes were invested with the plenitude of all power, both *spiritual and temporal*." Bowers' His. of the Popes; preface.

X. I am not able to find any statute, restricting the power of the pope.

XI. "The popes were above councils and uncontrolled by their canons." Bowers' His. of the popes, preface. "Nor could the councils determine any thing without his permission and consent." Mosh. Vol. 2. page 296.

XII. "The Roman pontiffs were eagerly bent upon persuading all, and had indeed the good fortune to persuade many, that the bishop of Rome was constituted and appointed by Jesus Christ, supreme *legislator* and *judge* of the church universal." Mosh. Vol. 2, page 296.

XIII. "Some took the liberty to represent to his holiness, (pope John XXII) that the decrees and *constitutions* of one pope could not be reversed by another." The

Methodist Episcopal Church. the presiding elders be, and hereby are made the advisory council of the bishops, or president of the conference, in stationing the preachers." Thereby enacting by law, what it was thought had been practised from the beginning.

IX. *Quest. 3.* What are the duties of a bishop?

Ans. 5. To oversee the *spiritual and temporal* business of our church. Dis. ch. 1. §4. "It is the duty of a bishop to travel through the work at large; to oversee the *spiritual and temporal* concerns of the church. But to oversee, means power to *OVER-RULE*." Bishop M'Kendree's address to the Philadelphia Annual Conference.

X. I can find but ONE, restricting the exercise of the bishop's power. "He shall *not* allow any preacher to remain, &c. Dis. ch. i. § 4. Question 3, Answer 2.

XI. "I believe, the resolutions passed at the last General Conference, authorizing the respective annual conferences to elect the presiding elders, are an infringement on the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Bishop McKendree's addresses to the Philadelphia Annual Conference.

XII. "Those ministers whom God selects to be the shepherds of his flock, and the guardians of his people, *possess the right* of governing themselves in religious matters, and all those committees to their care." Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy. N. York, printed for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1820.

XIII. "They," the General Conference, shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our

Church of Rome.

pope replied, (and what other reply could be made?) "*That they were mistaken, since it might be proved, by innumerable instances, that what had been decreed wrong or amiss by one pope or council, could be rectified and amended by another.*" Bowers' His. of the Popes, preface.

XIV. The *Papists* use the temporal power to put in force and to "execute moral discipline;" i. e. the *will* of the CLERGY.

XV. Those who do not obey the Roman Church, but withdraw or are excommunicated—are denounced with a *curse*, as apostates or heretics, with "bell, book and candle light."

XVI. The Roman Clergy interdict their people from reading other books, than by their consent.

XVII. The Romish Clergy assume the power of granting the privilege to some, to have and read the Holy Bible.

XVIII. By *order* and *succession* from Peter.

Methodist Episcopal Church.

itinerant general superintendency." Dis. ch. 1, sec. 3, Ques. 2, Answ. 5.

Committee's Report, &c.

XIV. See the BISHOP'S Circular letter, explaining the "design" of the "General Conference" "*for a uniform system throughout the whole body.*"—1820.

"It is both expedient and necessary to petition the *Legislature* for an ACT of incorporation, which shall recognise the peculiarities of OUR form of Church Government, and thereby enable US more fully and effectually to EXECUTE the DISCIPLINE of OUR CHURCH."

XV. Those who *withdraw*, or are "*expelled*" from the Methodist E. Church, are denounced as "*schismatics* and *BACKSLIDERS*;" and their *characters* are *blasted* in a public point of view, accordingly, by *slander*, &c.

XVI. Purchase no Hymn Books but what are signed by the *Bishops*, if you have any respect for the AUTHORITY of the Conference or of US! See preface to the Hymn Book, see also the General Conference, &c. to suppress the *reading* &c. &c. the paper called "*Mutual Rights.*"

XVII. The Methodist bishop says, *take thou authority* to READ, &c. which, if we suppose him to be sincere, we must think that he believes he has the power to grant that privilege. See the form of ordination, in the discipline.

XVIII. "*By order and succession*"—"received from the Fa-

Church of Rome.

XIX. Divine sanctity through the Popes, give divine authority to the clergy.

XX. Many grades of places betwixt the people and the Pope, who is styled bishop of bishops, or universal bishop.

Methodist Episcopal Churches." See first edition of Minutes, and the Bishop's Circular, &c.

XIX. "Divinely instituted and divinely authorized expounders," &c. See the doctrine of General Conference at Pittsburg, &c.

XX. 1. Hearer.

2. On trial.

3. Full membership.

4. Class Steward.

5. Class Leader.

6. Circuit Steward.

7. Exhorter.

8. Local *Preacher*.

9. Local Deacon.

10. Local Elder.

11. Travelling Preacher.

12. Travelling Deacon.


13. Travelling Elder.

14. Presiding Elder, or Elder of Elders—which term Elder, means Bishop, &c.

15. Bishops—2 in the northern dioceses, 2 in the south.

16. And one goes where he pleases, and hence "*arched*" as bishop of bishops, or "*UNIVERSAL BISHOP!*"

17. Supernumerary, superannuated, Trustees, Book Steward, &c. &c. &c.

 See also the Papistical mode of consecration—the *Bread and Wine*.

Episcopacy, Monarchy, Slavery and Popery are all bottomed on the same *principle* in their several degrees—which *power* not being delegated by the people, is claimed to be the gift or grace of God, hence of heavenly birth and origin, and therefore of Divine authority, hence must be highly respected—as a VIRTUE!

Such doctrine must appear in its true shape and color to a clear head and correct heart, as a HOAX upon mankind.

For POWER exercised without a RIGHT—by *assumption*, is and must be considered an unjust, tyrannical act of usurpation.

Hence the Episcopal may, for distinction sake, be called ROYALISTS! And the opponents REGICIDES!

See the Problem of Episcopacy Book, by N. Bangs, D. D. p. 59 to 62.

"In every community, as well religious as civil, there must be some centre of power, some supreme authority, from whence all others must emanate. And this supreme authority may either retain its original right within itself, or may, if necessary or expedient, impart a portion of it to others, who must be responsible for its use to the authority from which it was derived. It is not always necessary, nay, it is often totally impracticable, for that body to which the power of right belongs to govern, to exercise that power. Thus it is the inherent right of every man to govern himself. But where a number of individuals form a community, it being impracticable for each individual to exercise his own inherent right of governing himself, he resigns up a part of that right, in order to secure the good of the whole community. When this association is formed by mutual consent, and for mutual good, the right of government is transferred from each individual to the whole body. But this community itself will find it necessary to concentrate its authority in the hands of one or more persons, in order to make and execute its laws. Hence arises the necessity of representative government, by which the authority of the whole community is concentrated in the hands of a few. But even these few, although they may deliberate together, and enact laws for the regulation of the community, they cannot execute them in their collective capacity. Hence arises the necessity of a division of power into the hands of individuals, who now possess, not only their original right of governing themselves, but also, by delegation, the right of governing others; and that too, in those important points which involve the dearest interests of mankind: I allude to governors, judges, &c. This kind of apportionment of power originates of necessity from the present state of human society. Society cannot exist without it. Every man must resign some portion of his individual rights, in order to secure those which he retains,—otherwise he must be deprived of the whole.

But these observations apply principally to the regulation of civil society. Here all power is derived primarily from the people, who were created by God; and they have the right of modifying, and of apportioning that power, as the state of society, and the exigencies of time and place, may require. And all good and wise legislators will be actuated with a view to the good of the whole community. BUT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF GOD IS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT. God calls men, whom He pleases, to be the ministers of his word. And as an individual man possesses the right of governing himself in all *secular matters*, until the state of society shall dictate the necessity, from an intercommunity of interests, of surrendering a part of that right into the hands of others, SO those ministers whom God selects to be the shepherds of his flock, and the guardians of his people, possess the RIGHT of GOVERNING *themselves* in religious matters, and ALL those committed to their care. Hence, *Ministers primarily* derive their AUTHORITY to preach, and to exercise their MINISTERIAL FUNCTIONS, among which is the OVERSIGHT OF THE CHURCH, FROM JESUS CHRIST HIMSELF: this is the *Supreme FOUNTAIN* of their AUTHORITY; and of THIS AUTHORITY no man, or number of

men, have a **RIGHT** to dispossess them : that is, while they maintain the character of true ministers of Jesus Christ."

"The general Conference possess the sole right of making rules for the government of the church." Page 138 and 139, with some few exceptions about money matters, and *Dagon* or *Diana* of **EPISCOPACY**, &c.

COPIES—CIRCULAR LETTER, &c.

"*To the Members and Friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New-York.*

"NEW-YORK, August 11, 1820.

"WHEREAS divers reports have been circulated in this city, purporting that the New-York Annual Conference had formed a design to possess themselves of the property belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, we whose names are undersigned, having been present at the *last session* of the General Conference, where the resolutions were adopted which governed the subsequent acts of the New-York Annual Conference ; and having also been present at the last session of the said Annual Conference, consider it our duty to lay before our people the *design* both of the General and Annual Conference on this subject. The resolution of the General Conference is as follows :—

* "In future WE will admit no charter, deed, or conveyance for any house of worship, to be used by us, unless it be provided in such charter, deed, or conveyance, that the trustees of said house shall at all times permit such ministers and preachers belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, as shall from time to time be duly authorized by the General Conference of the Ministers of our church, or by the Annual Conferences, to preach and expound God's holy word, and to EXECUTE the discipline of the church, and to administer the sacraments therein, according to the true meaning and purport of our deed of settlement.' From the above resolution it appears obvious that the design of the General Conference was to establish and perpetuate a **UNIFORM SYSTEM IN THE WHOLE BODY**, and simply to secure the property to the church, in conformity to the laws of the several states respectively ; and the **RIGHT** of the ministers of said church at all times to preach the word of God, administer the holy ordinances, and EXECUTE THE DISCIPLINE in all the houses of worship : no other right in, or title to the property having ever been designed or contemplated.

"If it were necessary to give further proof of this design, the preliminary remarks to the deed of settlement in the form of discipline are clearly in point. Those remarks are as follows, 'Let the following plan of a deed of settlement be brought into effect in all possible cases, and as far as the laws of the states respectively will admit of it. But each annual conference is authorized to make such modification

*This resolution" was passed in the next general Conference, after my Thoughts on Church Government were published, in which it was observed that the meeting houses were deeded to nobody. Discipline, page 166.

in the deeds, as they may find the different usages and customs of law require in the different states and territories, so as to *secure* the premises firmly by deed, and permanently to the *Methodist Episcopal Church*, according to the TRUE INTENT and meaning of the following form of a deed of settlement; any thing in the said form to the contrary notwithstanding.* Comment on the above would be superfluous; for it unequivocally requires that the property be secured, permanently to the '*Methodist Episcopal Church*,' and therefore can never be secured to an Annual Conference, or to any other body, without the most plain and obvious violation of the rules of the General Conference. In conformity with the resolutions of the General Conference, and conceiving that some of the requisitions of the General law of the Commonwealth of New York, under which the different religious societies in the state were at liberty to incorporate were such as to render it *difficult*, if not *impossible*, to observe those requisitions, and at the same time to be governed by the rules of OUR CHURCH DISCIPLINE, the New-York Annual Conference, at its last session, passed the following resolutions.

* ['THAT, in order to obviate the difficulties which do now, and have for some time past, existed in *this city*, in respect to the appointment of trustees, it is both expedient and necessary for the Conference, to recommend to the PEOPLE of their charge to PETITION the Legislature of this State, at its next session, for an ACT of INCORPORATION, which shall RECOGNIZE the PECULIARITIES of OUR *form of Church government*, and thereby enable US more fully and effectually to EXECUTE the DISCIPLINE of OUR Church.—This your Committee think to be necessary not only to *regulate* the affairs of our Church in THIS CITY, but also *throughout* the State; such is the present law of this State in respect to the Incorporation of religious societies, that the trustees of our church in the exercise of their functions, either cannot, or will not, conform to the requirement of our discipline—your committee therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolutions.]

“1st. Resolved, that a committee of five be appointed to prepare a memorial to be presented to the Legislature of this state at their next session, praying them for a special act of incorporation for our Church throughout the state, in conformity to the rules and regulations of our discipline; and that the said Committee be instructed to furnish each presiding elder with twenty printed copies of said memorial.

“2. Resolved, that it shall be the duty of the Presiding Elders to furnish each *preacher* in their district, who may travel in the state of New-York, with a copy of said memorial, and that it shall be the duty of all such preachers to use their endeavors to obtain *subscribers*, and to forward their names, and memorials to the stationed preacher in Albany.

* The within inclosed in brackets [thus] was in the resolutions of the Conference but withheld from the public—what for? The Reader must draw his own inference.

“3. Resolved, that a copy of this report be forwarded to the Genesee Conference, praying them to co-operate with us in circulating a memorial on their circuits in the bounds of their charge which are within the limits of the State of New-York.

“4. Resolved, that it be the *duty* of all those *preachers* who obtain subscribers to said memorials, to forward them *sometime* before the next session of the Legislature of this state, to the *preacher* in charge in the city of Albany, to be by HIM presented to the said *Legislature*.

“5. Resolved, that the Committee appointed to prepare the before-mentioned memorial, be also instructed to prepare a draft of an act of incorporation in conformity to the first resolution of this report, *to be presented to the State Legislature.*’

[“After reading the document submitted to them from Vermont, your Committee recommend to the Brethren in that State, to take SIMILAR MEASURES to obtain an act of Incorporation, or otherwise to proceed immediately to reorganize, according to the present statutes of the State in such case as made and provided.]

“The true *intent* and design of the New-York Conference, in the passage of the above resolutions was, to act in *perfect harmony* with the *resolution* and *design* of the General Conference as before stated; and permanently to secure the houses of worship to the ‘Methodist Episcopal Church;’ and to the ministers of said church nothing more than the right of preaching in the houses, and of administering the holy ordinances, and EXECUTING the discipline of the church.

“That none might misunderstand the intention of the Conference, it was explicitly stated on the Conference floor, that it was not intended to take any measure which should go to deprive our people of the liberty of choosing their Trustees. This was done with a special view to the mode of appointing Trustees as recommended in the deed of settlement in the form of discipline, and which, as has already been stated, each Annual Conference is at liberty to modify according to the usages and customs of law in the several states; the *manner* of appointing the board of Trustees, making no kind of difference with respect to the security and control of the property. We desire that it may be particularly noticed, that it was understood by the Conference, and by the Committee appointed to draft the memorial, and the bill, for an act of incorporation, that the Trustees were to be chosen by the people.

“It should further be recollected that the Committee appointed by the Conference for the above purpose have, as yet, never met to draft the memorial and bill, on the character of which the merits of the question, relative to the claim which it is alledged the Conference design to secure to the church property, depend. And also that when drafted, both the memorial, and bill, will be presented to the people* for their approbation and signatures, which will give them full opportunity to form a judgment relative to the true intention and design of the Conference relative to the church property. Till this period arrives, all we can do is to give the most positive assurance, as we hereby do, that nothing is intended or designed, either by the General or

* But was this the *original* design or INTENTION ?

Annual Conference, but to secure the property permanently to the 'Methodist Episcopal Church,' and to the Ministers of said Church, regularly authorised by the General Conference, and by the Annual Conferences respectively, the right to preach, exercise the discipline, and administer the ordinances of the church in the houses of worship so secured. Considering that no alteration has taken place with respect to the charter by which the property of the church is held, and that no change can take place, till it is fully and specifically before the people, for their examination and approval; and considering further, that such change or alteration must be made by a wise and patriotic Legislature, ever tenacious of the rights and prerogatives of the people, we must submit it to an enlightened community to judge what ground of present alarm can be found in the act, either of the General or Annual Conference.

" ENOCH GEORGE.*

" FREEBORN GARRETTSON.*

" NATHAN BANGS.*

" P. P. SANDFORD.*

" JOSHUA SOULE.*

" ALEXANDER M'CAINE.*

" THOMAS MASON.*

" AARON HUNT.†

" B. HIBBARD.†

" T. SPICER.†

" E. HEBARD.†

" *Those whose names are marked thus * were present at the General and Annual Conferences.*

" *Those whose names are marked thus † were present at the Annual, but not at the General Conference.*"

THE WISDOM OF MAN IS FOOLISHNESS WITH GOD! FOR GOD HATH CHOSEN THAT, WHICH MAN WOULD CALL WEAKNESS, TO CONFOUND THAT WHICH IS MIGHTY.

The assumed dignity of short sighted and benighted man, his self-importance of superior dignity is obnoxious in the sight of the great ARCHITECT! But the child like simplicity of meekness, humility and tender heartedness; such as are enquiring and are teachable; feeling their weakness and dependence—even on "him that is of a broken heart and of a contrite spirit will I look, said the LORD!"

Such attend to the voice of the spirit and the path of rectitude, and the way of Providence in their journey of life.

JAPHET shall be enlarged, and shall dwell in the "TENTS OF SHEM!" Genesis, 9, 27. Through this lineage, the SALVATION of God in Christ Jesus, was manifested to mankind in after ages, on the subject of REDEMPTION!

Abraham, of *this* lineage, was called to quit his fathers' house, and to live in TENTS, where the worship of God was set up;

which call, "by *faith*," he obeyed; and with Isaac and Jacob, "dwelt in **TABERNACLES**." Hebrews, ii. 9. Gen. 12. 1. and 8, &c.

The four or five generations dwelt in "**TENTS**" and "booths," or "**tabernacles**" until they went down into Egypt—where they had to build cities, by the **ORDER OF MAN**!

However, the order of man was broken, and God *called* his people again to dwell in a Camp made of boughs for booths or tents, &c. where his *worship* was set up.

Three times a year, all their males who were over twenty years of age, were to appear before the Lord, at the place where he chose to put his name.

1. The feast of the *Passover*, which was to be held on the evening of the fourteenth day, on the first month.

2. The feast of *Weeks*.

3. The feast of **TABERNACLES** or "*Pentecost*"—which was to begin on the Sabbath and end on the Sabbath; hence lasted seven days in the seventh month.

The *first* day of the seventh month was a *Holiday*, on which the *trumpets* were to sound, to stir up the minds of the people, preparatory; and on the *tenth* day was another Holiday, on which there should be a kind of Yankee Fast, or a day of humility, to "afflict their souls" by humiliation.

And on the fifteenth day of the same month was the Camp Meeting, or feast of tabernacles, to begin and last seven days, annually.

On the year of release, which was a sabbatical year, at the feast of tabernacles, "*the book of the Law*" was to be taken from the ark and read in the hearing of all the people; men, women and children! Levit. xxiii, 40; Deut. xvi, 32—also, xxxi, 9 to 13; Nehemiah, viii, 15 to 18. Psalm lxxxi, 3.

The destruction of Gog and Magog, Ezekiel, chapters 38 and 39, with the battle of *Armageddon*, where the beast and false prophet shall be taken away—is elucidated in Zachariah, chap. xiv, 12 to 14, and from verse 16; what will be consequent upon it—as it relates to the Heathen or Gentile world, and the "**FEAST OF TABERNACLES**"—then will Japheth dwell in the "*tents of Shem*"—the "fulness of the Gentiles be come in and Israel shall be saved."

Although God selected *Jerusalem*, on Mount Moriah, as a place to put his name, when the "Great King" should come, riding upon an **ASS**, meek and lowly—which should cause the **DAUGHTERS OF ZION TO REJOICE**, (i. e.) the good people—and the daughters of Jerusalem to *shout*, (i. e.) inhabitants—yet HE told the poor woman of Samaria, that neither in that Mountain, nor at Jerusalem, was the worship of God confined to—but in

spirit and in truth: for the *Father* seeketh such to worship Him.

A *dedicated* house of national or sectarian bigotry, is not the Lord's house, but man's, for selfish purposes of men—and hence is a kind of den of thieves!

But Jesus taught in the temple at the feast of tabernacles, and in the synagogues, in the public places, private houses, on the mountains, and in desert places, in the wilderness, and on ship board; and also at feasts when invited—availing himself of all opportunities, under all circumstances, to extend his usefulness to men, while he had the opportunity in this world.

His enemies accused him of his public and extensive teaching, as though it was a crime—"the world is gone after him—and all men will believe on him, &c. &c. if we let him, thus alone; and the Romans will come and take away both **OUR PLACE** and nation.

They interdicted his disciples from public testimony also—and strove to block or hedge and shut up their way.

But they occupied private rooms, the streets and highways, as well as the temple and synagogues, and upper chambers and market houses, or the water side!

For the wicked will not *come to us*—we are to *go to them*—For the Son of Man came to seek and save that which was lost.

The prophetess *Deborah*, judged Israel, and sat under a *palm tree*—Judges, iv. 4. &c.

In Isaiah, xli, 19, the different sects or denominations of people, represented under the form of trees of different kinds, under different names, come together, and are brought into union of bonds and friendship!

The dispensations of God are fitted to the state and condition or situation of men; hence the expressions—"Neither hath this man sinned nor his parents;" but he was born blind, that the works of God might be made manifest in him, and thereby glorify God. And concerning the death, &c. of Lazarus, "I am glad that I was not there for *your sakes*."

O the beauty and wisdom of the doctrine of a superintending Providence! How wide the field! How consoling is the theme!

Just before the consummation of all things—when Satan is loosed for a season, a *falling away* takes place—the wicked compass the "**CAMP OF THE SAINTS**,"—which could never happen, if they had no Camp!

Thus, by the inspiration of God, the **TENTS** were spoken of immediately after the flood—in the solitary ages of the world! And by the call and superintending providence of God, under his appointment, have been brought into practice from the time of *Abraham*, down! and will continue to the end of the world!

In the wilderness—the voice of one crying in the wilderness—

the Church with the wings of an eagle fled and flew into the wilderness, to the *place* appointed and prepared for her, of God. She is to come forth from the *wilderness*, leaning upon her beloved!

The most godly and pious men of old, were the worshippers of God, in dens, and in mountains and caves, and solitary places—in sheep skins and in goat skins—of whom the world was not worthy!—Afflicted and tormented—but by *Faith* they anticipated a glorious resurrection—as Paul to the Hebrews, chapter 11th, exemplifies.

A regular ordained learned clergy, is the order of the day. But, although the *twelve* were commanded to go, &c. yet they *abode* at Jerusalem—while the brethren, *laymen*, travelled after the death of Stephen, extensively.

The name of Priscilla is mentioned before that of her husband, which contains meaning, as a teacheress;—and Phillip, the deacon, after he baptized the eunuch, went to Cesarea, where he had a family; and four of his daughters *prophesied*, i. e. were *public* characters in testimony. They, we read, were virgins—hence single and of good repute!

Phebe was called a *servant* of the Church; and many similar persons and circumstances are mentioned in the sacred volume, in different ages of the world, from the sister of Moses, and Huldah and Anna, down. And men, whom their wisdom would condemn with disdain, have been the chosen instruments of God.

How knoweth this man *letters*, having never learned—is not this the *Carpenter's* son? His *brethren*—his sisters!—so the Apostles—ignorant and *unlearned* men!

Moses was learned, and so was Luke and Paul—and learning is very good in its place.

But when there was a school and a college to qualify men to be prophets, in the days of Samuel, Elisha and Huldah; there is no evidence of their ever being used by the wisdom and providence of God, for any special work—more than a kind of common place servant—and that only on a few occasions.

Luther was a man of learning, but not of the highest grade, according to the judgment of his enemies. And when he found an old book in a Monastery, knew not what it was, until an old Friar told him, it was the Bible! He burnt the Pope's Bull *out of doors*, and began his work of Reformation from the pompous folly of those days.

John Calvin followed in train—but I will let him go—as Arminius came after, to explain the truth—and was condemned, unheard at the Ecclesiastical Court of *Dort*, after his death; and his followers were gagged on that occasion.

The Papists say, that Calvin, when a Catholic, for a "*nameless crime*," was branded betwixt the shoulders, and then ban-

ished;—and afterwards caused Michael Servetus to be burnt or roasted alive, because the Spanish physician differed from him in opinion in matters of religion.

How different was the spirit of George Fox, the celebrated Quaker! He used no carnal weapons—he saw the reformation was not gone far enough;—hence he came out in his testimony against hireling priests and ceremonies, to seek God the substance, the best of teachers, and the most HAPPY FRUITION of all!

The doctrine of toleration was then unknown; but a *silent* meeting was a breach of no law—hence he spoke not, without he felt something to say.

And yet in all his Journal there is no account of his holding a silent meeting where there were world's People! But he had always something to say on such occasions; and only one silent meeting at all; and that was, where there was a *settled* meeting of friends, only.

The power attended the Quaker meetings in those days with sudden conviction, trembling and FALLING UNDER THE POWER!

There are many of their ancient books which give account of such fruit.

Mary Fell, who afterwards became the wife of George Fox, was an instance, under the testimony of G. F. to feel the convincing power.

At Bristol, England, in the open air in an orchard or field, people fell under the power; and many ten thousands were gathered into the fold in that day, within the space of a few years.

They were firm to their testimony, though thousands were imprisoned for no crime, but wickedness in their enemies; and hundreds of them, through suffering, died in prison.

Others were whipped, cropped and branded, yea, banished;—and some were put to death!

But the liberties of England and those of America began to take *date*, and dawn from them; and which is now progressing in the world; and will continue to progress, until the image of Nebuchadnezzar's law religion shall give away to universal liberty of conscience!

How many meetings did Fox and Penn and others have out of doors, in the streets, and under the shades, their histories and Journals record for the benefit of those who should come after!—For “the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.”

Many of the *Quakers*, when going from one prison to another, went with a mitimus, without an officer; and Fox went from Lancaster to London, on the word of a Christian, and carried the papers to court, against himself!

There are no evidences that *Wesley* was ever useful, to the

conversion of souls, until he was shut out of all the consecrated buildings, called Churches, in and about London;—then, when all doors were shut against him, he took the field. At Morefields, seven persons *fell under the power*! The greater part of whom professed to find peace, in the course of the night following. John Wesley was then 36 years old—1739. He encouraged street preaching and field meetings all the days of his life—precept and example exemplified it.

So the labours of Whitfield were in the streets and fields;—useful to many thousands in his day.

But after Wesley's decease, field preaching was dropped and laid aside, and meeting-houses, called Chapels, were then substituted, as the necessary inference from the minutes of conference made for *me* and others on that occasion, 1807, and put into their Magazine.

The Sacramental meetings in Kentucky and Tennessee, laid a foundation for the revival and spread of the work in *booths*—where the glory of God was manifestly displayed among the people—both PRESBYTERIANS and Methodists—about 1800.

The clergyman whose pulpit had been burnt, as a testimony against his doctrine, in *Iredell* County in N. Carolina, had a glorious part in this work, as means in the hands of Divine Providence. First, in the early revival in the West, about Green River; and then in N. C. For some of his old hearers becoming subjects of the work, after their removal to the West, and wrote back to *Iredell* County about it, which paved the way for a wish for his return.

Phillip Bruce returning from Virginia to *Iredell* about the same time, gave rise to a WOODS MEETING, at an inclement season of the year; and hence about thirty TENTS were prepared; which was the first regular meeting of *that* kind—and hence the origin of the well known name, "CAMP MEETING."

The first I saw was on Shoulderbone Creek, in *Georgia*, in 1803. In 1804 I appointed and attended the first regular Camp Meeting in the centre of *Virginia*; and the same year the first that was held in the State of *New York*—and also in the *Mississippi*. In 1805, the first that was ever held in the State of *Connecticut*, and in *Massachusetts*, also; afterwards a foundation for *Vermont*—and in 1820, the first that was ever in the State of *Rhode Island*.

In 1805, 6, and 7, my lot was in Europe. My desire to revive street and field meetings, and to introduce *Camp Meetings* into that region, was my object, should Providence permit.

Wesley's rule was to notice the movement and openings of Providence, and to follow the same; and hence to vary his rules, according to times and circumstances.

But his sons in the Gospel, after his decease, departed from *his* ways—therefore, when another society rose up, they took the name of "*Primitive Methodists*," a short account of which is here subjoined; as a relation of circumstances elucidates the simple leadings and dispensations of the superintending Providence of God.

Also, a "*Defence of Camp Meetings*," and some choice Hymns, used in the early times of this revival, at such meetings in the West—mostly composed by J. A. G., called the "*Wild Man of the Woods*," whose happy spirit has since flown to a better world, to dwell with his God, forever!

Prefaced with some documents, that may be viewed AUTHENTIC if not official, to cast light where there is seeming darkness, for the information of inquiring minds, on the subject of the *Diana of Episcopacy*, which has brought the confusion of Babel into the tender mind, and caused so much evil contention in the land.

DEFENCE OF CAMP MEETINGS.

REV. STITH MEAD,

"DEAR SIR—Agreeably to your request, I have thrown together some reflections on the subject of Camp Meetings.

"As a plan the most simple, and of course the best calculated to answer the intended purpose, I have stated the objections which are commonly raised by those who oppose you, and have annexed the answer to each in the order in which they occurred to my own mind. As my only aim is to put down that superficial tribe of men, who commonly are at the head of unreasonable opposition, I have studied simplicity and plainness. And though more judicious critics might say, that some of the arguments are strained, and that others might be considered *arguments ad hominem*, yet I apprehend no danger from a public reply. An error which may have been admitted, must be too trivial to merit the opposition of men of ability, and I fear nothing from the others, because I should not find time to pay them attention.

"It might be said, for instance, that my defence of an unlettered

ministry, would ultimately lead to evil consequences, "*to the perpetuation of ignorance.*" But I have not the same apprehension. The time is fast approaching when every man who wishes to be an acceptable minister of the gospel, will find himself obliged to take Paul's advice to Timothy, and with diligence strive to grow not only in grace but likewise in the knowledge of the truth.—I have no intention to say that literature is useless. My meaning is, that the same zeal, which induces men to renounce the pleasures of the world and offer themselves as laborers in the vineyard of Christ, will push them on to make all necessary improvement.

"Again it may be said that arguments in favor of noise and confusion drawn from the conduct of the Jews, are far-fetched and inapplicable. But I feel clear in having adduced examples taken from the New Testament, which are of similar import, and therefore invincible.

"As to the arguments which are addressed *ad hominem* to the opposer, I think them directly in point, as intended to silence gain-sayers, who act without information or reflection.

"On the whole, when I declare my prevailing design in sending forward this little production, is not to injure the feelings of candid and honest men, but to aid in the spread of true godliness, I am sure to be heard, by such, with patience. And if any one should wish to correct me, he will do it as becomes the profession of a peaceful gospel.

"If you think it can be of any service to the public, you are at liberty to publish these sheets, and apply the profits of the publication to the purpose of finishing the new Meeting House at Lynchburg.

I am, &c.

SAMUEL K. JENNINGS.

September 23d, 1805."

"LIGHT and darkness must forever stand opposed to each other. If either prevail, in portion to its prevalence, the other must disappear. The kingdom of righteousness and true holiness, must forever be opposed to the kingdom of Satan, or the wicked inclinations of men. Every man is subject to one or other of these powers. Lovers of God and of TRUTH delight in the prosperity of religion, from motives of duty and benevolence. The enemies of God and of his word are pleased to see religion put down, from the selfish design of covering their lusts. The true Christian will defend those institutions, and means which most conduce to the reformation of sinners, whatever the world may think of him. Temporizers and those who love the praise of men rather than the praise of God, will advocate or oppose measures, according

to the degree of approbation they may receive, or expect to receive from the world.

Many hundreds of the most striking reformati^ons have been at least commenced by means of Methodist Camp Meetings! With these interesting facts before them, some look on with approbation, some join with earnestness in promoting and carrying the hopeful design into effect, while others treat the meetings with contempt, and their advocates as fools, madmen, and enthusiasts.—Some submit to every inconvenience to attend upon them, while others proclaim the importance of suppressing them as a public nuisance. The design of these sheets, is to examine some of the objections commonly raised against this important institution.

“Objection 1st. Too much time is spent in vain. “Six days shalt thou labor, &c.”

“Answer. This is a specious objection, and seems to be supported by an express command of God. Let it be observed, however, that our Lord Christ, in Matthew vi. 33. advised and commanded that we should “first seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness.” That we should prefer spiritual before temporal interest. In another place our Lord estimates the soul of a man to be of greater worth than the whole world. “What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall he give in exchange? &c.” Paul “considered all things but loss, so that he might win Christ and be found in him.” In a country where, with the continued and united exertions of all its citizens, sufficient provisions could not be made for its necessities, such an objection might have some weight; but with a soil and climate like ours, where on an accurate calculation it will be found, that if one fourth of the time be spent in agriculture, ample supplies will be produced for a man and beast, an argument founded on the necessity of labor, must be entirely frivolous.

“If we be disposed to consider religion as a matter of no consequence, a very trivial reason will be to us sufficient for neglecting it. But if the exercise and indulgence of true repentance, and the acquisition of a living faith in Jesus Christ, be considered essential to salvation; it must follow, that those who feel themselves destitute of this “Pearl of great price,” will find sufficient time to perform their necessary labor, and still spare, occasionally, a week for the special work of waiting upon God in the use of such means, as are found conducive to reformation. While riches, honors and distinctions are considered the principal objects of pursuit, and the only attainments worthy the attention of men, much will be said about the importance of labor. But let a man be properly affected with the truths of the gospel, and he will no

more attempt to avail himself of this objection in opposing Camp Meetings.

"Objection 2d. Granting the argument for making provision for the body, ought not to weigh in this case, yet surely it must be admitted a reasonable objection, that by attending upon such meetings, health is exposed and injured.

"Answer. It is possible we grant that the sickly or delicate might be injured by too long standing or sitting, or lying on the ground, but common sense would teach all valetudinarians either to stay at home or to make the necessary provisions for their safety. We cannot therefore be answerable for their imprudence. But a proper religious excitement is not calculated either directly or indirectly to injure health, unless victory over passion, a tranquil expectation of unavoidable adversity, with triumph over the fear of death, can constitute disease. But says the objector, the awful anxiety which frequently precedes this comfortable state of the mind often does mischief. This last difficulty involves in it another question. For if the exercise preparatory to a gracious state, be a deep sense of sin, and its awful consequences followed by an humble acceptance of mercy on the terms of the Gospel; then it must follow, that whatever effects it may produce, it will be prudent to submit to the operation. But if I should be disposed to deny the charge, which I shall now formally do, how will it ever be made to appear with sufficient certainty that, the case of sickness which may have happened at any Camp Meeting, or which may have succeeded shortly after such a meeting, were produced by any exercise or condition attendant on the occasion? Have not thousands been taken suddenly ill at home, abroad, sitting up, lying down, in the house and in the field? Who can tell whether the same illness might not have happened at the same time in another place, or in any other condition? And as so many come off unhurt in the proportion to the few who can be adduced as seeming instances to the contrary, I venture to conclude that, if religion be all important, and if religion be successfully sought after at Camp Meetings, this second objection must also lose most, if not all its weight.

"Objection 3d. Let these objections stand or fall, it must be acknowledged, that the principal advocates of these meetings are ignorant and illiterate Methodists.

"Answer. Indeed it is bad enough if all Methodists are ignorant and illiterate. It could be wished that true wisdom and useful knowledge were more universally diffused. But not to lose sight of the objection, "Saint Paul gives the following instructions to Timothy, when preparing him for the ministry of the Gospel. "Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee. Meditate upon these

things, give thyself wholly to them. Take heed unto thyself and to thy doctrine, continue in them; for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee. Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine." Whether the Methodist preachers do not in a very considerable degree act up to this exhortation, will scarcely admit of a question. But the objector continues to ask, have any of them a liberal education? Can they compose rhetorical discourses? Can they deliver them with the ease and elegance of true orators? The want of these accomplishments I perceive then to be the great objection. Nothing is more common than that worldly minded men should be wise above what is written. Does Paul make any such demands upon Timothy? Or does he instruct him to be guided by these characteristics in his choice of others for the same important work? If such demand were correct, then we should have heard Paul address himself to Timothy in the following manner. "O Timothy my son! "I have frequently commanded thee to labor in the work of the "Lord, according to my example. But as thou art not an apostle, properly so called, and hast not received the gift of languages, "I advise thee to acquaint thyself with the Hebrew, Greek, and "Latin; with Geometry, Trigonometry, Arithmetic, Algebra, and "Fluxions; with natural Philosophy, Rhetoric, moral Philosophy, and Metaphysics; after these, to devote thyself to the study "of some system or systems of divinity, then thou wilt be prepared "to write over thy sermons correctly. But after all do not fail to "rehearse them before a looking glass till thou art able to repeat "them with freedom and grace; so that when thou art called upon "public duty, thou mayest effectually secure the approbation of "thine auditors. Furthermore, when thou art about to visit any "distant churches, lay up in thy portmanteau the choicest of thy "sermons. And wherever thou art, take care to have at least "one discourse about thee, that thou mayest be prepared against "any sudden emergency, and never appear unfinished in the eyes of "the people." We cannot think such an address, either public or private, commensurate with the dignity of the apostle Paul.

"The exhortation to Timothy is comprehensive and to the purpose. It includes every instruction necessary for a useful minister. "When we are deeply interested in a subject of the last importance, we do not think it necessary to draw up our arguments in an orderly manner upon paper, before we attempt to deliver our sentiments upon the matter in hand! Are not the love and penetration of a parent sufficient to dictate such advice as is suited to the different tempers and conditions of his children? After perceiving the house of our neighbor on fire, we do not withdraw to our closet to prepare a variety of affecting arguments, by way of

engaging him to save both himself and his family from the flames. In such a case, a lively conviction of our neighbor's danger, and an ardent desire to rescue him from it, affords greater powers of natural eloquence, than any rules of art can furnish."

"Horace observes, that neither matter nor method will be wanting upon a well digested subject. With how much facility then may suitable expressions be expected to follow those animating sentiments, which are inspired by an ardent love to God and man; especially when subjects of such universal concern are agitated, as death and redemption, judgment and eternity? Upon such occasions, out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth will speak: nor will the preacher be able to repeat a tenth part of the truths, which God has communicated to him while meditating upon his text. If malice can furnish those who are under its influence, with an inexhaustible fund of conversation, how much more rational to suppose, that the charity of a minister will furnish him with an inexhaustible fund of exhortation, instruction, and comfort."

"What advantage has occurred to the church by renouncing the apostolic method of publishing the Gospel? We too often have had indolence and artifice in the place of sincerity and vigilance. Those public discourses which were once the effects of conviction and zeal, have become the weekly exercises of learning and art. 'We believe and therefore speak' is an expression which with such pastors is entirely out of use."

"Where is it, that we discover the happiest effects produced upon the minds of men? Where do we observe the most frequent conversions? Where are the formal professors most commonly struck with religious fear? Where are the libertines constrained to cry out 'Men and Brethren what shall we do?' Where is it that we find the wicked departing from the assembly to lament their transgressions in private? Are these things more frequently effected by the learned orator, or do they not more commonly attend the labors of the illiterate Methodists? Study and affection may please the taste of those who pretend to be wise and learned, and a desire to please such men, has too often led preachers of the Gospel, to depart from that generous sympathy, which actuated the ministers of the primitive church. But while the offence of the cross is avoided, neither the wise nor the ignorant are effectually converted.' The Gospel is abundantly better suited to the poor in spirit than to those who value themselves as men of great science. 'I thank thee, O Father, said the lowly blessed Jesus, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.' These babes, so called in the language of Christ, I apprehend to be similar to the persons whom I advocate, and who are in many places rejected

for pecuniary reputed sages. But it hath pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe, and by the instrumentality of these ignorant and illiterate men, he has raised up to himself in the United States in the course of a few years, half a million of servant worshippers.

“After all that has been said, I am persuaded that those who wish to be amused at church, who attend the house of prayer to form their parties for the ensuing week, and who do not wish to see their own follies, will still consider this difficulty unanswered—but every candid enquirer after salvation, will perceive that, what is charged upon the Methodist preachers as being the effect of ignorance, viz. their sympathy and their zeal, render them more respectable. Of course, if these men conduct the Camp-Meetings, there will be the greater probability of receiving benefit by attending them.

“Objection 4th. But these preachers after all you can say, are vehement, boisterous, and ostentatious. They stamp and clap their hands; they raise such a noise and confusion as is sufficient to distract their hearers.

“Answer. There can be no doubt, but that every minister of Christ ought when he speaks for God, to deliver the truth in the power and demonstration thereof; and that with zeal and energy, and in the most pressing and engaging manner possible. Isaiah lviii. i. Says God to the Prophet, cry aloud and spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins. But this will be disagreeable to men of taste and learning!—Yes, and he that preaches the truth may expect this; but Matt. v. 12. rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in Heaven: for so persecuted they the Prophets that went before you. In the eyes of the world, ‘the prophet is a fool, and the spiritual man is mad.’—Hosea ix. 7. It will be granted that loud and vehement speaking might be unnecessary, where the people are entirely attentive and desirous to become acquainted with the way of salvation. But there are none so deaf as those that will not hear; and men hear any thing more willingly than their own faults and failings. A curse is denounced against the minister who doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully. Jer. x. 4. viii. 10. The preacher is bound to deal plainly with his hearers when he reads that God is a consuming fire—That hell from beneath is moved to meet the wicked at their coming. Isaiah xiv. 9. And all who deeply feel the importance of salvation will exhibit strong marks of earnestness. When Christ preached he expressed himself with *zeal, energy and noise*. John vii. 37. Jesus stood and cried saying, If any man thirst, &c. and chap. xi. 43. when he raised Lazarus from the grave, he *cried with a loud voice ‘Lazarus come forth.’* Peter

on the day of pentecost lifted up his voice; and Paul when he declared his conversion did it not with that kind of moderation which would now be considered graceful. In the name of the Lord, then, let the men alone, let them cry and spare not,—for the Lord himself shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the voice of an archangel, and with the trump of God. Let those who neglect their duty, who prophecy smooth things, who daub with untempered mortar, and cry peace, peace, where there is no peace, answer for themselves, and act as they think proper; but let Methodist preachers act up to the dictates of their conscience and their profession. Molest them not, for God will judge every man according to his works.

“But says my objector, stamping and clapping of hands must be inconsistent with decorum of worship. Thus saith the Lord, Ezek. vi. 11. ‘Smite with thine hand, and stamp with thy foot, and say alas, for all the evil abominations of the house of Israel.’ With this high authority, *simple and honest* men can move on regardless of what the world may say, and with bitterness sigh and lament the desolation sin hath made; and as they proclaim the solemn truths of God, *smite their hands together* as a token of holy indignation against all wickedness.”

“If God be in earnest when he threatens the wicked, and will be so when he executes vengeance upon them, then by every rule of logic and divinity, a minister of Christ ought to be in earnest when he warns sinners of their impending danger, and invites them to the refuge of the Gospel. He ought to shew himself in earnest, and that he has the good of souls at heart. And while he proves that himself believes the force of God’s eternal truth, with all the *violence of holy love*, he should *compel* the people to come in.

“But continues the objector, if we should grant the privilege to the preacher to *rave*, yet surely the *hearers are bound to keep silence*.

“In Zach. ix. 9. we read, ‘Shout O daughter of Jerusalem.’ And in Isaiah xii. 6. ‘Cry out and shout thou inhabitant of Zion.’ Isaiah xlii. 11, 12. ‘Let the inhabitants of the rock sing, let them shout from the top of the mountains. Let them give glory unto God in the islands; for II. Chron. xv. 14. with a loud voice, and with shouting, and with a trumpet, and with cornets Israel covenanted to serve the Lord, and he was found of them.’

“Again we read, Ezra iii. 11, 13. ‘And all the people shouted with a great shout, when they praised the Lord, and the noise was heard afar off. And again, Luke xix. 37, 40. when our Lord drew near to the Mount of Olives on his way to Jerusalem, ‘the whole multitude of his disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice:’ and when application was made to him to re-

buke the people, and call them to order, HE justified their conduct and said, "if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out." This was exactly in conformity to the opinion and exhortation of the Psalmist David. Psal. xlvii. 1. "O clap your hands all ye people, shout unto God with the voice of triumph." With examples and precepts like these, surely the people ought *at least to be indulged*, who in the integrity of their hearts adopt this mode of expressing their devout emotions.

"If all these liberties be allowed, yet continues my objector, the *confused prayers, exhortations and songs are intolerable*.

"Let us examine Nehemiah viii. from the beginning. "All the people gathered themselves as one man, both men and women, and all that could hear with understanding," that knew good from evil. "And the ears of all the people were attentive." They heard as for eternity. "And Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood which they had made for the purpose. and beside him stood six of his brethren who all are named. And Ezra opened the book of the law of God in sight of *all* the people, "And Ezra blessed the Lord the great God, and *all* the people answered, *amen! amen!* and lifted up their hands. And these thirteen, together with the seventy four Levites, caused the people to understand the law, and the people stood in their place," (*which implies the Priests and Levites did not*) *but moved about as they saw it needful*. So they read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused the people to understand the reading. Now as it is stated that *they* read, it is more than probable that those thirteen who stood on the right and left of Ezra did *all* read, especially as the other thirteen, and the Levites, seventy four in number, caused the people to understand. So that there were Ezra, Nehemiah, twenty-six Priests, and seventy-four Levites, if not one thousand, see chap. vii. 39, who were all engaged in reading and expounding the law unto the people in the time of the public worship of God. That this supposition is correct, will be the more probable when we consider that three hours was the time which was devoted to this engagement, and it is not possible that one hundred and two persons could have read or spoken separately and distinctly in so short a time.

"But again we find at the conclusion of the public services, that eight of the Levites, according to the Jewish custom, who mostly prayed in the attitude of standing, *stood upon the stairs*, probably of Ezra's pulpit, and *cried with a loud voice* unto the Lord their God. This was not mental prayer. No, they *cried aloud, and eight of them all at once*. Let us turn to Ezra iii. 10, 11, 12, 13, when in order to perform the public "worship of

‘ God, on a memorable day, they set the priests in their apparel
 ‘ with trumpets, and the Levites with symbols to praise the Lord:
 ‘ and they sang together *by course* in praising and giving thanks
 ‘ unto the Lord: because he is good, for his mercy endureth for
 ‘ ever. And all the people shouted when they praised the Lord,
 ‘ because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid. But
 ‘ many of the priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers who
 ‘ were ancient men that had seen the first house, when the founda-
 ‘ tion of this house were laid before their eyes, wept with a
 ‘ *loud voice*, and many shouted aloud for joy; so that the people
 ‘ could not discern the *noise of the shout of joy* from the *noise of*
 ‘ *the weeping* of the people, for the people shouted with a *loud*
 ‘ *shout*, and the *noise was heard afar off*.” Here we may observe
 they *they began with order*, seeing they sang together *by course*
 in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord because he is good,
 but that the ardor of their zeal and the earnestness of their devo-
 tion ultimately transgressed their rules of order. If the peo-
 ple shouted with a great shout, and there were no idle specta-
 tors amongst them, at laying the foundation of an *earthly temple*,
 shall not the Israel of God *shout for joy* and lisp forth praise,
 when they see the foundation of a spiritual temple laid by the good-
 ness and power of God? No says the objecting pharisee, that will
 never do, *God is a God of order*. “Master rebuke thy disciples,”
 Luke xix. 37, 39. They pay no regard to order, but all speak
 together. For *the whole multitude began to praise God with a*
loud voice. Why this is wild work and perfect confusion indeed.
 God is not deaf. Hark! what a noise they make! what confusion
 is here! why if they were in Jerusalem and did shout at this
 rate, they would be heard all through the city. We think good
 order a very pretty thing and cannot away with such wild work
 as this. Besides, what will the great and learned, the wise and
 the mighty children of this world think of it? And as we are on
 the very suburbs of the city, our character and reputation, among
 the gentry, are at stake. For thine own honor and the cause of
 God, and above all, *for our credit's sake*, we pray thee “master
 rebuke thy disciples!”

“Hark! ye gainsayers of every party, sect and denomination
 among men, who in conformity to your disposition to “love the
 praise of men more than the praise of God,” would fain lay down
 rules for the **MOST HIGH**, and limit the **HOLY ONE** of Israel,
 and persuade yourself that salvation must come through a cer-
 tain mode or form, or all is delusion, enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and
 wild fire. I tell you “that if these should hold their peace, the
 stones would immediately cry out;” God would raise up instru-
 ments more unlikely than these to celebrate his praise.

"Objection 5th. The solemn worship of God ought to be performed in houses dedicated to that sacred use. It cannot be thought proper to assemble in mixed multitudes in the woods. And it must be very indecent for ladies of distinction to be seen mingled with such crowds.

"Answer. It is proper that suitable houses should be prepared for the worship of God. But let me ask, are such houses universally provided? You know they are not. Are the ministers of the everlasting gospel to hold their peace, until all the people are disposed to build houses for the purpose of worship. What absurdity men fall into when they would oppose the truth! It is in amount to say, "let the people become religious and then they will prepare temples for the living God, and after that you may preach with comfort and decency."

"Our Lord, whose object was to inspire devout emotions into the minds of the people, seldom delivered his discourses in the temple. The most excellent collection of religious or moral instruction that was ever proclaimed to the world, is commonly called by way of distinction *our Lord's sermon on the Mount*.—Matth. v. and vi. chaps.

"Again, we frequently find him in the midst of the multitudes in the open woods or fields, as when he fed the thousands; and we know that the Mount of Olives was with him a favorite place. In a word, his example will warrant assemblies to meet at such times and places as opportunity and occasion may seem to prescribe.

"God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. Houses are convenient and proper, and the people ought to build them decent and spacious, so that except for the sake of cool air and shade, no congregation need meet in the woods. But till that be done, which without the spirit of divination, judging from the *penurious disposition* so prevalent in the world, I venture to predict will require considerable time and a greater spread of religion. Till then go on ye ministers of Christ and collect the people when and wheresoever you can, and preach the Gospel of God. And as to the mixed multitudes spoken of in the objection, I am bound to answer, that in the sight of God there is no respect of persons. With him the righteous are *noble*, however poor and despised in the world, whilst the wicked, though *laden with wealth and surrounded with earthly grandeur are mean and vile*. Yes, thou purse-proud, self-exalted opposer of all that is good. The God of Israel will exalt the upright beggar when he will sink thee down into the pit of hell!

"You may support your distinction and feed your pride, but in a religious point of view all men are on a level, and the good man feels it so. The very fact, your aversion to worship your

Creator with the poor and despised, proves to me that you have neither part nor lot in the matter. That you know not God nor his worship, and that to follow your advice would be the sure road to perdition. The Lord hath declared his intention and purpose to exalt the humble, whilst he will pull down high looks.

"Ye men of self-importance, who are ready to suppose us desirous to borrow distinctions by gaining your approbation and fellowship, be it known unto you, that so long as you suppose you have dignity to lend, we want none of your caresses! Except the Lord lay to his mighty hand, and let you see that you are *little and vile and less than the least* of his saints; instead of an honor, you would be a disgrace to the cause of religion. It is a solemn truth, and a truth which I expect you bitterly hate, that if you with all your stateliness, ever obtain the religion of Jesus Christ, you must obtain it on the same common principles with *publicans and harlots*. You must see and feel that it is heaven's highest, best *gift*, and that merit in every sense is excluded where "by grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God."

"Your objection as it concerns the Ladies, is the fruit of the same tree. That *pride* which will effect your ruin, would lead you to carry with you your female friends. But I would ask, in what respect can a woman be injured by attending unto Camp Meetings? Is it probable that any indecent address would be made to her there, sooner than at another place? You would apprehend no danger in sending her to a *ball or barbecue*, where every engagement is calculated to influence the passions and excite unlawful desires; but at a Camp Meeting, where *hundreds* are employed in the most vehement manner to pull down the strong holds of sin and lust; where as many instances of the most *bitter lamentations on account of sin*, are calculated to excite a holy dread of vice; at such a place your wife or daughter ought not be trusted! Had you stated your objection in its proper shape, it would have stood thus; "It is a *disgraceful business* for ladies of distinction to be engaged in religion. It will seclude them from society.

"Objection 6th. The exercises and engagements of the people at such times and places are absurd. Their opinions are enthusiastic, and their practices disgusting. In a word the whole business is intolerable.

"Answer. Any difference which can be distinguished between a Methodist meeting and that of other denominations, must be the result of the following sentiments, which I suppose you call enthusiastic in this lumping objection.

"1st. The Methodists suppose it to be a correct practice to be bold and open in their profession of religion.

2d. They lay great stress on the use of the *means of grace* in the successful seeking of religion. And

"3rdly. They suppose every Christian bound to use his utmost influence to spread religion.

"Wherever these opinions have considerable influence, we are accustomed to see frequent instances of extraordinary and audible lamentations for sin: and of loud and rapturous expressions of joy upon a professed knowledge of sins forgiven.

"Let us examine your objection as it applies to these considerations. In the first place, I am at liberty to suppose it to be your opinion in opposition to the manner of the Methodists, that men may have all necessary religion in secret. That it is improper to make any proclamation of its attainment, and that all external show of it is hypocrisy. Under the influence of this opinion you had rather be considered irreligious than be classed with any people who make a noise about religion. I assert then that your silence and your contempt of others is not conformable to the doctrines of the gospel.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ has commanded his followers to act as "the light of the world," and "to let their light so shine before men that others seeing their good works may glorify their father which is in heaven." He has furthermore said, "if any man will be my disciple, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." And again, speaking to his disciples, "behold I send you forth as lambs among wolves. If the world hate you; ye know it hated me before it hated you," &c. To apply these quotations, I observe that men always act agreeably to their prevailing opinions, and we are at liberty to judge of men's opinions by their general conduct. Now I would ask how is it possible that any man should perform works in their nature praise worthy, and intend that they should reflect honour upon the religion of Jesus Christ, and never declare himself an advocate of the Christian religion? I would also ask what cross can be in the way of a Christian if he may in all respects walk as do other men? And I would in the last place ask, how the world could despise any man as a Christian, who never made pretensions to that character? It is very evident that the gospel contemplates its followers or adherents as being men "bold to take up, firm to sustain the consecrated cross." They are men not ashamed of the Gospel. True ministers will boldly preach Christ and him crucified, and the friends of Christ will universally acknowledge him to be their Prince and their Saviour.

"In the second place, I may consider it to be your opinion, that religion needs no external or ceremonial aid. Under the influence of this dangerous idea, you are led to neglect the use of those means which most effectually conduce to the attainment of true

religion. "If you love me, says our Lord, keep my commandments." We are commanded then to deny ourselves, ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. For ability so to do, we are commanded to *ask* that we may receive, to *seek* that we may find, to *knock* that it may be opened unto us. These requisitions surely imply that some external aid is conducive to religion. But if these be not conclusive, and you still insist that mere mental energy is sufficient in carrying on this great work, I will request you to account for the prayers of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the case of Lazarus he prayed audibly, he spake with a loud voice. In the garden of Gethsemane he prayed; yea he continued all night in prayer; he prostrated himself on the earth! Why all this external work in his devout engagements! Surely he too was an enthusiast!

"Even admitting that some highly exalted minds can succeed in cultivating devout emotions without the concurrence of bodily exertion, yet it must be granted that a majority of men could not succeed at all. But if universal success were possible, yet such a mode of worship would not accord with the general conduct of mankind.

"When the greatest men contemplate the effulgence of majestic dignity, they feel not only a disposition to indulge a sense of *reverence*, but also to express it, in some external form. They feel similar emotions when high favors are conferred upon them. Not contented with indulging a sense of gratitude, they impatiently wait for an opportunity to manifest it by some adequate external expression. And when they behold eminent goodness it is not uncommon for them to burst forth in exclamations of joy and approbation. Under impressions and consequent emotions like these, John was led to exclaim, "Behold the lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world."

"On the whole, I must venture to assert, that some external appearance of religion is necessary to its very existence, and that any man who can at all times conceal its operations is a stranger to these emotions which constitute true Christianity. "He is still in nature's darkness," in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity." If this conclusion be not correctly drawn the ceremonies of the tabernacle were vain and ostentatious. The grandeur of the temple, the effort of pompous pride, and all the ordinances received and acknowledged by most Christian societies are frivolous and unmeaning.

"In the third place I consider your objection to imply that no co-operation of men is necessary for spreading the gospel. And I answer in my turn that this objection would go to the utter subversion of all religion.

"Whatever is revealed and recorded, from the time such record is made, it becomes a matter of instruction to those for whose benefit it was intended. If Abram had not made known to his domestics, his confidence in, and his approbation of the promise which God had made and confined to him, with his life the whole business must have ended. But saith the Lord, "I know Abraham that he will command his house." It was intended from the beginning that Abram and his faithful children, to the latest generation, should continue to bear testimony of the truth. Hence all the solemn instructions and warnings of Moses, and the prophets of Christ and his apostles.—Hence the preaching of the gospel, and hence the disposition of true Christians to tell to all around the great goodness and mercy of God through Christ Jesus:

"I perceive you begin to reject all of the three modifications which I have given to your objection.—You agree with us, that some ceremony is proper, and that a decent elegance of expression is essential to the existence and continuance of religion. *It is against extravagance only* you would object. You grant then that religion implies some degree of solemn and sublime feeling, corresponding to a just perception of the wisdom, power, and mercy of God. And as a sinner, you must also grant the necessity of some sensations, adequate to a correct perception of the holiness of that God against whom you have sinned. You will furthermore grant that some decent and suitable expression of these feelings is proper and necessary. So far well. Now I would know how deep and interesting can these feelings be, and be consistent with reason and scripture? Can they never be more strong and extatic than those you have felt? Or might they not in some cases amount to the measure of them felt by the three thousand on the day of Pentecost? I think sir, you must grant that some men may act rationally, and make more ado about religion than is your custom. If not then, you must arrogantly make your sensibility the universal standard. But you have granted that, religion necessarily implies devout emotions, and that such emotions seek for a corresponding degree of expression. Now, let it be supposed that, an irreligious person, through the sympathy of a Camp-Meeting, is suddenly brought to a solemn pause. He considers, he perceives the sanctity of God's law. He finds himself to be a miserable and undone sinner. His emotions of guilt are so strong that, in the anguish of his soul he cries out, "God be merciful to me a sinner." He repeats his supplication—He earnestly cries, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me." Now this is rational, if the gospel doctrine of sin be true.

But to proceed by the grace of God through the instrumentali-

ty of the word, and by the effectual operations of the spirit of truth, while yet in the midst of his agony, he discovers the merciful interposition of the blessed Jesus. He contemplates the glory of God as shining forth resplendently in the face of Jesus Christ. He is changed into the same image.—Being justified by *faith*, he has peace with God. In the transport of his soul his glad heart leaps for joy, and with extacy he cries, “Glory to God in the highest.” I have found him of whom Moses and the prophets did write. Jesus Christ is my Prophet, Priest, and King. I am saved of the Lord. Glory, Hallelujah! This also is rational conduct, or the scripture doctrine of the forgiveness of sins is illusive and vain.

“The conclusion therefore seems to be, that after having done your objections all the justice which candor can require, the conduct of the Methodists at their Camp-Meetings is more easily opposed with ridicule than with solid argument. It might not be amiss to state at the close of this work the following considerations:

“By turning to Leviticus xxiii chap. 39 and 40 verses, and to the end of the chapter, we find that the God of Israel commanded his people to build them booths of the boughs of trees of different kinds, and dwell in them seven days.” And that this was to be done annually, immediately after gathering in the fruits of the land.

“And again in Nehemiah viii chap. from 13th verse to the close, we find that Israel had for a time lost sight of this command, but on reviving the reading and exposition of the law, they also renewed this custom in the city, and devoted seven days to dwell in booths and attend to the reading of the law, confession of sin, &c. &c.

“Now it strikes me thus, that God in his wisdom, knowing how difficult it is to retain a sense of his presence, power and goodness, while engaged in the bustle of the world, instituted this custom at a season of the year, and under such circumstances as are well calculated to prepare men for reflection.

“By drawing them off in this manner, and for such length of time, it would seem to have been the design of the Almighty to produce an effect which was necessary, and yet impracticable under any other circumstances. Viz. A solemn devotion, abstract from business, sublime and spiritual!

“This, then, is also the design of our Camp-Meetings. Having found how difficultly men can be brought to disengage themselves from the world on any plan heretofore devised; and having, as if by accident, discovered the powerful influence of long continued and independent meetings, we have repeated them with the happiest effects. And we are prepared to state it as a fact that at

meetings of the kind in the state of we have
had instances of professed conversion.*

* NOTE.—True Religion is the exercise and enjoyment of certain affections. The whole may be comprised in the comprehensive idea “THE LOVE OF GOD.” This *Love of God* may be defined “a feeling of complacency while the perfection of deity are contemplated.”—And particularly the moral perfections of God, emphatically called his *Holiness*, is perceived with joyful approbation. It implies also the *hatred of evil*. When the mind delights in this perception of excellence, and in the indulgence of the sublime emotion attendant on such perception, it must feel proportionate opposition to every species of vice.

“When a sinner is called to salvation this *Love of God* and *hatred of evil* are offered him as his spiritual portion.

“Most professing Christians agree in urging the necessity of a regeneration of the heart for the attainment of this salvation.

“Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God; and this kingdom consists of *Righteousness, Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost*. For if any man be in Christ he is a new creature; having beheld the glory of God in the face of *Jesus Christ*, he is *changed into the same image*.”

“This important change is effected *through faith*. “Faith comes by *hearing*: hearing by the *word of God*; and we cannot hear without a *preacher*.”

“By the faithful preaching of the word, those who here are persuaded to believe the gospel of God—the *glad tidings of peace to a rebellious world*.

“Trusting the record which God has given of his Son *Jesus Christ*, true believers have their consciences purged from *guilt and dead works*. Of course they come *boldly* to the throne of *grace*, and in the enjoyment of the *spirit of adoption* they cry “*Abba—Father*, and *feel themselves the sons of God*.”

“By this preparation, and this only, men are brought *cordially* to delight in the *perfections of deity*, and *sincerity to hate evil*, or the *indulgence of unlawful passions*.

“If this be the correct process for effecting reformation, then the most *earnest* rather than the most *elegant preaching* of the word will be most effectual. “The wisdom of men is foolishness with God.” And a man may have his head stored with much theological truth, and still be utterly destitute of true religion.

“The most learned lectures may be delivered to any man, or set of men, for years together, and yet if that kind of *energy* which urges to *immediate practice* be wanting, all will be vain.

“The tenor of the gospel is “now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation.” And the minister of the gospel, to be successful, must show by every word and every gesture that he feels it so. He must “know the terror of the Lord,” and act consistently with the deepest sense of it, or he will never effectually persuade men.

“This opinion is firmly supported by innumerable facts; and especially by facts which invariably present themselves at Camp-Meetings. Our Methodist preachers excel in this kind of *earnestness* or *Godly*

vehemence, and the most astonishing effects follow their labors on these occasions, *so favorable to their manner of preaching.*

"Instance the following statement.

"1. A Camp-Meeting was held at Rehoboth Chapel, in Warren county, Georgia, from the 8th to the 12th October, 1802, under the direction of the Rev. Hope Hull, Stith Mead, and others. The result was, that one hundred souls professed to be brought into the sweet and peaceful *love of God*, through the belief of the gospel. This was not *fox fire* as some by derision call it, *captivating the ignorant and the weak* only : Doctor Roberts, captain Joseph Bryant, and the worthy lady of judge Stith, with many other respectable and intelligent persons, were among the subjects of this work. Glorious manifestation of the power of God to save "*even now*" all them that believe.

"Query. Will any *Christian* dare to say that the Lord Jehovah was not here ?

"2. At a similar meeting in Oglethorp county, near Lexington, conducted by Rev. Hope Hull, a Methodist, and Rev. Robert Cunningham, a Presbyterian ; it was supposed that no less than one hundred and fifty professed the forgiveness of their sins, through the belief of the record which God has given concerning his Son. Here also persons of information and distinction came under the influence of the spirit of reformation.

"At Ebenezer Meeting-house, in Hancock county, from the 11th to 15th February, in bad weather, under the direction of Rev. Stith Mead, fifteen were found declaring the knowledge of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Of this number were judge Stith himself and two young ladies of his family.

"4. At Smyrna, near Washington, in Wilks county, a joint Camp-Meeting was again held by Messrs. Cunningham and Hull, from 28th July to 1st. August, about one hundred professed conversion from the error of their ways to the service of God.

"5. At Harris' Meeting-house, Washington, from 8th to 11th July, 1803, one hundred were supposed to obtain saving religion.

"6. At Mapp's Spring, in Green county, from 7th to 10th October, 1803, about forty, some said fifty, declared they had found the Lord.

"7. At Liberty Chapel, on Spirit Creek, near the city of Augusta, from 14th to 17th October, 1803, fifteen acknowledged the goodness of God in their salvation.

"8. At Stenchcomb's Meeting-house, in Elbert county, from 16th to 19th Sept. 1803, thirty were thought to have tasted the love of God.

"9. At Rehoboth, a second meeting at this place, from 18th to 22d Nov. 1803, thirty rejoiced in that they had found *him* of whom Moses and the Prophets did write.

"10. In Bedford county, Virginia, a Camp-Meeting was held under the management of LORENZO DOW and STITH MEAD, from 23d to 27th March, 1804, and here fifty were supposed to have obtained the forgiveness of their sins.

"11. At Tabernacle Meeting-house, Bedford, Virginia, from 17th to 21st May, 1804, it is believed that one hundred and fifty obtained a saving knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ his Son. N. B. Of my own knowledge, I can assert that the most amazing reformation

has followed those meetings which were held within the bounds of my acquaintance.

"12. At Charity Chapel, Powhatan county, from 8th to 12th June, 1804, one hundred said to be converted.

"13. At Leptwich Chapel, Bedford, from 20th to 24th July, 1804, one hundred were found praising God for his redeeming love.

"14. At Depews, in Bottetourt county, Virginia, from 3d to 7th August, 1804, fifty professed to be brought from darkness to light—from the bondage of sin and death, to the liberty of the children of God.

"15. At Ebenezer Chapel, (alias Board's Meeting-house) from 17th to 21st August, 1804, about fifty supposed to be converted.

"16. At Brown Chapel, Campbell county, from 21st to 25th Sept., 1805, although bad weather, thirty stood forth as witnesses for the cleansing power of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"17. At Ayers' Meeting-house, Bedford, from 19th to 25th July, 1805, it was thought that fifty found peace through believing.

"18. At the Double Springs Meeting-house, Buckingham county, from 6th to 10th September, 1805, one hundred professed to believe in the Lord Jesus for their salvation.

"19. At the Quarry Branch in Campbell county, from the 13th to 17th Sept. 1805, fifty were found ready to profess themselves to be lovers of the Lord Jesus. Some suppose there must have been many more.

"20. At Kingwood Meeting-house in Amherst, from 1st to 5th Nov. 1805, sixty became the subjects of the work of grace.

"These are a few of many similar instances, in which *"the Lord Jehovah has made bare his mighty arm"* at Methodist Camp-Meetings, and *"out of weakness has brought forth strength."* And what shall we say to these things? Shall all these facts be set aside, because it may be said, that some of these converts have miscarried? I think not. For when it is considered that many and great reformation are effected, and a very considerable number too, that have, for years, stood the test of ridicule, opposition, and every other species of modern trial, we must conclude that some at least, are genuine. For my own part I have no doubt of the sincerity of many.

"In addition to what has been said on the subject, it might not be amiss to drop a reflection or two, on the following clauses of Scripture.

"Matthew xiv. 13th to 21st verse. Here we find, that a *great multitude of men, women, and children* collected together out of the cities, &c. into the *desart place* where Jesus was, and that they continued with him until the *evening*, and *were fed by his immediate interposition*. Our Lord then was not displeased with such large and promiscuous collections of people.

"In the next chapter, viz. Matt. xv. 29th to 38th verse, we read thus, "And Jesus departed from thence, and came nigh unto the sea of Galilee, and went up into a mountain, and sat down there. And great multitudes came unto him, &c. Then Jesus called his disciples unto him, and said, I have compassion on the multitude, because they continue with me now THREE DAYS, and have nothing to eat, &c. &c. And they that did eat were four thousand." In Mark vi. chapter,

39th and 40th verses, and John vi. chapter, 1st to 14th verses, we have the same facts again recorded. It would seem, therefore, that our *Lord himself* on finding the multitude willing to receive instruction in the ways of salvation, had no objection to continue with them in the *mountain* or *desart* even *three days* together. If then in modern times the people show a disposition to relinquish worldly engagements for a season, that they may the more effectually commune with their God and their own souls, shall we therefore find fault? Let us take heed how we oppose ourselves against the workings of the spirit of truth!

"Again, by turning to Nehemiah viii. chapter, beginning at the 13th verse. From the sequel it would seem that by some means the children of Israel had lost sight of a peculiar ceremony commanded in the law of Moses. But when the old custom of reading the law in the ears of the people was revived by Nehemiah, it was noticed afresh, that they were commanded on the occasion of a certain feast to dwell in booths for seven days. And immediately the people went forth, and brought olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, &c. and made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the street of the water gate, &c.

"This ceremony was instituted in remembrance of *the journey through the wilderness*, and was particularly calculated to make impressions favorable to devotion, on the minds of the people.

"They had long been in a state of captivity, and Jerusalem their beloved city, and the Temple were nearly destroyed, when it entered the heart of Nehemiah to repair them. And when they had executed their work, he instituted the old custom of reading the law, &c. The people had been brought by adversity to feel that their transgressions had been the cause of their calamities. They were of course disposed to indulge in repentance. Their consciences were very much quickened, and they wished to be obedient to the whole law. They therefore built them booths and sat down under them, and reflected on the miraculous deliverances which their fathers had received when in the wilderness. They felt the weight of their own sins; they even imagined themselves to be in the same situation, strangers and pilgrims dwelling in booths. They lost sight of the bustle and commerce of the city, even while they remained in it, and renewed their covenant to love and serve the Lord.

"The blessed effects of Camp-Meetings were discovered as if by accident. But the discovery being made, those who were deeply interested in repairing *the walls and temple of the spiritual city of our God*, repeated the meetings with the happiest consequence. Here the people, by the similarity of their situation at once feel that this world is a wilderness, and that all are spiritual travellers. They lose sight of the world, and give a loose to reflection. By reflection they are brought to a sense of their sins, and by the help of the ministers and the exhortations of rejoicing converts, they are encouraged to fly speedily to the out-stretched arm of mercy. Being deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of the subject, they cease not day nor night to cry mightily to God, till they obtain power from on high to believe in the power of Jesus to save to the uttermost *all them that are ready to perish*.

"I shall conclude with observing, that it is not at all uncommon for persons to make up their minds on hearing of an intended Camp-Meeting, and to come forward with the express intention and full expectation of obtaining religion. So that the extraordinary effects of these meetings produce the most solemn reflections and important resolutions in the minds of the people when at home. This consideration ought to do away objections raised against the shortness of the work. And it is to be hoped, that all those who wish to be benefitted by the meetings, will turn a deaf ear to opposition of this kind, when they consider that the highest possible expectation is warranted by the word of God. Our Lord himself declared to the penitent thief, Luke xxiii chapter, 43d verse, To-day shalt thou be with me, &c.—Again, Corinth, vi. chapter, 2d verse, "Behold, *now* is the accepted time; behold, *now* is the day of salvation." Again, Acts xvi chapter, and from 31st to 34th verses, inclusive. We find that the Jailor was convinced and enable to believe, all in the same hour of the night. We might also add, that three thousand were made to know the Lord on the one notable day, the day of Pentecost. And Saul of Tarsus was converted within the term of three days. Take courage then, ye who desire to escape from the wrath to come. The sweet word of deliverance is, "BELIEVE IN THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND THOU SHALT BE SAVED."

HISTORY OF THE PRIMITIVE METHODISTS.

BY HUGH BOURNE.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Account of H. and J. Bourne.

Hugh and James Bourne, sons of Joseph and Ellen Bourne, were born at Fordhays, in the parish of Stoke upon Trent, in the county of Stafford. H. Bourne was born in the beginning of April, 1772; and J. Bourne about the middle of February, 1781. Their mother was notable for industry, and was pious according to the light she had. She taught nearly the whole of her numerous family to read; and endeavored to train them up in the fear of the Lord. Her trials in life were great and various, yet she had some comforts. Her eldest daughter, Mary, died happy in the Lord, at about twelve years of age; and while she lived, two of her sons became preachers of the gospel. She died triumphing in the Lord, and crying, "Come, Lord Jesus, and come quickly," on Thursday, August 7, 1817, at the age of eighty or eighty-one years.

H. Bourne, through his mother's pious care, was early impressed with a sense of Divine things, and in childhood was deeply convinced of sin, and passed through much sorrow.

In the year 1788, his parents removed to Bemersley farm, in the parish of Norton in the Moors, in the county of Stafford, where his mother finished her course, and where his father is still living, at the advanced age of eighty-eight years.

In the year 1799, H. Bourne became acquainted with the nature of justification by faith, that is, the justification of the ungodly by faith: and with the doctrine of the remission of sins; and of being born again. A pious person at Burslem lent his mother a volume consisting of various religious publications bound up together. It had a sermon on the Trinity, by Mr. Wesley, which was exceedingly useful to H. Bourne, especially the first part of it which says,

"Whatsoever the generality of people may think, it is certain that opinion is not religion; no, not right opinion, assent to one or to ten thousand truths. There is a wide difference between them: even right opinion is as distant from religion as the east is from the west.

Persons may be quite right in their opinions, and yet have no religion at all. And, on the other hand, persons may be truly religious who hold many wrong opinions."

Mr. W. proceeds to illustrate this by a variety of examples, and then says, "Hence we cannot but infer that there are ten thousand mistakes, which may, consist with real religion; with regard to which every candid considerate man, will think and let think."

These remarks enabled H. Bourne to distinguish what was religion, and what was not religion. And while reading Mr. Fletcher's letters on the Spiritual Manifestation of the Son of God, he realized the blessing therein described; he obtained the knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins, and was filled with all joy and peace through believing. The fruits of it were power over sin, and peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. And the fruits abiding confirmed it to him, that the work was of the Lord.

This took place in his father's house, in the spring of the year 1799, and at midsummer he joined the old Methodist Connexion; and in a short time his mother joined; and towards the latter end of the year 1800, James Bourne, his youngest brother, was brought into the way of religion, and joined also.

CHAPTER II.

Work of religion at Harresehead.—A day's praying spoken of.—Chapel built, and the design hindered.—Account of camp-meetings in the Methodist Magazines.—Second revival, or increase of religion at Harresehead.—Revival ceases.—A day's meeting spoken of.—L. Dow's labors, and visit to Harresehead. Norton camp meeting resolved on.—Mow first camp meeting held on Sunday, May 31, 1807.

In the year 1801, and for some time after, H. Bourne was much employed at and near Harresehead, about three miles distant from Bemersley. Harresehead had no means of grace, and the inhabitants, chiefly colliers, appeared to be entirely destitute of religion, and much addicted to ungodliness; it was indeed reckoned a profane neighborhood above most others.

H. Bourne endeavored to promote religion there, and on the 24th and 25th of December, 1801, he prevailed with a collier, Daniel Shubotham, of Harresehead, fully to set out for Heaven. Nearly at the same time another collier, Matthias Bayley, was, by other means, brought in the way to heaven.* These men were very earnest, and there was soon a considerable awakening; and a work of religion, usually called a revival, took place. Prayer meetings were established, a number were turned to righteousness: and there was a great reformation in the neighborhood.

Prayer meetings were usually held at the house of John Hall, of Harresehead; his wife being a member of the Methodist Society at Mow, about a mile and a half distant; and where there was preaching

* These two have since died happy in the Lord.

usually once a fortnight, and had been for some years. With this revival at Harresehead, a very great strictness grew up among the people, and none were willingly allowed to exercise in public who were not correct in their conduct, and diligent in the duties of their callings. And on week day evenings, the prayer meetings were seldom held very long, that they might not interfere with other duties.

This was not always agreeable to every one, for at the close of a very lively meeting, some would frequently be saying, they should have liked it to have continued longer. On one of these occasions, when several were speaking in this manner, D. Shubotham said, "You shall have a meeting upon Mow some Sunday, and have a whole day's praying, and then you'll be satisfied." This speech was quite new and unexpected, and struck the people with a degree of surprise.

A few nights after on a similar occasion he used the same words; and the people began to take it up. The thing seemed suitable, as it held out a prospect of having a fair course of praying, without any restraint.

Their design of having "A day's praying," was, however frustrated in the following manner. H. Bourne prevailed with them to join the Old Methodist Society, and the same year, 1802, he built a chapel at Harresehead, in a great measure at his own expense; and preaching was appointed in it for ten and two, every Sunday. This was overdoing it. The work had been raised up chiefly by means of pious conversation and prayer meetings; and so very much preaching at such a place, and under such circumstances, seemed not to have a good effect; it seemed to hinder the exertions of the people. And the preachers, in general, were unfavorable to the day's praying upon Mow. H. Bourne was grieved with this; he thought the people should not have been hindered of their day's meeting. And the revival soon made a pause. But those who had been brought in, stood very firm.

About this time the Methodist Magazines began to be circulated at Harresehead. They contained accounts of a great work of religion in America, carried on chiefly by means of camp meetings, usually held in the open air, with various exercises, for several days together. Through the constant reading of these, the day's meeting upon Mow was frequently brought up in conversation, and it began to be called a camp meeting.

At Michaelmas, 1804, another revival or increase of religion arose at Harresehead, by the following means. There were then living at and near Stockton, a number of poor, but very pious people, who were members of the Old Methodist connexion, and were called REVIVALISTS. And a pious person, J. Clark of Congleton, engaged a number of them, (at a considerable expense to himself,) to attend the Michaelmas lovefeast, at the old Methodist chapel at Congleton; and sent an invitation to the pious people at Harresehead to meet them there. At the lovefeast they made a variety of remarks on a free, full, and present salvation, to be obtained by faith, and held by faith; and they spoke much of being sanctified wholly. When the love feast was closed they held a meeting in J. Clark's house, at which H. Bourne and the Harresehead people were present. This meeting was lively;

they prayed with some who were seeking pardon, and others who were seeking to be sanctified wholly. And the Lord crowned their labors with success, and made them a means of bringing H. Bourne and the Harresehead people more fully into the law of faith, and by this means the design of J. Clark was accomplished.

The next evening, Monday, H. Bourne was at the class meeting in Harresehead chapel; there was an extraordinary outpouring of the Spirit; and a very great quickening ran speedily throughout the society. The word was like fire among dry stubble: the work broke out in all directions; and numbers were converted to God. The strictness already established, gave great stability to the revival; and, in a short time, there was a reviving in almost every part of the circuit, and many were added to the Lord.

At Tunstall the revival made its first effectual appearance in the class led by Mr. James Steele, and it grew powerful. A number were converted to God, who proved very firm in the cause of religion, among whom were William Clowes, James Nixon, and William Morris. And between these people and H. and J. Bourne an intimacy grew up; and in particular between H. Bourne and William Clowes.

Early in the year 1806, owing, as it was thought, to some steps taken by the under travelling preacher, the revival at Harresehead made a pause, which was cause of grief to many, and the more so as upwards of twelve months elapsed without a single conversion taking place. During this interval, many wished the day's meeting upon Mow to be held hoping it would be a means to increase or revive religion.

They conceived that the first proposal of a day's meeting was providential. And, as the Methodist Magazines shewed that camp meetings had been a means of a great increase or revival of religion in America, they thought there was reason to hope they would be useful in England. Again it was observed that an expectation of such a meeting had been raised, had spread largely, and had been kept alive for some years; and this was thought to indicate a call of providence.

One of the colliers, Thomas Cotton,* who had been brought to the Lord in the revival, and was become a useful local preacher, was very strenuous for it. But D. Shubotham was reluctant, on account of preaching being appointed at ten and two in the chapel.

About this time, there was a revival at Congleton, and another at Macclesfield, under the ministry of LORENZO DOW, a native of America. This man spoke largely of the camp meetings, both in public and private, and printed several tracts on the subject. These things, in addition to the Methodist Magazines, filled the country with camp meeting conversations. And the desires to see a camp meeting were raised very high.

About the beginning of April, 1807, L. D. spoke at Harresehead chapel. Here H. Bourne heard him for the first time; and here too he spoke largely of the camp meetings; observing that, occasionally, something of a pentecostal power attended them; and that for a considerable time, in America, as much good had been done, and as many

*T. Cotton has since died happy in the Lord.

souls brought to God, at the camp meetings, as at all the other meetings put together.

The next morning, H. and J. Bourne heard him preach his farewell sermon at Congleton, being on the point of returning to America. Before he set off, H. Bourne purchased from him a pamphlet containing some account how the camp meetings were held; and another entitled, "A Defence of Camp Meetings, by the Rev. S. K. Jennings, A. M."

H. Bourne, on reading these, resolved on a camp meeting to be held in August, at Norton in the Moors, to counteract the bad effect of the wake or annual parish feast. The society at that place had for some years, uniformly suffered a loss of members at the times of the wakes, chiefly by the young people being drawn into vanity: and he judged a camp meeting would be the only means to engage their attention, and prevent their being so drawn away. There was a number of earnest pious people, at and about Norton; and he thought to engage the assistance of some of the pious praying labourers from Harresehead, and pay them wages for loss of time; and he expected also the assistance of two or three preachers: and with all these means, he conceived there was a prospect of holding a meeting for a few days, at the beginning of the week, until the heat of the wake should be gone past.

In a few days after this he went to Harresehead to attend the class, and confer with the people about the matter. He laid open before them the plan and design of the proposed Norton camp meeting. It fully met their approbation, and a number of them engaged to give their assistance.

They themselves, had formed a design to hold a camp meeting, and it was now thought right to bring it to a conclusion. The preachers' plan was examined, and it being found that Thomas Cotton was the preacher appointed in Harresehead chapel for Sunday, May 31, 1807, that day was fixed upon for the camp meeting, and published accordingly. And, in the mean time, prayer and supplication were made unto the Lord without ceasing, to bless and prosper the camp meetings.

The camp meeting was published to begin at six o'clock in the morning, if the weather proved fine; but for no camp meeting to be expected if it was rainy. And very early in the morning, there fell so much rain that the Harresehead people gave up all further thought of the meeting, and both they and H. Bourne concluded there would be no meeting. But it proved to be the Lord's will that there certainly should be a camp meeting. And, under his divine influence, many pious people came in from distant places; and about six o'clock, they began the meeting, and carried it on for a considerable time, before the Harresehead people came to the ground.

It was held on the Cheshire side of Mow, in a field belonging to pious old Joseph Pointon the old class leader.* The first preaching stand was only a few yards from the boundary line which parts the two counties, and which runs nearly along the ridge of the mountain.

The weather, at first, seemed unfavorable, there was a show of rain

* He has since died, gloriously triumphing in the Lord.

and occasionally a little moisture descended. But in a short time the clouds dispersed, and the Lord sent fine weather the whole of the day.

The people came in very fast, and after some time another preaching stand was erected, at a considerable distance from the first. And nearly at the same time two praying companies took up their stations, and in these companies the Lord made bare his arm; several were brought into distress, and some were brought into liberty.

There were permanent praying companies, they did not break up for preaching.*

About noon a third preaching stand was erected, and after that a fourth. At the preaching stands the services were diversified; they were carried on with singing, prayer, preaching, exhortations, speaking experience, relating anecdotes, &c.

The meeting went on without intermission, from about six in the morning, till about half past eight in the evening: and a great solemnity rested on the people all the time.

In the afternoon, a camp meeting was appointed to be held upon Mow, in July, and to continue a few days, to engage the people, and counteract the bad effect of the wake; and it was published together with that to be held at Norton.

Soon after four o'clock the congregation began sensibly to decline, and at six they were confined to one stand. The meeting then proceeded chiefly in praying services. About seven o'clock several were brought under a concern, chiefly by being spoken to, while the meeting was going on: and six were brought into liberty. About half past eight the meeting closed. And this was the first Mow CAMP MEETING.

CHAPTER III.

Good done at the first Meeting.---An account published.---Opposition.---Proceedings of the second Mow camp meeting.---Opposition turned to good.---Many converted.

The first camp meeting exceeded the expectation of the people both in the greatness of it and in its effect. A visible change for the better appeared in the neighborhood; and it was the unanimous opinion of the pious people at Harresehead, that more good had been done at that meeting than at all the preachings and meetings in that neighborhood, during the preceding twelve months. H. Bourne wrote an account of the meeting, of which, (being printed in a small pamphlet) thousands were speedily circulated. Camp Meetings being new in Eng-

* This method was again adopted on Sunday, July 30, 1820, at a camp meeting near Loughborough; where a permanent company was formed to pray with mourners, and they laboured, without intermission, from ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, till nine in the evening. See the Primitive Methodist Magazine, volume 1. page 241.

land, people wished to know how the services were carried on, and what success attended the labors.

As the camp meetings were calculated for great usefulness, they met with great and unexpected opposition. In the first place, the two travelling preachers in the Burslem circuit put out hand-bills against them. And in a short time, the travelling preachers in the Macclesfield circuit did the same.

In addition to this, a man in the Potteries who was a great persecutor of religion, gave it out that he would crush the camp meetings. This he thought to do by means of the Conventicle Act, which was then unrepealed.* Many eyes were fixed on this man. His hatred to religion was well known; and many, both professors and profane, fully expected that the camp meetings would be immediately suppressed. And this man's threats, together with the travelling preachers' exertions, hindered several from attending.

Nevertheless, on Sunday, July 19, 1807, the wake commenced, and the second Mow camp meeting was held. Great numbers attended, and it was well supported; and proceeded with energy and effect. Twice during the day the work broke out in a powerful manner, and many were brought into liberty.

On one of these occasions, when many were praying with mourners the persecutor before mentioned, came on horseback, attended with one or two more. He attempted to break into the meeting where prayer was making for mourners, but could not succeed. He then inquired for the heads of the meeting, and was directed to H. Bourne, who had just before retired behind a hill, and who was ignorant of this man, and of his intentions. The man, however, was soon brought to him, and appeared to be very warm. But he conversed with him coolly and at large. The man then, with some threatenings, went away, riding past the congregation. The Lord then interposed, and struck such a terror on him, that he stopped his horse, and sent for H. Bourne, and seemed conscious of being in an error. After some conversation, he took leave; and, at parting said: "God bless you." And the people present said, "God bless him."

Through the blessing of Almighty God, this man's coming proved of the utmost service to the camp meetings. It put a bridle on the open persecution; it being naturally concluded, that if any thing could have been safely done against the camp meetings, this man would have done it.

On the Monday, the meeting was numerous and proceeded with good effect, and a number of conversions took place. On Tuesday the company was small, but the meeting was powerful. The following is an extract from H. Bourne's journal: "About forty were converted on the Sunday, and about twenty on the Monday; on the Tuesday, towards night, we broke up."

* This act was repealed in 1812.

CHAPTER IV.

Expectation of a general spread of the gospel.—Useful institutions.—On the first and second Mow camp meetings.—Many failed when opposition arose.—Minute of the Old Methodist Conference against camp meetings.—Remarks thereon, and on the opposition.—Brown Edge camp meeting. Norton camp meeting commences, and is supported in an extraordinary manner.

Pious people of almost all denominations look for a general spread of the Gospel, and many powerful institutions have arisen for increasing the work; and among these are the camp meetings, which are likely to go through the world, and become a general blessing.

At the first camp meeting, there were abundance of local preachers and praying laborers of the Old Methodist Connexion. These came from Macclesfield, Congleton, and many other places. From Tunstall there was a considerable number who were not preachers, but who labored diligently, among whom were William Clowes and James Nixon. There were also several preachers of the Independent Methodists. Pious people in general seemed satisfied that such meetings were of the Lord. But many who had never seen a camp meeting, began to oppose, and made a general attack on field preaching; allowing, indeed, that in Mr. Wesley's days it was right, but had become improper since that time. Their opposition and arguments had great effect, and many became undecided in their minds; yet the second Mow camp meeting was well supported. Many of the Independent Methodists attended. J. Nixon also attended, and W. Clowes was there with several others from Tunstall, although some of them were getting undecided in their minds.

So soon as opposition arose, the weight of the camp meeting cause was thrown upon H. and J. Bourne, and involved them in various difficulties, and these difficulties were much increased by the following Minute of the Old Methodist Conference, made about this time:—

“Q. What is the judgment of the Conference concerning what are called Camp Meetings.”

“A. It is our judgment, that even supposing such meetings to be allowable in America, they are highly improper in England, and likely to be productive of considerable mischief: and we disclaim all connexion with them.”

This brought the matter to an extraordinary issue. On the one hand, it was understood, that the whole force of the Conference would be levelled against the camp meetings, and, in particular against the Norton camp meeting: and, on the other hand, it was thought that the Conference had been strangely misled. The openly profane also began to muster all their force. They had been foiled at the second Mow camp meeting, but they again attempted to oppose by every means in their power, and they circulated a report that a Magistrate or some other person in authority had said, he would see whether Hugh Bourne must rule all the country.

A camp meeting was, however, held at Brown Edge, about two miles from Norton, on Sunday, August 16, 1807. This was carried

on by H. Bourne, T. Cotton, and some praying laborers from Harresehead and Norton: the Lord owned the labors, and a very ungodly man was turned to seriousness. This meeting was not very large, but its success strengthened the cause.

But it was for the Norton camp meeting to decide the grand question, whether the camp meetings should be entirely swept away, or whether they should be established upon an unshaken foundation; and therefore the whole force of the opposition was levelled against that camp meeting. The opposition of the openly profane was teasing and troublesome; but the Minute of Conference, and the arguments against field preaching, had a still greater effect, and convinced the judgments, or staggered the resolutions of many. And, indeed, so extraordinary was the nature and force of this opposition, that for a few days, J. Bourne himself was undecided in his mind: but on giving himself up to earnest prayer for direction, the Lord, by a remarkable dream, set his mind at rest.

No opposition could shake H. Bourne; he believed from the first that the camp meetings were of the Lord, and that it was his duty to stand by them. This, in some degree arose from the following circumstance:—Shortly after the Norton and Mow first camp meetings were appointed, he and D. Shubotham and M. Bailey, were at pious old Joseph Pointon's, and while praying for those camp meetings, it was strongly impressed on H. Bourne's mind, that they should not die, but live. From this it was concluded that, from some quarter, severe opposition would arise, but that the Lord would stand by those two camp meetings: And time has proved that conclusion to be right. And from that moment, H. Bourne believed himself called of God to stand by the camp meetings, and that if he deserted the cause it would be at the peril of his soul.

The Minute of Conference, and the arguments against field preaching, seemed weighty to many; but some things had weight on the other side:—

1. H. and J. Bourne were not shaken concerning worship in the open air: this, they knew, to be both methodistical and scriptural.

2. The design of the first Mow camp meeting was to complete what had first started under the idea of "A day's praying upon Mow." Norton camp meeting was appointed to preserve the society from the ravages of the wake. And the second Mow camp meeting was also designed to counteract the bad effect of the wake, held, at the time, in that parish.

3. Camp meetings were perfectly consistent with Methodism, as was manifest from the Methodist Magazines.

4. The twenty-first article in the Church Prayer Book says, that general assemblies may err, and have erred; and in making that Minute there was an error, or departure from the line of methodism laid down by Mr. Wesley. The case of the watch nights was somewhat similar. When these were begun by the Kingswood colliers, Mr. Wesley was strongly solicited to put a stop to them. But he wisely determined first to see a watch night himself: and the consequence was, he established them generally in the Methodist Connection: and they have been, and still are, a blessing to thousands.

But the Minute of Conference against camp meetings, was ground-

ed upon hearsay and report only, not one of the Conference having seen any of those meetings.

5. The travelling preachers who first raised the opposition had never seen a camp meeting.

6. During that year, more souls had been converted to God, at the camp meetings, than in all the circuit besides.

These and other things induced H. and J. Bourne to believe that their duty to God and man, as well as their peculiar duty as members of the Old Methodist Connexion, required them to support the camp meetings, until the Lord had shown to the contrary. But by so doing they were involved in a variety of troubles, and had almost a prospect of being ruined in their worldly circumstances.

The more opposition increased, the more Norton camp meeting rose in importance, and there was a considerable agitation in the country. H. and J. Bourne were of opinion that the Lord would support that camp meeting; but in what manner they could not foresee. They, however, made all the preparations in their power. And, as this and Mow, second camp meeting were accompanied with tents, it cost them both trouble and expense, and they were thrown upon a variety of other expenses by the grievous opposition. They, however, conceived that at this meeting the Lord would manifest his will, and the matter would be settled.

There seldom happens a meeting which is contemplated with so much anxiety as this; or which causes so much thought, or so great a moving in the country. However, at length, Sunday, August 23. 1807, arrived; and, rather early in the morning, a few laborers were on the ground, and the camp meeting commenced. A few from Harresehead and other places, with J. Nixon from Tunstall were present; and the pious people at and about Norton were very diligent. H. and J. Bourne were thankful for this assistance: these, however, appeared but a small company to support so very large a meeting.

The weather occasionally was unfavorable, but people came in very fast, and the meeting proceeded hopefully; but when it grew very large, the laborers being few, seemed rather discouraged; and it appeared doubtful whether the meeting would be supported throughout the day. But a stranger came into the field, and endeavoured to introduce himself to the meeting. He was admitted, at first with caution, but the Lord soon opened his way. His name was Paul Johnson, a doctor of physic from Dublin, in Ireland. A friend of his in Cheshire had written him an account of the English camp meetings, and in waiting before the Lord, he believed the Lord required him to attend that camp meeting. It was difficult for him to leave his business so long; nevertheless, believing it to be the will of God, he came over into England, and came to the Norton camp meeting. He was an excellent speaker, and his coming was a means of restoring confidence to the meeting: and he was one of its chiefest supports.

In the afternoon, T. Cotton came to the field, and the meeting went on powerfully, and without intermission till between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. It proceeded with power on the Monday, and was resumed in the afternoon on Tuesday, and on Tuesday evening this extraordinary meeting was finally closed: and the end first intended was fully accomplished. The Lord so favored it, that the whole

society was preserved; not one member being drawn away by the vanities of the wake. And from that important moment, the English camp meetings were established on an immovable foundation, and could never afterwards be shaken.

The coming of Dr. Johnson was looked upon as an extraordinary interposition of Divine Providence, and H. and J. Bourne were satisfied that the camp meetings were of the Lord; and they were equally satisfied, that their duty as members of the Old Methodist Connection, required them to uphold and support the camp meetings. It is true, the Conference, through crediting reports, had rejected the camp meetings for a time,* but H. and J. Bourne knew that the Lord could turn the minds of the Conference, or carry on the camp meetings by other means.

CHAPTER V.

On the rejection of Camp Meetings. New line of proceedings opened. Origin of the Connection. Changes introduced by the Camp Meetings.

The camp meetings being, at that time rejected by the Old Methodist Conference, were given into the hands of H. and J. Bourne; and at the Norton camp meetings they had another proof of the goodness and mercy of God: for there when expected help was cut off, the Lord provided unexpected help. This opened a new line of proceedings, and was a guide to them in their future labors. It taught them not to depend on man, but to do their duty, and leave the event of all things to God. And it was as a rule with them not to invite any to assist them in their various labors, but to do their duty, and trust in the Lord for support; and they found him according to his word.

It seems as if at this time, a new system arose, and a new line of proceedings opened; the camp meetings introduced such changes, as put a new appearance on the face of things.

1. They were a means of restoring and establishing worship in the open air. Mr. Wesley established that part of it which is called field preaching; but which, depending wholly on preaching was nearly worn out. But the camp meetings introduced it with a variety of exercises each assisting each, and thus established it on a firm and broad basis.

2. Meetings soon rose up which were held in the open air, with a variety of religious exercises, for two or three hours together. These were crowned with considerable success; and the people for convenience called them small camp meetings.

3. The camp meetings, by a change of exercises, enable people to continue the active worship of God, for a course of time, with energy and effect.

* Since the camp meetings have spread so extensively, and their utility has been made manifest, many such meetings have been held in the Old Methodist Connection. And, it is understood that in 1820, their Conference adopted such meetings, only requiring them to be called by a different name!

4. They open the way for missionary labors, and promote a spirit of enterprise.

5. The camp meeting praying services impart vigor, energy, and courage, to the pious praying laborers; and this strengthens other prayer meetings.

6. They have been a means of establishing prayer meetings at the close of preachings. The preachers find the preaching to be a part only of their duty, they have besides, to collect the energies of the people, and make a general effort to bring forward the work of God.

CHAPTER VI.

H. and J. Bourne begin to labor extensively in new places. Lask Edge. Mr. Smith's house at Tunstall opened for public worship. Tean, Wooton, Ramsor. Various camp meetings. H. Bourne separated from the Old Connection. Second meeting at Wooton. Now fourth camp meeting. H. and J. Bourne not willing to take wholly the care of societies. Ramsor first and second camp meetings.

WHEN the Norton camp meeting had risen over every obstacle, it appeared as if opposition had spent its chief force; and it never afterwards rose to any material height. Yet the Minute of Conference was still pressed, and H. and J. Bourne were made to feel the force of it in a variety of ways.

They, however, were so intent upon the conversion of souls to God, that it swallowed up other considerations; and when the Minute of Conference continued to be pressed, the Lord, in another respect, led them in a new tract. There were various neighborhoods where no means of grace were established; and the Lord opened their hearts to visit some of those neighborhoods. At the Norton camp meeting, they had a strong invitation to visit Lask Edge, about four miles from Bemersley. Here a society was soon raised up: and it being on the skirts of the Leek circuit of the Old Connection, it was joined to that circuit. Nevertheless, H. and J. Bourne, for some years, supplied it usually once a fortnight with preaching.

Towards the close of this year 1807, a Mr. Smith of Tunstall made accommodations for preaching in a large room, in his own house. It was in this house the cause of methodism at Tunstall was first raised up; and it was chiefly supported by this family. This family also gave the land on which the Old Methodist Chapel was built. And now the house was again opened for public worship; and it was chiefly supplied by the local preachers of the Old Methodist Connection. Mr. James Steele was cousin and steward to Mr. Smith, and on account of Mr. Smith's great age, he was much with him in the house, and conducted the family worship. He also attended and assisted at the public worship, and was a means of drawing respect to it.

Early in the year 1808, J. Bourne, by a peculiar call of Divine providence, went and preached in the open air at Tean, a village about twenty miles from Bemersley. This opening being followed a

society was soon raised up, and it was joined to one of the circuits of the Old Connection; yet for some some years, H. and J. Bourne had to provide for it once a fortnight, the same as Lask Edge.

H. and J. Bourne, when their employments would admit of it, had for some years, been in the habit of enterprising, and making religious excursions, and had labored much at Kingsley, in Staffordshire, which is within a few miles of Tean. Their laboring in these places was a means, in the hand of Divine Providence, of leading them to Farley, and from there to Ramsor and Wooten, where the cause made a powerful stand, and from whence it spread very extensively.

At the instance of a pious young woman at Farley, an appointment was made for J. Bourne to preach there on Sunday, March 20, 1808. But he being unavoidably called another way, H. Bourne supplied his place, and it was a powerful time. There being then at Ramsor a small Methodist society, of which this young woman was a member, they were most of them at this preaching; and about the 10th of April 1808, they sent H. Bourne an invitation to preach at Ramsor. But he and J. Bourne had then appointments certain to Sunday, May the 1st; on which day they were to open the camp meetings for 1808, by holding one on the top of a mountain in Shropshire, called Rekin. There had existed, time out of mind, an evil custom of multitudes assembling on the top of Rekin on the first Sunday in May, and spending the day in iniquity. This place was about forty miles from Bemersley, and here they began the camp meetings for 1808. The account in H. Bourne's journal is as follows:—

“The Rekin is a large mountain commanding a vast extent of country. It is very difficult of ascent being exceedingly steep; and when you seem to have gained the summit, there appears (as it were) another mountain before you, &c. There was a vast number of people. (The meeting) began about half past twelve: I had great liberty as had others, (we gave away a great many religious tracts,) and about five we broke up.”

On Saturday evening, May 7, 1808, H. Bourne visited Ramsor, and preached there for the first time. The next morning, Sunday May 8, Francis Horobin, took him abroad, and pointed out to him a number of villages which had no means of grace, advising him that some of them should be visited, saying that he himself would render all the assistance in his power. This was singular, as he himself was not then in the way to heaven. However, they fixed on Wooton-under-Weaver, about a mile from Ramsor, and appointed meeting there for Sunday May 22. H. Bourne was at two meetings in the forenoon, and at two o'clock he preached at Ramsor, and then departed.

Sunday, May 15, 1808. A camp meeting was held at Bug-Lawton in Cheshire. Here reading was first introduced.

On Sunday, May 22, 1808, H. and J. Bourne held their first Wooton meeting. It was held in the open air. The congregation was very large, and behaved with the utmost propriety. This was properly a small camp meeting; it began about a quarter past two, and continued a great part of the afternoon: and was attended with great success.

“On the Sunday following May 29, 1808, Mow third camp meeting commenced about nine o'clock in the morning, and broke up

between six and seven at night. We began with a prayer meeting; then E. H. spoke; then prayer; then I spoke; then we prayed, and T. Cotton spoke; then a prayer meeting, at the conclusion of which we gave away hand bills, rules for holy living: we then stopped for dinner.

"We had some opposition, but we had plenty of laborers. Glory be to God for ever.

"Before dinner was over I began to read, and I read a long time. I at first thought I should be immediately exhausted. But I thought 'The Lord can give strength,' and so it was; for as my strength failed, I was supplied with new strength. Glory be to God.

"The power of God came down upon the congregation in the morning, and never left it all the day, so that the company was solemn. There was a very great company in the afternoon, and about three o'clock a very sharp fire; one was set at liberty, and others were in distress, and the power of God continued strong till the meeting broke up at night."

J. Bourne spoke in the afternoon, and this meeting had a good effect.

On Saturday, June 18, 1808, H. Bourne believing it to be the will of the Lord, set out upon a religious excursion, into Cheshire and Lancashire. And on Thursday, June 23, being on his return home, an extraordinary impression came in his mind that he should soon be put out of the Old Methodist Society. This, at first struck him with surprise; but on considering that he had not heard any hint of such a thing, and that he was, at that time, a Trustee in the society, he thought it quite unlikely for such a thing to take place; and he put away the impression. But it returned with such force that in struggling against it he was deprived of all peace of mind, and of all comfort. After some time he found himself obliged to yield to it, and on his so doing, joy unspeakable flowed in his soul, and he was filled with all joy and peace in believing.

The following which are marked with double commas, are extracts from H. Bourne's journal.

"Saturday 25. I set off to Kingsley. Sunday, June 26, I led the class. At noon we set off to Tean, and held meeting out of doors, and had a large congregation; and good I believe, was done. We gave them rules for holy living, and appointed meeting to be in a fortnight in the forenoon."

Note.—This was done that the afternoon might be at liberty for missionary elsewhere.

"At night I stood up at Kingsley, and the Lord touched many hearts.

"Monday 27, I started home. At night I went to Tunstall, saw Wm. Clowes, and went with him to the (religious) tract (society) meeting.

On Tuesday, June 28, 1808. H. Bourne had proof that the impression on the Thursday was correct; the report reached him, that at the Quarter-day meeting held the day before at Burslem, he was put out of the Old Methodist Society. His being put out without any kind of hearing was looked upon as a breach of discipline, and the more so as he was at that time a Trustee in the society. He, however was resigned

to the Lord's will, and felt thankful that the Lord had so prepared his mind. For so great was his attachment to the Old Connexion, that he conceived the trial would have been too heavy for him if the Lord had not interposed.

The following are chiefly extracts from his journal :—

"Friday, July 8, 1808. I went to Tunstall. J. Nixon discoursed with me about being out of the society. I said, I ought (to have had an opportunity) to have answered for myself. He said I should endeavor to come in again. I said, I had left it to the Lord. He said, I should have more privileges. I said, (as it was) I should have the privilege of doing the Lord's will. He said, if I did that I should be a happy man. Nevertheless, he thought I ought to talk with —— about it, to prevent him from acting hastily another time. We then talked of the deep things of religion."

"Saturday July 9, 1808. I set off for Kingsley, and had a happy time just before I arrived." *Note.*—He and J. Bourne had thought of visiting some new place on the ensuing Sunday; and during that time, he waited on the Lord for direction, and believed it to be the will of God that they should visit Wooton. This, however, required extraordinary exertion of travelling.

"Sunday July 10. I set off early to Wooton, about seven miles, to appoint meeting for half-past two, or three in the afternoon. I had then about ten miles to go to Tean, and a hilly cross country road.—However the Lord gave me strength, and I forced my way; but was very foot-sore, and quite a stranger to the road. I reached before J. Bourne had read his text; and the power of the Lord laid hold on part of the congregation.

"J. Bourne had a horse, so we rode by turns, and forced our way to Wooton in due time; and we had a pleasant meeting. We then set off home, and arrived late." *Note.* This second Wooton meeting was extraordinary both in itself and in the circumstances which attended it. And from that time H. and J. Bourne continued regularly to visit Wooton and Ramsor, connecting them with Tean.

"Sunday, July 17. We had (another) camp meeting at Mow.—We invited, I believe, no one. We let people, and left it to the Lord to send whom he would, and he sent plenty of laborers."

The Norton camp meeting had convinced them fully that there was no trusting in an arm of flesh; and also that the Lord would support his own cause. They, therefore, endeavored to move cautiously in their multiplied labors, but without inviting any one to assist them.—Yet the Lord so moved on the minds of the people, that the camp meetings were well supported, and in their labors several voluntarily came forward to assist; and for these they made regular appointments together with themselves. Thomas Cotton labored much with them, and was very useful: but as he was a poor man and had a large family, they paid him wages for all loss of time, and gave him a deal of support besides.

Their end and aim was the conversion of sinners to God; and they were exceedingly averse from going any further than was strictly necessary to promote this great end. On this account they did not form societies in the full sense of the word; and the fruits of their labors usually fell into the Old Methodist Connection.

"Saturday, August 20, 1808. As I (H. B.) was going to Ramsor, I planned out a camp meeting to be held on Ramsor Common. And when at Ramsor, F. Horobin set on and planned out just the same meeting; and proposed it to be in a fortnight. This I thought remarkable, as I had not spoken to him about it." *Note.* This being rather extraordinary, the camp meeting was immediately published.

"Saturday, September 3. I started with J. H. and Wm. Clowes to Ramsor, where we held a meeting.

"Sunday, September 4, 1808, the camp meeting began. It had rained much in the night, and it had been rainy a long time. But the Lord sent us a fine day. In this we saw and acknowledged the finger of God.—Many were affected."

This very successful camp meeting was carried on chiefly by praying services. Matthias Bayley was there with several others from about Harresehead, although the distance was about twenty miles.

"Sunday, September 18, 1808. I (H. B.) preached at Lask Edge, Gratton, and Gillow Heath. J. Bourne and T. Cotton were at Tean and Wooton. T. Cotton brought word that a great many started for heaven at the camp meeting, and there is a great desire for another.

"Wednesday 21. J. H. strongly requested me to write to F. Horobin to appoint another camp meeting, which I complied with.

"Saturday, October 8. I went to Ramsor with W. Clowes and another person. It was a very rainy day.

"Sunday, October 9, 1808. Camp meeting began about half-past nine o'clock. There was good attention, (and fine weather) all the day. The meeting broke up about five o'clock, and we went home, riding by turns." At this meeting W. Clowes first began to preach, and the people encouraged him to go on in the same way.

These two very successful meetings closed the camp meetings for the year 1808.

"Wednesday, October 19, 1808. I (H. B.) was at Harresehead prayer meeting, and had an extraordinary time. I told several there of the revival that is now springing up at Ramsor, and the neighborhood thereabout, and asked what other way that revival could have been begun. They, in general concluded, that it could not well, at this time, have been begun in any other way but by camp meetings."

CHAPTER VII.

Various camp meetings—A young preacher raised up—A person taken out as a travelling preacher—Standley visited and a society raised up—Intention to join it to the old connection—That intention frustrated—Reflections thereon from H. Bourne's Journal—H. and J. Bourne obliged to enlarge their views—State of the connection.

In the former part of the year 1809, the current of things went on as before. On Sunday, May 21, a camp meeting was held at Ramsor. On Sunday, June 18, another was held upon Mow. On Sunday, July 9, a powerful camp meeting was held upon a mountain in Bid-

dulph, which is in Staffordshire. And on Sunday, July 16, a very large camp meeting was held upon Mow. These were the principal camp meetings held this year.

On Tuesday, August 22, 1809, a young man, William Allcock, at H. Bourne's request, stood up to preach for the first time. He soon became an active useful preacher, and was a means of strengthening the cause.

In November, a travelling preacher was engaged. The entry of it in H. Bourne's journal is as follows: "Friday, (November) 17, (1809,) I agreed with ——— to give him ten shillings a week, till Lady day (next,) to labor in the vineyard.

The directions to this man were, To follow the openings of Providence: and get as many as he could converted to the Lord, and advise them to join other connections.

On Wednesday evening, March 14, 1810, H. and J. Bourne visited Standley, a village about four miles distant from Bemersley. The meeting was held at the house of Joseph Slater, who was nearly related to them. After the conclusion of the meeting, H. B. was a means of bringing his wife, Mary Slater, into the immediate faith of the gospel, and she obtained joy and peace through believing. A work immediately begun. The meetings were held at J. Slater's house and a class of ten members* was soon raised up.

This society, H. and J. Bourne intended to get united with the Burslem circuit of the old connexion; but a multitude of calls delayed the application: and it was still further delayed, by the circumstance of H. B. on Saturday, April 7, making an excursion into Cheshire, and continuing to labor in Cheshire and Lancashire, till Thursday, May 10, 1810, before he returned home.

During this interval, a class leader in the Burslem circuit of the old connection, made such an interference, with regard to Standley, as, in its issue, cut off all prospect of uniting Standley society with the old connection.

This gave extreme trial of mind to J. Bourne, and when H. Bourne came home, he was struck with astonishment on being informed that they should be obliged to take wholly upon themselves the care of Standley society. There was, however, no remedy. Necessity was laid upon them, and they could not draw back without sacrificing conscience; and therefore, with fear and trembling, they entered upon their more extensive charge. But their fears were soon dispelled.—Another young man was raised up as a preacher among them, and the Lord sent in so much assistance that their minds were soon fully reconciled.

The following extract from H. B.'s journal, which was written at Standley, will throw light on this part of the history; it is as follows:—

"Wednesday, May 23, (1810) I cannot but look back and admire the wonderful hand of God. It was not my intention to have had

* In a short time, one of these, an afflicted young woman, died happy in the Lord. Another, a young man, Samuel Simcock, after sometime became a laborious local preacher. His course was marked with great usefulness, and on Wednesday, June 11, 1817, he died happy in the Lord. For an account of him, see the *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, vol. I. page 145.

any thing to do with raising up separate societies ; but to have raised up as many people into the service of God as I was able, and then to have encouraged them to join other societies. This view I had, from a supposition that there was (already) a sufficient number of societies ; from a vehement attachment to the Old Methodists, and from a peculiar aversion to having any ruling part, or any thing to do at the head of societies. But Mr. ———'s conduct about Standley has quite put a different turn upon things. Here necessity is laid upon us, and we are obliged to go in the work without them. It was rather extraordinary that Mr. ——— should desire to thrust away those that were the instruments of raising up the work, and also that have supported the work hitherto ; and that he should absolutely refuse to join the people to the old society on any other terms."

From this time their views were changed, and the great reluctance to taking upon them the care of societies was removed ; yet they proceeded with much care and caution.

The cause or connection was growing weighty on their hands. Six places, Lask Edge, Tean, Wooton, Ramsor, Caldor Lowe, and Standley, were supplied stately with preaching, besides visiting new places, and holding camp meetings.

They still continued to employ their travelling preacher, and T. Cotton, with the two young men before mentioned, labored much with them ; and three other preachers, Francis Dreacott, William Maxfield, and Thomas Knight, took appointments, and gave them considerable assistance.

The weight of the temporal concerns lay upon H. and J. Bourne, and they were in the way of laying out upwards of thirty pounds a year in the support of their cause or connection. On this account they had to be diligent in their temporal business ; and to be diligent, frugal, and industrious in all other matters, in order to keep themselves from being involved.

CHAPTER VIII.

H. and J. Bourne adopt a change of system--Ramsor fourth camp meeting--It is a means of introducing the work into Derbyshire--Societies established at Boylstone, Rodsley, and Hollington in Derbyshire--The fourth Ramsor camp meeting causes the adverse minute of conference to be once more put in force, and W. Clowes is put out of the preachers' plan in the old connection--H. Bourne visits Wyrley Bank, and instructs a preacher in the doctrine of a present salvation to be obtained by faith and held by faith.

The affairs at Standley were a means of introducing an entire change into the views and proceedings of H. and J. Bourne. They had now a manifest proof, that, as far as the Lord providentially called them to take wholly the charge of a society, he would support them in it. They still, however, proceeded with care and caution, but their

system underwent an entire change: and from that time, events began to thicken upon each other, and to increase in importance.

On Sunday, June 3, 1810, Ramsor fourth camp meeting was held. It began early in the morning, and was numerously attended and powerfully supported. It was a means of introducing the work into Derbyshire, where, at Boystone, Rodsley, and Hollington, societies were soon raised up, and a foundation laid for extending the work.

Wm. Clowes attended this camp meeting, in consequence of which the Old Connection, at their Midsummer quarter day, put him away from being a regular local preacher among them, and laid a foundation for finally putting him out of their society.

Nearly about the time of this Ramsor camp meeting, David Buxton, of Wyrley Bank, who was a native of Stanton, near Ramsor, sent an invitation to H. Bourne to pay him a visit. Wyrley Bank is in Staffordshire, and about thirty-four miles from Bemersley. H. Bourne arrived there on Friday, July 27, 1810, and while preaching in that neighborhood, he became acquainted with a man who had begun to preach with considerable success, but who was laboring under various difficulties, and was much opposed both by professors and profane. He was a collier, had been brought up in ignorance, and had not much command of language. His knowledge of the ministry was small, but his zeal was great, and he had a deal of success in awakening sinners. When souls were awakened he was at a loss, knowing but little of justification, and being unacquainted with the nature of a free, full, and present salvation, by and through faith.

H. Bourne conversed with him very fully and at large, concerning the work of the ministry; but he could not easily understand the doctrine of a present salvation, to be obtained by faith, and held by faith. He then informed H. B. that he had got a number of people awakened, and joined in a class at Essington Wood, and requested him to attend with him at the class meeting. On the Tuesday evening, July 31, 1810, H. Bourne attended with him there, and spoke to the people, and the Lord made bare his arm: six souls were immediately set at liberty: and the man entered fully into the knowledge of a present salvation. His usefulness after this was far greater than it had been before, and it kept increasing. He soon after united with the connection; and, after some time, became an enterprising travelling preacher. He had a most peculiar talent for missionary labors, and succeeded in opening many new places.

This visit of H. Bourne to Wyrley Bank, laid the foundation of what is now, (in 1821,) called Darlaston Circuit.

CHAPTER IX.

W. Clowes being put out of the preachers plan labors more abundantly.—He is put out of the Old Methodist Society.—His Tunstall class begins to meet at his own house. He begins to preach at Mr. Smith's house at Tunstall. He commences travelling preacher.

The Minute of Conference against camp meetings, appeared, on several occasions, greatly to injure the Old Methodist Connection. Through this minute, W. Clowes was put out of the preachers' plan; which instead of shutting up his way, opened it more abundantly. Many were desirous to hear him preach; his piety was known, his success was great, and many were converted to the Lord under his ministry. Indeed he was so much spoken of in love-feasts, that the travelling preachers complained of it. He continued also to be the leader of two classes. One of which met at a friend's house at Tunstall, and the other at Kidsgrove about two miles distant. Notwithstanding his being put out of the preachers' plan, his attachment to the Old Methodist Society was strong, and he occasionally gave it as his opinion, that H. Bourne would have more privileges, and might be more useful, if he were in the old society. But in this W. Clowes soon found cause to change his opinion.

At the Old Methodist Conference, this year, 1810, the two preachers were removed from the circuit, and those who succeeded them appeared to have their minds made up respecting the course they were to take. In consequence of this, W. Clowes' ticket was withheld at the Michaelmas renewal of tickets; and after this, a meeting was called at Tunstall, at which he was finally put out of the Old Methodist Society.

The class he had met at Kidsgrove, were sorely grieved, and insisted on the travelling preachers assigning a reason why their leader was put out of the society; and the cause of religion in that place, received a very deep wound.

Nearly the whole of his Tunstall class came in a body to his house, to converse on the subject. He advised them to choose another leader, or take what course they thought best, and not to be anxious concerning him, for the Lord he said, would take care of him. They asked if he would still continue to lead them. He observed he should generally be at home; if they came to his house, he should speak to them as usual. They began to meet regularly at his house, and others soon united with them.

Mr. Smith of Tunstall now invited Wm. Clowes to preach at his house; and went about to publish it in the neighborhood. This was a strengthening to W. Clowes' class, as there was constant preaching at Mr. Smith's on Friday evenings; and they began to look upon it as their proper place of worship.

At this time, W. Clowes' employment occupied him only three days, or three days and a half, in a week; so that he labored largely and extensively.

About the beginning of December this year, (1810) two men, Thomas Woodnorth and James Nixon, made a voluntary offer of ten shillings a week to W. Clowes, to enable him to labor fully in the ministry as a travelling preacher. In addition to this, he had the prospect of entering into the field of labors occupied by H. and J. Bourne, so that his way appeared fully open, and his prospects of usefulness were large and extensive. He thought it right in the sight of God to embrace the offer, and immediately entered upon the duties of a travelling preacher.

CHAPTER X.

The Connection enlarges.—J. Steele put out of the Old Connection.

In the beginning of the year 1811, various new places were visited, and the connection gradually enlarged. At Tunstall things took a very unexpected turn. J. Steele was separated from the Old Methodist Society; and, through a chain of peculiar circumstances, he united in the work and was a great acquisition to the connection. He had been a member of the Old Connection, upwards of twenty-four years, had generally led two classes, and preached occasionally, he had long been the steward of their chapel at Tunstall, and was superintendent of the large Sunday School taught in that place.

The putting of him out was singular, and it surprised the neighborhood, as he had long been a pillar in the society, was generally respected, and was known to be very strongly attached to the Old Connection. The circumstances which led to his expulsion were as follows: He was cousin and steward to Mr. Smith, of Tunstall; and on account of Mr. Smith's great age, he was much with him in the house, and conducted the family worship. It hath been already observed, that in the latter end of the year 1807, Mr. Smith made accommodations for preaching, in a large room in his own house. The preachings there, at first, were occasional, but afterwards regular and constant; being supplied by J. Steele, H. and J. Bourne, W. Clowes, Richard Bailey, and others; and a lovefeast was held there on Good Friday, April 12, 1811. On the Tuesday following, the superintendent of the Burslem circuit convened meeting of leaders in Tunstall chapel, when a charge was to be brought against J. Steele, for having, (as it was said,) been at that lovefeast. But the fact was, he was not there. Nevertheless, on account of his having attended the worship at Mr. Smith's he was, at that time, put out of the Old Old Methodist Connection.

Upon this he advised his classes to choose new leaders, or mingle among other classes, as most agreeable; but no leaders being chosen, or appointed, he continued, through the people's importunity, to speak to them. His attachment to the Old Connection still continued strong, and he had some thought of joining again; but was fully persuaded in his own mind, that he should never again accept the office of leader in that connection.

CHAPTER XI.

An establishment formed at Tunstall, and a Chapel built.—The enlargement of the Connection.

When J. Steele was put out of the Old Methodist Connection, he had no idea that any interference would be made with the Sunday

school, it not being strictly a Methodist school, the majority of the teachers not being in the Methodist Society. But on the Sunday morning following, when he was attending on his duty in the school, one of the chapel trustees came, and discharged him from officiating in that place.

When this was done, the greater part of the teachers and children immediately came out of the chapel. J. Steele advised them to give him up; choose another superintendant in his place: return into the chapel, and go on with their labors as usual. But they were absolutely unwilling to follow such a course; and determined on removing to some other situation, where they might carry on the school without such interruptions. While they were in great perplexity, a Mr. John Boden of Tunstall, offered the loan of a large room, which was built for earthenware, but which at that time stood empty. This appearing to open their providential way, they were diligent, during the ensuing week, to provide books and seats, and, on the Sunday following, which was April 28, 1811, the Sunday school was taught in that large room.

So soon as the Sunday school was established in the large room in Tunstall, it was found needful to introduce preaching also: and preaching was immediately appointed to be there every Sunday, in the afternoon and evening. Those who preached at Mr. Smith's on Friday evenings, attended to preach in the large room on Sundays: and the Lord made bare his arm, sinners were converted unto God, and the work flourished. Thus by a chain of unexpected circumstances, a preaching establishment was formed at Tunstall.

An establishment being thus unexpectedly formed, more exertions were immediately called for: the large room was not only rather too small for the Sunday school, but it could not be had for any length of time. On this account it was found necessary to purchase land, and erect a building for the school and preaching. A building was soon got up, sixteen yards long by eight wide, inside, and galleried half way; and this was the first chapel erected in the connection. It was finished in a plain manner, the walls were not coated, and it had no ceiling. It was much approved of, on account of its plainness and neat appearance. In the erection of it, the house form was chosen in preference to the chapel form: so that, if not wanted, it would just form four houses, according to the plan on which houses are usually built at Tunstall. This cautious method was made use of because it could not be known whether or not the connection would be of any long continuance. Many thought it had little appearance of stability; no money was raised in the classes: most of the leading members were timid; and in the eyes of many there was scarcely any visible bond of union. But the bond which held the whole together was: a zeal for doing good: a zeal for the conversion of sinners to God, and the building up of saints in their most holy faith; and this bond was so owned of the Lord, that it proved far stronger than even the members themselves had thought it. Indeed, such were the peculiar circumstances of the connection, that no other bond could possibly have kept it together. Nevertheless, the careful and cautious way of proceeding was, at that time of great service.*

* At this present time, (1821,) a new chapel is building at Tunstall, a small

During this time, the connection was enlarging in other places. A good work was established at Englesea Brook, in Cheshire; which place has done great service to the connection.

Also at Coppenhall, in Cheshire, a work was raised up. This place, for a considerable time, it was found difficult to support: it was supplied with preaching chiefly from Tunstall, and the distance was reckoned at fourteen miles, or upwards. But in the end, it was a means of opening the way for a great spread of the work in Cheshire.

Preaching was established at a village of ancient note, called Talkoth' Hill, in Staffordshire, about three miles from Tunstall. Here the work has prospered, and a chapel has been built. At Cloud, in Staffordshire, about eight miles from Tunstall, a good work was raised up.

At Froghall, Alton, and Rocester, powerful societies were established. These places are in Staffordshire, and in the neighborhood of Ramsor; the Lord abundantly blessed the Societies in these villages, and the cause greatly flourished.

CHAPTER XII.

The introduction of Quarterly Tickets, 1811.

THE society at Ramsor, had, for a considerable time, urged the propriety, and even necessity, of having quarterly tickets throughout the Connection. The same had been done by others of the country societies; yet no effectual steps had been taken to introduce this useful regulation. In the course of this year, 1811, these societies were still more urgent; and, at length the matter was effected by the zeal of Francis Horobin, of Ramsor. On a certain occasion, when H. Bourne was at Ramsor, F. Horobin pressed the measure, and very strongly urged the necessity and propriety of it. H. Bourne said: "Tickets will cost something for printing, and how must this be paid: you know there is no money gathered in the societies?" He replied: "I will pay for them out of my own pocket." "Very well," said H. Bourne, "if you will pay for them, then there may be tickets."

In a short time after this, H. and J. Bourne being at Tunstall, in company with the travelling preachers and others, H. Bourne informed them of this matter. They had much consultation on the subject; and, in the end, it was concluded, that to print the tickets could not be wrong; and, (as F. Horobin would pay for the printing,) it could not be burdensome to the societies.

The following is an extract from H. Bourne's journal: "Thursday, May 30, 1811, I ordered tickets to be printed for the first time." On account of the peculiar situation of the connection, the following passage of scripture was chosen: "But we desire to hear of thee

distance from the old one. And the old one, being in the house form, is found very convenient as on that account, it will be so easily disposed of.

what thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against." Acts. xxviii. 22.

It seemed to be the opinion of many, that tickets would never again be called for; but Divine Providence so opened the way before the connection, that, from that time, tickets have been provided, and renewed every quarter; and this regulation has been an inestimable blessing to the connection.

It may seem strange that quarterly tickets were not sooner introduced. But it should be considered, that the connection was begun in the order of Divine Providence, and not in the wisdom of man, nor by the desire of man. Had it been begun in the wisdom of man, there is no reason to doubt but that tickets would have been early introduced, and every possible means used to bind the connection together.

It is likely that the utmost endeavors would have been made use of to produce some visible bond, which might have been thought capable of binding the connection together. But the wisdom of God is often different from the wisdom of man; and the connection, being begun in the order of Divine Providence, was held together by a zeal for the Lord of hosts. This formed its bond of union; this pervaded every part, and kept the whole united. But as this bond was in some degree, secret, and some of the leading members were timid, the idea, of the connection's soon breaking up, was usually rather strong. On this account, improvements scarcely ever took place, except through individual enterprise, or when called for by absolute necessity.

CHAPTER XIII.

Observations on the state of the connection. A general meeting held, and the temporal concerns regulated afresh.

THE introduction of tickets enlarged the discipline of the connection, and increased the labors of the preachers. It did not, however, materially increase their knowledge of the states of the people. They had constantly spent much time, (especially in country places,) in explaining the scriptures, and opening the nature of experience, in the various families: they might truly say, We have showed you, and have taught you publicly and from house to house. Acts xx, 20. Most of the preachers were able to bring forward the work of religion in conversation; and in their visits from house to house, many conversions took place, the weak were strengthened, and the experience of the people greatly enlarged. They also made a point of visiting families who were not in society, and many times with considerable success.

The preachers were greatly attached to laboring in word and doctrine, to teaching publicly and from house to house; but were, in

general, reluctant to the cares and duties of society discipline. On this account, enlargements in discipline were usually introduced when required by necessity, or to meet the wishes of the people.

About this time, the work in Derbyshire extended to Turnditch, Mercaston, Hulland, and Weston-under-Wood; which places have been eminently useful in the connection.

The introduction of tickets into the society, was followed by a regulation which made a change throughout the connection. Hitherto the temporal concerns had been borne chiefly by four individuals; but as these had to live by the labor of their hands, the work had begun to extend beyond their means; and the connection could not properly exert its energies, nor extend its progress. It was also a general opinion that the weight ought no longer to be borne by a few individuals. The people, in general, wished to assist, but hitherto they had had no opportunity of regularly subscribing to the support of the cause; and, on this account, some had refused to join. In addition to this, W. Clowes' salary was falling off. J. Nixon and T. Woodnorth were working potters, and the fluctuations of trade at that time, had caused so great a part of their employments to fail, that it was not in their power to continue it.

The connection being come to a kind of crisis, a general meeting was held at Tunstall, on Friday, July 26. 1811. There it was agreed that money should, in future, be regularly raised in the societies, to meet the expenditure of the connection: but if this proved insufficient, the benevolence of private individuals to be again resorted to.

The numbers in society were estimated at two hundred. The two travelling preachers were continued, and were to have salaries from the connection. H. Bourne travelled almost constantly, without any salary; W. Allcock also travelled occasionally without a salary. J. Steele was appointed circuit steward; and this was the first time of a steward being appointed.

This was the first general meeting; and the regulations made at it produced a change throughout the whole connection; a change which has been a blessing to thousands. When this business was entered upon, it appeared so important, that earnest prayers were offered up to Almighty God to crown it with success. And, through his tender mercy, it has proved a blessing to the connection. To his name be the glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER XIV.

Remarks on the Connection. The third General Meeting. Conclusion.

THE preachers, in consequence of the regulations made at the meeting of the 26th July, had an increase of employment thrown upon them: they had to make arrangements in all the societies, for raising money to meet the necessary expenditure of the connection. This

task of difficulty, they by faith, prayer, and perseverance, diligently accomplished.

The connection had to endure a variety of trials, but it continued to enlarge and increase throughout the year.

Early in the next year, a meeting was held at Tunstall, which was important. H. Bourne's journal says, "Thursday, February 13, 1812, we called a meeting and made plans for the next quarter, and made some other regulations; in particular we took the name of PRIMITIVE METHODISTS.

The plan made at this meeting took date on Sunday, March 22, 1812: and it contained thirty-four places, and twenty-three preachers.

The preachers and societies had hitherto been supplied with written plans; but the increase of the connection had rendered it too difficult to provide written ones any further; the plan was therefore ordered to be printed; and, from that time the plans have been regularly printed, together with the tickets, every quarter.

At this meeting, arrangements were made to hold regular quarter day meetings, for managing the affairs of the connection; and they have been regularly held ever since.

The account of this meeting appears regularly to conclude the history of the origin of the Primitive Methodists. From this time the work went on in a more general manner. The connection, however, met with many obstacles, and had to struggle with many unexpected difficulties. Yet through the tender mercy of God, it stood its ground, and generally kept enlarging and increasing. But no one expected that it would so soon have risen to its present height.—How far the Lord will yet prosper it, or how long will be its continuance, or to what extent the Lord will cause it to reach, are among the secrets of Divine Providence.

Now, unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

PART II.

THIS second part will include a period of about seven years ; commencing with the general meeting held at Tunstall, February 13, 1812; and closing with the preparatory meeting, held at Nottingham, August 18, 1819; when arrangements were made to hold ANNUAL MEETINGS.

CHAPTER I.

Regular Quarter Days appointed.—Religious Tract Society in Derbyshire, and plan of Praying Companies.

At the meeting of February 3, 1812, arrangements were made to hold regular quarter day meetings, for managing the affairs of the connection; and these were appointed to be held in March, June, September, and December; and as near as might be to Lady-day, Midsummer-day, Michaelmas-day, and Christmas-day. The work kept enlarging, and the connection went on in a kind of regular way, without much variation throughout the year.

During the spring months of this year. 1813, the work flourished at Mercaston, Hulland, Turnditch, and Weston-under-Wood, in Derbyshire; and a number of zealous, useful, praying laborers were raised up. These labored diligently; and to open their way more at large, as well as to promote the general good, a Religious Tract Visiting Society was formed among them. H. Bourne's journal says: "Thursday, April 22, 1813. We talked about a Tract Society, and I explained it at large. O Lord, bless and prosper every endeavor." And again, "Friday, April 23, I came to Ashbourne, and ordered religious tracts of nine different sorts, twenty-five of each. They are to be ready by the third of May; if they are it will be well; if not, the Lord's will be done."

Accordingly, in May the tracts were obtained, a code of rules were drawn up, and a tract society established. H. Bourne's journal says: "Thursday, May 6, 1813, I wrote out regulations for the tract society. After this, I conversed with others at the meeting (at Hulland,) and it seems likely that they will engage. O Lord, bless and direct them, and crown them with abundant success."

The tracts were kept at Hulland, and those who were engaged in the work were divided into companies, of two in a company; and each company was appointed to visit a certain neighborhood usually once a fortnight, on the Lord's days. On the visiting Sundays, they

usually set out early in the morning, each company taking a number of tracts, chiefly all of one kind; and they visited the people from house to house, lending a tract to every family, that was willing to receive it; informing them, that in a fortnight, if all was well, they should call again for that tract, and lend them one of a different kind. They also exhorted a little and prayed with the families wherever there was an opening.

One rule was, that they should neither eat nor drink with the people whom they visited. This was done to cut off all occasion of offence; and this custom is generally adopted in all societies of this kind.

When a tract society is established, it is customary to make weekly subscriptions to purchase tracts; but these tracts were paid for by a single individual.

These laborers pushed on their work with so much life and vigor, that in a short time there was a pressing call for prayer meetings, at several new places. In consequence of which these pious laborers were arranged in praying companies of three or four in a company, and were appointed on a plan, to hold prayer meetings in succession, at these new places. The rule of not eating and drinking with the people was adopted in this arrangement, as it usually is in such cases. And they were to hold the meetings in any way they thought proper, provided the exercises were short. They were to sing, pray, exhort, and even preach, if they chose, only taking care that all the exercises were short.

These pious laborers grew much in grace before they begun these undertakings; but now they grew still more in grace; their hearts were enlarged, their talents were improved, and their faith greatly increased. Their improvement was so great, that five of them began to preach, and in a short time were admitted on the printed plan, as regular local preachers. One of these, a young man, Thomas Hickinbotham, went on in a shining course for a few years, and then died in the Lord. Another young man, John Harrison, after some time, became a travelling preacher; and labored successively in Tunstall, Loughborough, Nottingham and Hull circuits. He died happy in the Lord in 1821.

Two of the preachers raised up by these means, were women.—And one of them a middle aged woman, labored considerably as a travelling preacher. The other, a young woman, Sarah Kirkland, now Sarah Harrison, widow of the above-mentioned John Harrison, labored at large as a diligent, laborious travelling preacher, for a number of years with great credit and success. These were the first women preachers who labored regularly in this connection.

On the whole, considerable effects arose from this tract society, and the plan of praying companies which followed it; and those effects were, in a degree, felt throughout the connection.

In the course of this year, 1813, a chapel was built at Talk-oth¹-Hill, in Staffordshire, and on the whole the work prospered generally in the connection, and the camp meetings went on as usual.

CHAPTER II.

Proposals for drawing up a code of rules. A system of rules formed by the people in general. The rules:—

In the year 1813, many thought it would be proper to have a code of rules drawn up for the use of the connection at large. And at the quarter day meeting held at Tunstall, on Monday, March 22, 1813, an arrangement was made to meet what appeared to be the general wish of the people. Hugh Bourne's journal says, "A committee was formed to draw up a code of rules or regulations for the whole body, and to submit the same to the (ensuing) quarter day." This committee consisted of James Steele, H. Bourne, and another person, who was a schoolmaster. But the matter was not carried into effect, for the committee were soon of opinion that the undertaking was too weighty and too great for them. Under this persuasion they relinquished the task; and the Midsummer quarter day did little in it.

During the next quarter the people were very pressing to have the rules completed; but the committee, from a consciousness of their inability, still declined it. In consequence of this, on Monday, Oct. 4, 1813, the quarter day meeting made an order that sketches of rules should be immediately drawn out, and that, during the quarter, they should be read in every society, by the preachers; and that all the objections and improvements, suggested by the various societies, should be brought in writing to the next quarter day.

This was diligently carried into effect, and it answered several very valuable purposes. The societies pointed out a great variety of objections and improvements; and, during the quarter, prayer and supplication was made to God, almost without ceasing, on this behalf.

On Monday, January 3, 1814, the whole were laid before the quarter day board; and an order was made that the rules in their improved state should be printed immediately.

It is probable there never was an instance of rules being made in the way these were. They were considered as the work of the whole connection; there being scarce a member but gave his opinion of them before they were completed. And it is not very often that the making of rules is accompanied with so much prayer and supplication to Almighty God. They were printed early in the year 1814.

CHAPTER III.

A cessation of Missionary Labors, and a sinking in consequence of it. The Missionary Course again opened with success. The rise of the term, Ranters. A new circuit formed.

In the year 1814 the office of a Superintendent Travelling Preacher was established; the same year a proof of no ordinary nature respecting

the call to missionary labors. The connection in its first rise employed its exertions chiefly in missionary labors, by means of which it greatly flourished. But, after a time, when a considerable number of societies were raised up, the missionary exertions began to decline; and, in the former part of the year 1814 they were laid aside. But there was a diversity of opinions on the subject; some thought the societies already formed would flourish the more; others were of opinion that the missionary labors ought to have been pursued with diligence.

After some time, it was found that the societies instead of prospering more, prospered less. It seemed as if the blessing of God, was, in some degree, withdrawn from the societies; and there appeared so general a weakening that some thought that the connection would absolutely break up. The suspension of the missionary labors produced a season of deep anxiety and painful experience. But at length a period was put to it by means of a few enterprising individuals, who again entered upon missionary labors, and the Lord set before them an open door which has already been a blessing to thousands. It was also attended with a present blessing; it diffuseth life, vigor, and zeal into the societies.

Belper, in Derbyshire, (now the head of a circuit) was the place first opened on this occasion; and several pious, praying laborers from the societies at Mercaston, Weston-under-wood, and Turnditch, labored diligently in the work at Belper. The meetings there, on some occasions, continued late in the evening, on account of souls being in distress; and the work went on powerfully.

When these very powerful meetings were closed, the praying people, in returning home, were accustomed to sing through the streets at Belper. This circumstance procured them the name of RANTERS; and the name of Ranter, which first arose on this occasion, afterwards spread very extensively.

After this, the work spread to Derby and the adjacent places; and a new circuit was formed which was called Derby circuit, afterwards Nottingham circuit. Before this period the whole of the connection was managed in one circuit only.

CHAPTER IV.

The Camp Meetings decline. They are restored to their original strength and usefulness, with improvement.

THE camp meetings, great in their rise, and calculated to bring abundance of talents into action, began evidently to show a decline. This decline was caused by leaning to the wisdom of man instead of following the order of Divine Providence. Whenever a work is begun, in the order of God, for the benefit of mankind, there are always, in its first opening, some things which mark out the order of Providence, and which should never be lost sight of. The English

camp meetings originated in the idea of a day's praying, which was contemplated for some years. When the first camp meeting was held it was attended by unexpected multitudes of people, among whom were abundance of pious laborers of various descriptions. Two stations were occupied entirely as praying stations: and at these the work broke out, and souls were converted to God. Four other stations were occupied, at which the worship was carried on by preachers, exhorters, and other pious praying laborers, with great variety and diversity of the exercises. About six in the evening, a general praying service commenced; during which, the work again broke out, and six souls were brought into distress on account of their sins; and, before the close, were all brought into the liberty of the children of God. So that Divine Providence marked out the praying services, as the origin, and the most excellent part of the camp meetings. Carrying on the worship at different stations, was almost equally marked out by the hand of Providence.

But, after a time, instead of following the order of Divine Providence, there was so great a leaning to the wisdom of man, that attempts were made to confine the worship to one station only. This gave the first blow to the system. And, after some time, these attempts unhappily prevailed; which not only cut off many excellent advantages, but subjected the camp meetings to serious inconveniences. If it was windy, or if there was a large company, those in the outskirts had frequently to complain of not being able to hear, so as to understand the words. When different stations were occupied it gave opportunity both to hear and to join in the worship; and also engaged the attention by promoting an agreeable variety. But by the worship being confined to one station, these things were entirely cut off; many being thereby unaccommodated, and unengaged, grew unsteady, and sometimes became very troublesome.

In the praying services these things were still more severely felt, on which account, the preachers kept encroaching, by little and little, on the praying services: so that it was complained of there being too much preaching and too little praying: and the camp meetings became weak and lost much of their usefulness.

This declining began to be remarked at almost every camp meeting; it was constantly observed that the camp meetings were not so powerful in the afternoon as in the forenoon. This was endeavored to be accounted for in a variety of ways, but the real cause remained untouched.

The declining state of the camp meetings was severely felt in the circuit, and caused considerable anxiety; but as much prayer and supplication was made to Almighty God. He, in the year 1816, pointed out both the evil and the remedy by the following means. H. Bourne had put into his hand, 'The Narrative of a Mission to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, &c. by J. Marsden, Methodist Missionary.' The author during his mission, visited New York, and attended several of the American Camp Meetings. These meetings continue day and night, for several days together. He shews that they have sometimes four, and sometimes five preachings in the course

of twenty-four hours ; and the intermediate time is filled up with services carried on by praying companies.*

* He says, "During my continuance in this city, I had an opportunity of attending several camp meetings ; and as the nature of these stupendous means of grace is not distinctly known, I will spend a few moments in making my readers acquainted with them."

He next speaks at large of various preparations, and then proceeds to say :

"The tents are generally pitched in the form of a crescent, in the centre of which is an elevated stand for the preachers, round which in all directions, are placed rows of planks for the people to sit upon, while they hear the word. Among the trees, which spread their tops over this forest-church, are hung the lamps, which burn all night, and give light to the various exercises of religion, which occupy the solemn midnight hours ; as it was nearly eleven o'clock at night when I first arrived on the borders of a camp, I left the boat at the edge of the wood, one mile from the scene, though the sound of praise from such a multitude, and at such an hour, in the midst of a solitary wilderness, is difficult to describe ; but when I opened upon the camp ground, my curiosity was converted into astonishment, to behold the pendant lamps among the trees ; the tents half encircling a large space ; four thousand people in the centre of this, listening with profound attention to a preacher, whose stentorian voice and animated manner carried the vibration of each word to a great distance through the now deeply umbrageous wood ; where, save the twinkling lamps of the camp, brooding darkness spread a tenfold gloom ; all excited my astonishment, and forcibly brought before my view the Hebrews in the wilderness.

"The meetings generally begin on Monday morning, and on the Friday morning following, break up ; the daily exercises are carried forward in the following manner ; in the morning, at five o'clock, the horn sounds through the camp, either for public preaching or prayer ; this with smaller exercises, or a little intermission, brings on the breakfast hour, eight o'clock ; at ten the horn sounds for public preaching, after which, until noon, the interval is filled up with little groups of praying persons who scatter themselves up and down the camp, both in the tents and under the trees ; as these smaller exercises are productive of much good, a powerful spirit of prayer and exhortation is often poured forth. I have not unfrequently seen three or four persons lying on the ground crying for mercy, or motionless, without any apparent signs of life, except pulsation. After dinner the horn sounds at two o'clock ; this is for preaching. I should have observed, that a female or two is generally left in each tent, to prepare the proper materials for dinner, which is always cold meats, pies, tarts, tea, &c. (the use of ardent spirits being forbidden,) and a fire is kept burning in different parts of the camp, where the water is boiled. After the afternoon preaching, things take nearly the same course as in the morning, only the praying groups are upon a larger scale, and more scope is given to animated exhortations and loud prayers ; some who exercise on these occasions soon lose their voices, and at the end of a camp meeting many, both preachers and people, can only speak in a whisper. At six o'clock in the evening the horn summons to preaching, after which, though in no regulated form, all the above means continue until morning : so that go to whatever part of the camp you please, some are engaged in them ; yea, and during whatever part of the night you awake, the wilderness is vocal with praise.

"At this camp meeting perhaps not less than one hundred persons were awakened and converted to God. I have heard many say, that they never

Hugh Bourne, on reading these things, was aware that by a similar plan, the praying services might be restored to the English Camp Meetings. He immediately sketched out a Plan for conducting a camp meeting with praying companies; and getting a number of copies written out, he dispersed them among the societies. Wm. Ride, of Weston-under-Wood, in Derbyshire, class-leader, at Mercaston, received one of these copies: and the Lord so wrought upon his mind that he made preparations for holding Mercaston camp meeting on that system. The arrangements were made to have one hour for prayer, then an hour for preaching, then an hour for prayer, and so on through the day; and H. Bourne and another travelling preacher, were appointed to conduct the meeting.

This camp meeting was held on Sunday, June, 9, 1816. It was a very powerful meeting; the praying services were wonderfully supported; and in the afternoon, instead of declining, it rose in strength; the work of God broke out with power during the praying services, and rose in strength to the last.

The effects of this meeting were many and great, two persons were raised up into preachers, who afterwards became travelling preachers; and such zeal, vigor, and courage, were diffused among the pious praying laborers, that a quickening ran throughout the societies round. It was now manifest, that, by the good hand of God, the camp meetings were not only restored to their original power and effect, but were greatly improved.

CHAPTER V.

Nottingham Circuit embarrassed.—Origin of Circuit Committee.

The following is an extract from H. Bourne's journal, "Monday, September 21, 1818. Quarter day at Nottingham. The work is going on well, but the temporal concerns very bad. O Lord deliver this people. Tuesday 22. Again we had to attend the quarter day concerns. Things are much confused. O Lord deliver."

heard such praying, exhorting, and preaching any where else; and those who engage feel such a divine affatus, that they are carried along as by the force of a delightful torrent; indeed this has been so much the case with myself, the several times that I preached and exhorted at these meetings, that I was sensible of nothing but a constraining influence, transporting me beyond myself, carrying me along with a freedom and fulness, both of emotion and language, quite unusual, and yet I had no very friendly views of camp meetings until I attended them: however, I am now satisfied that they are the right hand of Methodism in the United States, and one main cause, why the societies have doubled and trebled there within these few years."

This embarrassment was caused by two travelling preachers who set themselves up as rulers in this circuit, and whose conduct brought it into such difficulties that Tunsall circuit was obliged to raise money every quarter, for a long time, to support this circuit. But the embarrassment had risen so high, and Tunstall circuit, by continually raising money to supply this circuit, was so injured, that it was unable to support it further.

At this quarter day, at Nottingham, a committee was formed to arrange the temporal concerns, and to put the affairs of the circuit into a more regular way.

The two travelling preachers who had caused the embarrassments, frequently differed in their views one from the other, and in opposing each other's ways, they usually beat down the work on all sides. But, at this time, Nottingham circuit being almost reduced to a wreck, they prevailed with the Loughborough part of it, to be made into a separate circuit. Loughborough was accordingly made into a circuit at the Nottingham quarter-day, and these two men, after this, gave but little trouble to Nottingham circuit.

The committee found a great deal of trouble in making arrangements; but by the good hand of the Lord upon them they persevered. The following is an extract of H. Bourne's journal; "Friday, October 9, 1818. At Nottingham. Was with the committee who are arranging the temporal concerns of the circuit. I trust they will do well."

During the time this committee was employed in these things, they had several applications from different parts of the circuit to assist in adjusting or arranging a variety of matters.

Before this time, these kind of applications had come to the leaders' meeting at Nottingham; and that meeting had for a time paid some attention to such things. But the Nottingham leaders had declined it, saying, they had no objection to attend to the affairs of the society at Nottingham, but they really could not spare time to attend to the affairs of the circuit; neither did they conceive that their duty called them to it.

On this account the committee attended to general affairs through a kind of providential necessity. The quarter was considerably advanced before they had gone through what they supposed to be the necessary arrangements. The members of the committee then thought to resign their office. But some thought that in the nature of things, the committee could not resign their office till the next quarter day. They were also requested to attend to the general affairs of the circuit till that time.

At the next quarter day which commenced on Monday, December 21, 1818, it was found that the circuit, through the exertions of the committee, was beginning greatly to recover itself. And this attending to general concerns had been so valuable and useful to the circuit, that every one saw the propriety and necessity of appointing a committee for the like purpose, for the next quarter.

This was the origin of the circuit committees; a measure which has since become a permanent part of the discipline of the connection.

The appointment of circuit committees was a means of filling up a chasm or deficiency in discipline. The constitution did not allow

of extensive power being lodged in the hands of any individual; and therefore, before the appointment of committees, there was a want of a power to attend to general concerns between quarter days.

CHAPTER VI.

W. Clowes goes to Hull.—Alton Meeting.—Tunstall Circuit injured by a new method of holding camp meetings, is in a low state.—The evils arising from the new method.—The quarter day sweeps it away and restores the praying services.—A new course of discipline introduced into the meetings.—The circuit rises, and attains to a state of prosperity.

Monday, December 28, 1818. Quarter day was held at Tunstall. Nottingham circuit had extended to Hull, in Yorkshire, and a delegate from Nottingham attended at Tunstall to request that William Clowes might go into that circuit and be stationed at Hull. This request was complied with.

Some complaints arrived at this quarter day, from the Ramsor part of Tunstall circuit; in consequence of which, the quarter day board made out an order for a meeting to be held at Alton near Ramsor.—The result of this meeting was an official report to the ensuing quarter day, stating that the camp meetings were beginning to be overthrown, and the laborers, preachers, and others, were not able to supply the appointments; and requesting that such remedies might be applied to these things, as the quarter day board, in its wisdom, should think proper.

It was shown that various parts of the circuit were suffering extremely; that one place had been neglected for six weeks together: that others were grievously neglected, and that if something was not speedily done to remedy these things, the consequence would be serious.

The root of all the evils was traced to the new method of holding camp meetings which had been brought into the circuit, in an improper manner, at the latter end of the year 1816, and which continued to this time.

This new method consisted in holding the camp meetings almost altogether with preachings. Sometimes a preacher would pray between sermons and sometimes not. But the general praying services were cut off; and all the pious praying laborers were thrown on the back ground.

When this new method was first brought in, it was clearly foreseen that, if persisted in, it would overthrow both the camp meetings and the circuit. Nevertheless, through an improper influence, it became very general, and continued throughout the years 1817, and 1818. It seems as if this was permitted by Divine Providence, in order that the connection might fully prove this thing. The evils it produced during this time, were many and great.

Long preaching was one of the evils. The course of the camp meetings was preach, preach, throughout the day ; in consequence of which, the preachers got a habit of drawing out their sermons to such a length as almost to weary out all patience.

Idleness was another evil. All the pious praying laborers with the class-leaders and exhorters; were held in idleness nearly the whole time of the camp meeting. Their labors were cut off; and their talents constantly buried. This was a sore evil.

Another evil was, it required a great number of preachers to hold camp meetings ; which, causing a great neglect of the regular appointments, greatly distressed and deranged the circuit. The preachers too, were occasionally in an awkward situation, having to come twelve or fourteen miles, preach once, lounge all the rest of the day, and go home again in the evening.

These things were immediately and deeply felt ; and in their consequences they produced a multitude of other evils.

1. The pious praying laborers were continually thrown on the back ground, and trodden under foot. They were not allowed any opportunity to exert themselves, but their hands were weakened, and continual discouragements were cast upon them. These things had a serious effect upon the prayer meetings in general, being the means of rendering them weak, feeble, and of little effect.

2. The habit of long preaching became very general throughout the circuit. And the example of the camp meetings was followed ; very little time was allowed for prayer, although the meetings were held to a most wearisome length.

3. The same example affected the class meetings. They were filled with long speakings ; and held to so wearisome a length, that some of the classes began to be worn out.

4. The same example filled the prayer meetings, and almost all other meetings, with long, tedious exercises. The long exercises generally wearied the people into unbelief, and rendered the meetings nearly useless. And this was the case both with preachings, class meetings, and prayer meetings.

5. Not only were the congregations worn out with the long preachings, but also the preachers' health had suffered. Far the greater part of them, during these two years, injured their constitutions, as well as injured the work of God, with long preachings.

6. By degrees, the strength of the ministry was strangely wasted ; and, in consequence of the praying laborers being continually beaten down and discouraged, scarcely any new preachers were raised up ; and the appointments began to be grievously neglected. This diminished both the societies and congregations, and caused a falling off in the temporal concerns. The people frequently said, "There would have been more money, but we have been so neglected." This continued till the circuit was more than twenty pounds in debt, without any reasonable prospect of its being paid.

7. At the camp meetings, the continual preachings after preachings, so sated and wearied the people, that they always complained of the preachers : their constant cry was, "We must have better preaching."

8. At length, the strength of the ministry was so weakened and worn out, that it was scarcely possible to support the usual number of camp meetings; yet the people kept calling out for an additional number.

9. But the most distressing matter was, the Spirit of God was grieved, and the converting power was entirely withheld from those camp meetings. Indeed the converting power was nearly driven out of the circuit.

At length, what had been foreseen actually came to pass, the circuit sunk under the weight of the evils produced by this improper method of holding camp meetings. The appointments on the preachers' plan could not possibly be filled up: neither was it possible to get together the preachers in sufficient numbers to support the camp meetings; and it was plain if the system of holding camp meetings with continual preachings, was continued another year, the circuit would be wrecked.

H. Bourne's journal says, "On Monday, March 29, 1819, was quarter day at Tunstall. Much important business was dispatched. There came a delegate from Nottingham to request that William Clowes might go again to Hull, and that John Heath might also go into Nottingham circuit. These requests were complied with."

"The camp meetings underwent a regulation for the first time.—This I trust will be of service."

This regulation restored the praying services to the camp meetings; and directed that the pious praying laborers should form in companies, in order to carry them on in the most commodious and successful manner. This regulation cut the root of the mischief, and opened the way to restore both the camp meetings and the circuit. The society at Tunstall, and the travelling preachers, (chiefly young men,) entered spiritedly into the work; and there was a very general concurrence throughout the circuit. The Lord returned in mercy, restored the converting power to the camp meetings and made the camp meetings a means of diffusing unusual vigor and energy into all the other meetings: The preachers rose into vigor and usefulness; the pious praying laborers were as if let out of prison; more laborers were soon raised up; and the circuit began to revive in almost every part.

On Sunday, May 23, 1819, a camp meeting was held at Wrine Hill, about nine miles from Tunstall. Many were there from Tunstall; and a system was drawn up for conducting camp meetings with praying, preaching, and reading services, which was of service to the whole circuit. And the preachings, began to be followed by prayer meetings, in imitation of the camp meetings. This was of great service. Long tedious exercises were swept away from the camp meetings as being worse than useless; the other meetings began to follow the example; and in order to complete it a number of advices were drawn up and circulated among the people in order to improve the meetings generally.

THE ADVICES WERE TO THE FOLLOWING IMPORT.

Outline of a preaching Service.

"Let all the exercises, in general, be short. The preaching whenever it can, should be followed by a prayer meeting. From the beginning of the service to the end of the sermon, should take up about three quarters of an hour : and the prayer meeting should continue about half an hour ; the whole to conclude in about an hour and a quarter. After the conclusion, prayer may be made for mourners ; or the society may meet for about twenty minutes. Long preachings generally injure both the preachers' constitution and the cause of religion."

Outline of a Prayer Meeting.

1. Open with singing for about four, five, or six minutes.
2. Spend four, five, or six minutes in prayer, ending with the Lord's Prayer.
3. Sing about two, three, or four minutes.
4. Let the members of the society pray in quick succession, for two, three, or four minutes each.

When mourners are in distress, or in any other particular cases, the exercises may be lengthened. But, in general, long exercises in public, are improper and injurious ; and should be carefully avoided. And if any one trespass by attempting to drag out to an improper length, the next meeting of the society may determine what remedy shall be applied to such impropriety.

5. Let a little singing be occasionally intermingled to vary the exercises.
6. If exhortations be given, they may be for two or three, or from that to six or eight minutes. Short exhortations are useful.
7. Conclude in an hour or an hour and a quarter.
8. On suitable occasions, prayer may again commence, and especially if there be souls in distress.
9. This outline may be judiciously varied in any point, as circumstances may require.

Outlines of a Class Meeting.

1. Open with singing for about four, five, or six minutes.
2. Let four or five minutes be spent in prayer, ending with the Lord's Prayer.
3. Sing about two, or three minutes.
4. Leader speak one or two minutes, chiefly his own experience.
5. Let fifteen, or from that to twenty minutes, be spent in conversation of the leader with the members.

In speaking to one, the leader, in effect, speaks to all ; and it will on some occasions, be found difficult to keep up the attention of the whole meeting for twenty minutes together. But the leader passing from one to another in quick succession will be a great means to keep

the attention alive. Also the leader may give out a verse and sing in the midst of the work.

If a class have fifteen or sixteen members, the average time of speaking should be under a minute with each member. If there be twenty or thirty members it should be still less. In particular cases, more time may be spent with any of the members.

If a member have acquired or be acquiring a habit of long speaking, then, the leader, after dropping a few words, must immediately pass on to the next, and begin at once to speak to the next. If this be not attended to the meeting will soon be injured.

6. When the speaking is concluded, sing for two, three, or four minutes.

7. Then let the members pray in quick succession, for about two or three minutes each. The leader must take care that none of them trespass upon time.

8. Intermingle occasionally a little singing to vary the exercise.

9. Be careful and exact in settling the class paper.

10. Conclude in an hour, or an hour and a quarter.

11. This outline may be judiciously varied in any point, as circumstances may require.

The people were exhorted, in all exercises, to get as much into faith as possible; and were shown that faith, which worketh by love, is one of the great main springs of action in all exercises; that it sets the arm of heaven at work, and that the Lord says, "All things are possible to him that believeth."

On the other hand, they were exhorted to avoid all things which might cause unbelief; and were shown that long exercises frequently wearied both body and mind, and caused almost every one to sink into unbelief; and on that account often did more injury than good.

At the June quarter day, it was found that the circuit was rising out of its crippled state, and that it had begun to revive in almost every part. During the next quarter the regulations began more fully to take effect, and the circuit rose very fast. The Lord graciously made bare his arm in the conviction and conversion of great numbers: the praying services at the camp meetings, and the prayer meetings at the close of preachings, were crowned with very great success.

CHAPTER VII.

Branch Circuits introduced. Hull Circuit formed. Preparations for holding Annual Meeting. Preparatory Meetings. Second period of the History concluded.

NOTTINGHAM Circuit, through the assistance of its circuit committee, rose very fast, and became very extensive. It spread in Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire. On account of its very great extent, it was found difficult to make out the preachers' plans. On this account, at the March quarter day, 1819, they divided the circuit into branches or branch circuits.

This proved a most excellent regulation ; and, in the hand of Divine Providence it has been a blessing to the whole connection. It proved so valuable and useful, that it has been generally adopted.—Most of the circuits have formed branches ; and each branch now usually has a branch steward, committee, and quarter day ; all in subserviency to the general quarter day ; and between general quarter days, in subserviency to the circuit committee.

This regulation is very useful in two respects. 1. It is of great service in the forming of new circuits. A branch has its regulations and movements much the same as a circuit ; (only being altogether under the direction and control of the general quarter day.) And on this account a branch is easily and commodiously formed into a new circuit.

2. When a circuit is formed in branches it is very convenient for the change of the travelling preachers ; they being planned one or two quarters in one branch, and then one or two quarters in another, and so on. This is of great service.

At the June quarter day, this year, 1819, the Hull branch of Nottingham circuit, was formed into a separate circuit ; and by the blessing of God, it extended rapidly, and was very prosperous.

As the connection was rising and increasing very rapidly, an enlargement of discipline was found necessary, in order to preserve the unity of the connection, and promote a proper variety and exchange among the travelling preachers. And it being the opinion of all the circuits that it had become necessary to hold General Annual Meetings, a Preparatory Meeting was held at Nottingham, about the middle of August, 1823. At this meeting preparations were made to hold regular Annual Meetings : and its commencement regularly closes the second part of the HISTORY OF THE PRIMITIVE METHODISTS.

Now to him who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords ; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto ; whom no man hath seen, nor can see : to him be honor and power everlasting. Amen.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

A Preparatory Meeting held. Proceedings of that Meeting.

IN entering on the third part of the History of the Primitive Methodists, we shall have to go back as far as June, 1819; at which time the connection was composed of Tunstall, Nottingham, Loughborough, and Hull circuits. Nottingham circuit was extending rapidly; and the friends there thought Annual Meetings were necessary, both to preserve the unity of the connection, and to promote a regular exchange of travelling preachers. The other circuits concurring, it was agreed that a meeting to make preparations, should be held at Nottingham, to commence about the 18th of August, and which should be composed of delegates from all the four circuits. But it was found difficult to form a proper constitutional delegation. It was thought that three delegates from each circuit, would be sufficient; and that to send more would be too expensive. It was also thought necessary for one of them to be a travelling preacher. But to this it was objected, that then the travelling preachers would form a greater proportion in that meeting than they did in any other meetings. Nevertheless, for convenience, and to save expense, this course was, at length, agreed to; and at the time appointed the proposed meeting took place at Nottingham.

This preparatory meeting enquiring into the state of the circuits, had the satisfaction to find the connection exceedingly prosperous, which greatly encouraged them in their arduous labors. They appointed the first Annual Meeting to be held at Hull, to commence on Tuesday, May 2, 1820, and to consist of three delegates from each circuit, one only of whom should be a travelling preacher. In laying down the line of delegation, they adopted the method before taken by the circuits, not knowing how they could improve it. They marked out a line of proceeding for the Annual Meeting, both in receiving and stationing travelling preachers, and in other matters, and they drew up a system of rules for the general use of the connection.

At this meeting an enquiry arose concerning the origin of the Primitive Methodist Connection. It was asked, "What was its origin? How, and when, and where, did it first arise?" These enquiries were a cause of the first and second parts of this History being written,

CHAPTER II.

Prosperity of Tunstal Circuit. Four new Circuits formed.

THE Preparatory Meeting was a means of strengthening the connection. Tunstall circuit kept rising very fast; and, as it was grown strong, the September quarter day directed a collection to be made throughout the circuit, to open the way for spreading the gospel; and to relieve the circuit from the heavy debt incurred during the two former years. And the Lord so prospered this measure that the debt was cleared off, the circuit rose out of its embarrassment, and was greatly strengthened.

At the March quarter day 1820, the number in society in Tunstall circuit was reported at one thousand, seven hundred, and three; the increase for the year being one thousand and thirteen; the number in March, 1818, being reported at six hundred and ninety. This great prosperity was owing, in the first place, by the mercy of the Lord, to the restoring of the praying services to the camp meeting. And in the second place, to the sweeping away of the long and tedious exercises, and bringing the talents of the people generally into action.—Such a change from the lowest state of depression, to such a high state of prosperity, is not very common.

Also this quarter day formed Darlaston, in Staffordshire, near Wolverhampton, into a new circuit.

Nottingham circuit, out of its numerous branches, at the March quarter day, formed three new circuits; Scotter, in Lincolnshire: Sheffield, in Yorkshire: and Derby. Scotter circuit also included Retford branch, in Nottinghamshire. And in all the circuits, great preparations were made for the ensuing Annual Meeting.

CHAPTER III.

The First Annual Meeting.

On Tuesday, May 2, 1820, the first Annual Meeting was opened in the chapel at Hull, and continued till the Wednesday but one following. It was a very interesting meeting; the report of the connection stood as follows.—‘Eight circuits; forty-eight travelling preachers, and two hundred and seventy-seven local preachers: number of members, seven thousand, eight hundred, and forty-two.’ Before this time no general muster had been taken of the number in the whole connection, since July 26, 1811, when the number in society was estimated at two hundred.

At this meeting an Editor and a General Book Steward were appointed; and a regulation was made for carrying on a Monthly Magazine at three-pence a month. A Magazine of that size had been be-

gun in the year before: but all the circuits did not fully join; and when eight numbers were printed, it was stopped. This volume was ordered to be completed; and then the Magazine to go on in regular succession.

The camp meetings, and all the other services of worship, connected with this Annual Meeting, were remarkably successful. A great number of conversions took place, particularly on the Tuesday evening, May 9, when a lovefeast was held in Hull chapel, during which, many were in distress: and it was believed, forty obtained full liberty.

CHAPTER IV.

New Circuits. Permanent Praying Companies. Tunstall Annual Meeting. Districts. Printing Office.

DURING the next twelve months the connection greatly increased. Hull made Brotherton, Pocklington, and Brompton circuits; and Sheffield made Barnsley circuit. These are all in Yorkshire. Nottingham made Lincoln and Grimsby circuits, both in Lincolnshire. And Tunstall made Manchester circuit in Lancashire.

The camp meetings were very successful, particularly those held on Sunday, July 30, 1820. Macclesfield camp meeting, had a company praying with mourners while the preaching service was going on. And on that day Loughborough had a CIRCUIT CAMP MEETING, which had two stands, and a number of praying companies; and in addition to these, between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon, they formed a permanent company to pray for mourners. Thousands attended, many were pricked in their hearts, and the permanent company prayed for mourners, without intermission, till about nine o'clock in the evening. Numbers, during that time, found redemption in the blood of Jesus; and the bursts of praise echoed among the surrounding hills.

The Camp Meetings having risen to maturity and perfection, display a variety of useful movements, and afford opportunities for bringing many talents into action. They usually open at nine in the morning, with a praying service, for half an hour, in one company. A preaching service of about forty-five minutes succeeds, opening with singing and prayer and closing with sermon. The praying companies then go out, take up their various stations, and occupy about thirty minutes, with singing, prayers, exhortations, &c. But no company is allowed to fix near the preaching stand. The going out and coming in, is a great relief both to body and mind; and a camp meeting formed in praying companies displays one of the grandest sights ever seen by man.

At the time appointed, if there be no service with mourners, the signal for preaching is given, either by sounding a horn, ringing a small bell, or by some other means, and the companies, with singing, approach the stand. A preacher is ready to receive them; and at

once, opens the service with singing and prayer, two preachers frequently stand up in one service, speaking from fifteen to twenty minutes each. When the preaching service closes, the conductor of the meeting, again directs the praying companies to go out, take up their stations, and occupy with all diligence, harrowing in the word with fervent prayer.

This is a kind of general course; but there are other varieties of which a skilful conductor will avail himself. If there be a service with mourners, and it be proper or necessary to begin preaching service, he immediately forms a permanent company to pray with mourners; and fixes them at a proper distance from the stand.

Sometimes, when the work is breaking out at the preaching stand, he does not send the companies out; but commences a general praying service at the stand. In such cases a ring or opening is sometimes made, and the mourners are called up to be prayed for.

Reading services usually commence with singing and prayer; one or two short experiences are then read from the Magazine. The readers, if they choose, are allowed occasionally to exhort a little.—The reading services form an excellent variety, and may often be performed by people who are not preachers.

Several preachers usually exercise in the course of the day. But as variety is a chief thing, it would be both unwise and improper for any preacher to take any notice of any former preaching, or to make any reference to any other sermon that may have been delivered. His preaching should be distinctly his own, without interfering with any one's else.

On Wednesday, May 2, 1821, the second Annual Meeting commenced in the chapel at Tunstal, and closed on Thursday, May 10. There was fifteen circuits, and sixteen thousand, three hundred, and ninety-four members; the increase for the year being eight thousand, five hundred, and fifty-two. This Annual Meeting divided the connection into five districts, appointing a meeting in each district, to prepare matters for the Annual Meeting. And they appointed the next Annual Meeting to consist of three delegates from each district. A Book Committee was appointed to form a Printing Establishment for the use of the connection. Hugh Bourne was re-appointed Editor, and James Bourne, Book Steward.

The camp meetings and other services of worship, connected with the Annual Meeting, were very successful; a great number of powerful conversions took place; and the societies of Tunstall and the neighboring places were greatly quickened.

CHAPTER V.

Mexbro' Camp Meeting. New Circuits. Third Annual Meeting. Two General Committees.

On Sunday, June 3, 1821, a memorable camp meeting was held on Mexbro' Common, near Doncaster in Yorkshire, by Sheffield and Barnsley circuits. It had sixteen praying companies; it was believed that more than ten thousand attended, and that hundreds were converted to God.

In pursuance of the designs of the Annual Meeting, a printing establishment was formed at Bemersley. The undertaking was great and arduous; but by perseverance it was accomplished.

The general affairs of the connection went on as usual. Tunstall formed Belper, and Burton-upon-Trent circuits. Hull formed Leeds, Malton, Ripon, and York circuits. Barnsley formed Halifax and Wakefield circuits. Sheffield formed Chesterfield circuit. And Brompton formed Guisbro' circuit.

The third Annual Meeting was held at Loughborough; it commenced on Tuesday, May 28, 1822, and closed on the Wednesday but one after. The number of members was reported at twenty-five thousand two hundred and eighteen; the increase for the year eight thousand eight hundred and twenty-four. This Annual Meeting formed a Committee at Hull, who, with the Book Committee, were directed to attend to general concerns, until the next Annual Meeting.

CHAPTER VI.

New circuits. Society in London. Fourth Annual Meeting.

FROM May 1822, to May 1823, the connection increased, and twenty new circuits were formed. The account of them is as follows: Ram-sor, Burland, and Oaken Gates circuits from Tunstall. Ashby-de-la-Zouch circuit from Loughborough. Silsden, Preston, North Shields, and Scarborough circuits from Hull. Retford, Brigg and Marshland circuits from Scotter. Bradwell and Doncaster circuits from Sheffield. Louth circuit from Grimsby. Bolton and Oldham circuits from Manchester; and Castle Town circuit, in the Isle of Man, from Bolton. Middleham circuit from Brompton. Pickering circuit from Malton. And Bradford circuit from Leeds.

In December, 1822, Leeds circuit sent a Mission to London, and a society was formed there.

The Annual Meeting was held May 20, 1823, at Leeds. - The report of the connection was, 46 circuits; 202 travelling preachers; 1,435 local preachers; and 29,472 Members.

Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all

that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

✍ Their present number I am not able to determine—but their *annual* increase may well be compared to those of the Old Connection!

They have sent some of their Missionaries to *America*, in the name of the LORD; and I wish them good success.

1833.

L. D.

ON THE MINISTRY.

How shall one person know and be able to determine and judge, whether it be the duty of another to preach or not?

There are but three evidences by which he may be able to judge and determine concerning him on that subject. 1st, Divine evidence in his own soul; or 2dly, by the fruits of his labor; or 3dly, the witness of his word with power.

How shall one know whether it be his own duty to preach or not? Says one, leave it to your brethren to determine. But if they have not the proper evidence by which to judge, they are incapable of forming a correct judgment; of course may err, to his great injury—therefore, there should be further investigation beyond those who are incompetent to be judges.

Search the Scriptures!

The Scriptures do not say whether he, as an individual, shall go or stay.

IF GOD wills the thing and requires it at his hand, there is no counselling against the Lord. And if it be not his duty, no man nor any body of men, have a right to tell or command him to go.

There is no rational evidence that wicked men are called of the Lord to preach. Those who feel the call enjoined upon them, by obeying the divine convictions in their soul, they feel quietness and peace, and joy in God, by walking in that way. But the rejection of duty brings pain and woe!

As there are various gifts in the Christian church, and yet all by the same spirit, how shall a person know and determine what place and sphere is his? Answer—he must get the *spirit of his station*, and then he will feel the witness, and have the testimony

that he pleases God. The opening of providence corresponds with the calls of the Spirit, when and where to go.

But some people who are too much bigoted to a mode of their own, had rather good would not be done at all, if it does not come in their own way, agreeably to their preconceived notion of the thing—if we may judge of their conduct in opposing the instruments which it pleases God to use, as means to accomplish it.—But the words of Gamaliel, Acts, v. 35, are a propos to such as forbid others, because they follow not with THEM!

ON CHURCH GOVERNMENT, &c.

SUPPOSING that a resolution was passed into a rule, that a *Methodist* should not commune with the *Baptists*—assigning as a reason that the Baptists had no *authority* for the ORIGIN of their ORDER but what was self-created; hence founded on assumption only. But the AUTHORITY of the Methodists was “by ORDER and SUCCESSION,” agreeably to EPISCOPAL PRINCIPLES. This being admitted, it would follow as a consequence of Episcopacy, that if the “Church of England” be right and agreeable according to the order of GOD the Church of Rome cannot be wrong—if the succession be derived from “*Peter*” through that avenue.

But to obviate that difficulty, it is argued that the order of Elders has been continued in succession from the Apostle’s time—and that ELDER and BISHOP and OVERSEER all mean one and the same thing—so admits Adam Clarke in his notes on the 20th of Acts.

In the preface to the Methodist hymn book, “to purchase no hymn books” but what are signed with the names of the BISHOPS—appealing to the Methodists if they have any respect for “the AUTHORITY of the Conference, or of US!” Who is this US?—William M. Kendree, Enoch George, and Robert R. Roberts.

How came they by this “AUTHORITY?”

By “*delegation*,” “*order and succession*!”

Who delegated the authority to them?

“The General Conference!”

Who is this “General Conference?”

It is composed of "*delegates*" from the several "*District Conferences*."

Who composes the several "District Conferences?"

The MINISTERS and PREACHERS in the Methodist "*Travelling Connection*;" and THESE appoint the "DELEGATES" to attend the "General Conference."

Have the "PEOPLE" any voice in the formation of those rules by which they are to be governed? NO! not even a *representation*! though the rules be altered ever so many times, even after they have become members of society.

Whom have "WM. M. KENDREE," "ENOCH GEORGE" and "ROBERT R. ROBERTS" "succeeded" "in order?"

"RICHARD WHATCOAT," "FRANCIS ASBURY," and "THOMAS COKE."

Whom did "RICHARD WHATCOAT," "FRANCIS ASBURY" and "THOMAS COKE" "succeed" "in order?" "JOHN WESLEY."

Was John Wesley *superior* in *power* to Thomas Coke?

Not according to the rules of Episcopacy:—they were of one grade and order—"presbyters" or "elders."

How came John Wesley, Thomas Coke's superior and predecessor?

John Wesley was the *means* under God, of the *first origin* of the *Methodist Society*—which name was given out of stigma—and said he, I *use* the *power*, but I don't seek it.

How did Thomas Coke succeed John Wesley?

By delegation and the "*imposition of hands*" in secret.

Can a stream rise higher than its fountain? IF NOT, why the imposition of hands, clandestinely?

For the sake of "ORDER" and the name of the thing—secretly, for to keep peace in England.

How did "Francis Asbury" "succeed Thomas Coke" in order?"

Francis Asbury was in *America* first, and had the controul according to his will, before Thomas Coke came over—hence he would accept no nominal authority from Coke, unless the Conference, which was called on that occasion, and partly for that purpose, should *VOTE* it; and moreover, Thomas should agree *not* to meddle with the stationing of the preachers, &c. After which he was ordained by the said Thomas, other ministers assisting; first, one day "*Deacon*," second day "*ELDER*," and the third day a "*BISHOP*!" But after a while *Thomas* would willingly dissent from, divide, and interfere with the stationing of the preachers, which did not please *Francis*, so the *Doctor* was voted to stay in Europe—unless recalled, which was never done,

Hence by "ORDER and SUCCESSION," the rotation will stand thus upon the list of BISHOPS in Methodist history—

" John Wesley,
 " Thomas Coke,
 " Francis Asbury,
 " Richard Whatecoat,
 " Wm. M. Kendree,
 " Enoch George,
 " Robert R. Roberts,
 " Joshua Sool,
 " Elijah Heding, and
 " Emery & Andrews.

Is there any way to *break* the power of a Bishop?

Yes—two ways—if he *ceases* to travel without consent—and if he be guilty of immoral conduct.

But suppose he *backslides*, and still his life is termed *moral*?

That is another question!

Did the people of Rome ever have power and a voice to choose their own bishop?

Yes—and it continued until the year 1143, when the *clergy* domineered over the people, and taking the privilege from them, lodged it in the *cardinals* alone.

Did the POPE ever have unlimited POWER, without the voice of any other person, to command "six hundred" or two thousand men—and send them when and where he pleased, because it was his will and pleasure to have it so—"to say to one, go and he goeth, and to another come, and he cometh, and to this man do this, and he doeth it?"

I know not where it is recorded in history, that the Pope did command six hundred men, in their ecclesiastic and clerical capacity—to send them here and there, because it was his *will* and *pleasure* so to have it! and that over a country near 2000 miles one way, and 1500 the other.

How much *less* is the power of the President of the United States! How much greater the privilege of the citizens, to have a *voice* by *their* representative in the formation of those *rules* by which they are to be governed*—and the liberty of *speech* and of the *press* to remark on the rules, and conduct of those who form the rules, and their *mode* of governing, &c. &c.

The *mode* of governing in the old world, contains those *restrictions*, as the result and dregs of the old "FEUDAL SYSTEM"—and wherever this mode exists, the principle must be the same—of which the unlimited, and in many cases the undefined power of the Bishop and P. *Elders* is a specimen—which some have seen and severely felt! But to return—

* According to the twenty third *articles* of the the methodist faith.

It is acknowledged that the "*scriptures* are the **ONLY RULE**, and **SUFFICIENT RULE**, both of **FAITH** and **PRACTICE**." If so, then what cannot be found therein, cannot be *binding* on men. Therefore, those who assume a prerogative which does not belong to them, cannot be acquitted by the **JUST** and **RIGHTEOUS JUDGE**.

And any *rules* formed in our day by a set of well-meaning men, are only *prudential* at the best.

Among some *societies* there are **UNREGENERATE** persons, being only "*natural born*" members; hence, being **NOT** in the **SPIRIT**, how can they discern, so as to be proper judges of spiritual things? Hence, if they take it for granted that they belong to the Church of Christ by virtue of their birth-right standing, it is obvious they are in darkness, and of course deceived; therefore, while they condemn and judge others, are ignorant of their own state and situation; and hence incapable of doing the work of the Lord; and are liable to condemn those whom the Lord will not condemn, by assuming to themselves an *infallibility* like the Popish Church; or the strict self-righteous Jews, who condemned the innocent Jesus in days of old.

Many beg the question, and take it for granted that *their* society is the true church of Christ. But how few possess the spirit of the Lord and Master! How few, even of those who profess his name, in dealing with *members* of their society, attend to the rule laid down by the head of the Church—Matt. xviii. 15, and following verses—in a Christian spirit to visit them *alone*, then to take one, two, or three more, if the first visit will not do. But, alas! alas! too many clandestinely attack them *behind their back*! cut them off, without even permitting them to be present on trial, to defend their own cause; and then consider them as an heathen and a publican, merely because they are *out* of society—which expulsion might be by false testimony, prejudice in the judges, or even their own ignorance in the case. And yet because they are out of society by such expulsion, therefore behold, they are judged as enemies of the true Church, and of course as enemies of Christ himself; and hence, by virtue of their "**ANATHEMA**," are consigned to chains of darkness, and being bound on earth by *them*, it must be *ratified* by God himself in the courts of heaven too. Whereas, they should first cast the beam out of their own eye, and then hunt up the lost sheep. For if thou rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave thy gift at the altar (thou being in the wrong) and go *first* and be reconciled to thy brother, and *then* come and offer thy gift—otherwise how canst thou expect to be accepted with God, if iniquity be

in thy heart?" "Therefore be you merciful, as your Father in heaven is merciful"—"for the Son of man is come to *save* that which was *lost*." But much is the injury done to the souls of men by the harsh, unscriptural, and unchristian manner of dealing with those whom we conceive to offend. Let all those whom it may concern, of any society, that hath the charge or watchful care of a people in the name of Christ, take good heed of their spirit, mode, and practice, how they deal with others whom they may think to be offenders; for what is amiss here, must be rectified hereafter, by the Just and Righteous Judge, who will then see that each and every of them have JUSTICE done.

The Methodists, Baptists, and Shakers, are the only people that I am acquainted with that do not admit of coming into their society by virtue of "birthright"—i. e. natural born members; a strong reason for these last; for they do not admit of making children, but say we must be "as the angels of God."

The Methodist mode of church government is the most arbitrary and despotic of any in America, except the Shakers which appears to be nothing but Popery new-modeled and fitted to America, seeing there can be no national religion established by law on the *constitutional* authority of the land.

Shakerism argues thus: "God called *their* name Adam;" hence the *first* Adam was not perfect until there was a *first* Eve. So the *second* Adam was not perfect until there was a *second* Eve. The first coming of Christ (for they have much to say about *Christ*, and but little about JESUS) was in the form of a man—i. e. *Jesus*; but the second coming of Christ was in the form of a woman—i. e. ANN LEE, whom they have called *mother*, or elect lady, &c. And all the blessings from God to the Church, are through Ann Lee, and her successors in office; and the only way to God is through that avenue, and no salvation elsewhere. Even Moses, and all the holy men of old, cannot escape from "PURGATORY" until they first come and *confess* to THEM, &c. Thus it is confession to man, with faith in a woman, for absolution; and instead of looking to God by prayer, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, to be *purified* in Heart by the HOLY SPIRIT, they must confess to the *elders*, with faith in *Ann Lee*; and live on coarse fare, dance much, and labor hard, and so by that means *sweat* it out; and if they can sweat out the propensities of the *flesh*, as *they* call it, so as to "get into the Jerusalem State" here, very well; if not they must go to *Purgatory*, and be purged out by fire, as the old woman does the pipe.

But, nevertheless, their mechanism is done faithful, as a society, perhaps the most so of any. And in time of distress,

if a poor man comes who has no money, they will *give* him relief—but the rich, say they, may go and buy elsewhere.

Whoever has been among the Shakers a few years, and then comes off, has a wild appearance that cannot be described, and is unsettled in mind. The ghastly appearance of their *women*, however healthful when they join, and their elders appearing so healthful and *shining* give appearance as though the reports were too well founded, that *medical* aid is used to prevent children; and thus derange the *nervous system*:—for husbands and wives must be parted; and every man or woman who joins them, is tasked and allowanced, and of course as good as a *slave*.

According to Shaker accounts, Ann Lee once had a husband, whom she left in England—also had been the mother of four children.

If a person can once believe that they were right, and so join them, I see no way for evidence to convince them of their error. For they are allowed no books, not even the Bible; nor to hear any preaching, nor to converse with other people—and private prayer, and the *inward teaching of the Spirit*, is laid aside; and of course they must pin their faith on Ann Lee, and what the elders say is law and gospel with them.

LYMAN BEECHER, one of governor Strong's stamp, being minister in the Presbyterian Congregational order; has made a calculation on the state of religion in all the U. States; beginning with Maine, goes on through the several states in rotation, and ends at Georgia, with the following words:—"The population of Georgia, is 452,083, while in the whole state there are not to exceed 10 ministers who are qualified to preach the gospel; leaving 442,483 of the population of that state, **DESTITUTE** of such *instruction as God has decided to be proper for the salvation of men!* A small portion of this destitute population of the land, is enlightened by a feeble glimmering from **UNEDUCATED** men!"—"Such, then, is the state of our nation; more **DEPLORABLY DESTITUTE OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION** than **ANY OTHER CHRISTIAN NATION UNDER HEAVEN.**"

"What shall be done?"—"something more than ever has been done"—

"There is a state of society to be formed, and to be formed by an **EXTENDED COMBINATION** of **INSTITUTIONS**, Religious, CIVIL, and literary, which never exist without the **CO-OPERATION** of an **EDUCATED MINISTRY**."

Thus, after showing how many ministers according, to the number of people, there are in different nations in Europe—England, Ireland, Italy, SPAIN, &c. and drawing the inference that *America* is in a more deplorable state than any other, as

above—concludes, if it should *degenerate* for 70 years to come as it has for the 70 years past, that it will be on a level with heathens—hence “the *NATION* must be awaked to save itself by its own exertions, or *WE*” (i. e. Strong’s men) “are undone.” “The newspaper, the tracts and magazines—must make the *PRESS GROAN* to communicate our wretchedness—and from every pulpit the trumpet must sound *LONG* and loud—* * * * *

“Combinations unite like streams in one river” to educate—and if they will not preach *Calvinism*—or be a *tool* for those who are ambitious—other wise must return the money for their education. •

He admits of none being “ministers of the gospel,” but those of his order of “*educated men*.” And at the ratio of one for 1000 persons, would require 8000 according to the population of 8,000,000—but 5000 are wanting; as his kind of ministers do not exceed 3000. Thus, a *snake in the grass*! —1812.

LORENZO’S EARLY EXERCISES.

O! that poor sinners did but know
 What I for them do undergo;
 From God I’m call’d to bear the *news*,
 To Heathens, Gentiles, and the Jews!
 Permit me one thing you to tell,
 What my poor heart doth often feel:
 I’ve left behind my friends, my all,
 Upon poor sinners for to call.
 O shall I stop now with my theme?
 Can people think it but a dream?
 How oftentimes my heart is broke,
 Because my Parents are forsook:
 Its now and then I do them see,
 Which is a small comfort to me:
 But with them soon must part again,
 Which gives to my poor heart fresh pain!
 But this is not all I undergo,
 I have to face cold winds and snow
 And often through the desert ride,
 To seek my Master’s son a bride.
 In sultry globes I often pant,
 Riding a distance, almost spent,
 My money’s out, I cannot buy,
 Were I to suffer now, and die!
 In dreary lands I often thirst,
 While passing o’er the parching dust;
 The scorching sun beats down so fair,
 I long for one sweet breath of air!
 Through creeks and rivers swift and wide;
 Both high and low I have to ride;

Perhaps beat down some time before,
 I can reach safe the other shore.
 The clouds arise and thunders break,
 I feel the ground beneath me shake;
 The mountains tremble at the sound,
 And wet all through I'm often found.
 Some times in open chambers sleep,
 Or on some little place I creep;
 I cannot sleep for want of clothes;
 Smothered with smoke or almost froze.
 Sometimes I with "*False Brethren*" meet,
 Whose hearts are full of *vain deceit*!
 They seem quite clever at the first;
 Yet of all men *these are the worst*!
 My natural brethren do cry out,
 I wonder what he is about?
 Why doth he so fatigue himself?
 He seems not to regard his health!
 But oh! if they would look around,
 They'd know why I'm thus often found;
 A view of souls expos'd to hell,
 Hath caus'd me to bid friends farewell.
 The worth of Souls lies near my heart,
 Which causes me with all to part;
 Both *Parent*, Brother, Sister, all,
 Upon poor sinners for to call.
 Through savage haunts my courses lay,
 Where I have travell'd all the day;
 And sleeping in the woods at night,
 To take my rest before the light.
 The birds of night begin to prow! ,
 About my *camp* the *Wolf* doth howl,
 But down to rest, I take my sleep;
 Jehovah me doth safely keep.
 The sable shades at last would flee,
 And my glad heart would thankful be,
 To that Good Hand that kept me through,
 To pass along in safety too.
 Across the main to the OLD WORLD,
 Where rolling billows are unfurl'd,
 The wonders in the deep were seen,
 Within the reach of *human ken*.
 O may the Lord be with my mouth,
 Whilst I am travelling *North* and *South*;
 And greatly bless my every word,
 That sinners may turn to the Lord!
 Then when I've done my work below,
 I'll gladly quit this vale of woe;
 And soar above the ethereal sky,
 To dwell with Christ eternally!

CHAIN OF REASON

AND

REFLECTIONS.

THIRTY-THIRD EDITION.

After I had found religion, I began to reflect on my experience, and perceiving that I felt a love to ALL, though I had been taught that God only loved a FEW, which he had given to his Son.* I could not reconcile the two ideas together, how my love should exceed the love of God; and feeling within myself, that I stood in danger of falling into sin, and consequently into condemnation; I could not reconcile it with the common idea, that if a man once obtained religion, he was always safe, let him do what he would. This put me upon examining the scriptures for myself, and comparing past ideas therewith: and on examination of the same, I could find no promise that any should be saved, but *those who endured unto the end*. On the other hand the Bible seemed to correspond with my feelings, that there was danger, being full of cautions; and there is no need of caution where there is no danger. The more light and knowledge a person hath, and commits a crime, the worse it must be; because he sins against the more light: therefore any sin is greater in a professor of reli-

* To talk about an eternal covenant between the Father and the Son before all worlds, a bargain that Christ should have a certain number of mankind, which some call the *elect*, is a contradiction in terms, and a piece of inconsistency. For, first, a covenant is a contract made between two parties, and there cannot be a covenant without two parties.


Therefore to say the Father and Son made a covenant, would be to adopt the idea, that there were two divinities, which would divide the Godhead, and of course argue two Gods.

But the Bible authorises us to believe in one God and no more. Again, if the Father and Son made a covenant, there was a *time* when they made it, and if so then there was a *time before* they made it, consequently it was not made from all eternity, unless you suppose eternity began at the time when they made it, which is inconsistent, because *eternity* implies unbeginning of *time*.

Again, this covenant cannot be a *new* one if it be so old, and a new covenant of works made with Adam but six thousand years ago, cannot be called an *old* one, therefore to term the *oldest* covenant a *new* one, and the *newest* the *old* one, is a piece of inconsistency, like putting the cart before the horse, and you cannot deny it.

gion, than in a non-professor, seeing he sins against the greater light.

If the sin is the greater, of course the condemnation and punishment must be proportioned: as Christ saith, "he that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes; whereas, he that knoweth not his master's will, shall be beaten with few." Therefore, if the sinner who never had religion deserves to be damned for actual transgression; why not the professor, upon the principles of impartial justice.

Now it appears to me, that this doctrine, *once in grace, always in grace*, is inseparably connected with the doctrine of *particular election and reprobation*; and to deny the latter, and to hold the former, to me appears inconsistent: for if a saint cannot be punished in proportion to his conduct, then he is not accountable; and if he be not accountable, then not rewardable; and if neither rewardable nor punishable, then his salvation or damnation does not turn upon his actions, *pro. nor con.* but upon the free electing love of God: Therefore, God will have mercy upon whom he will, and whom he will, he passeth by: thus they appear connected like two links in a chain. And it appeareth moreover, that the doctrine of *particular election*, leadeth to *universalism*: for according to the above we must suppose, that God decreed all things; if so, God being wise, *whatever* he hath decreed, he must have decreed it *right*; consequently nothing cometh to pass *wrong*—then there is no sin, for it cannot be sin to do right: If then one shall be damned for doing right, why not all; and if one is saved for doing right, why not all according to the rule of impartial justice. Again, this doctrine of election saith *all* that was given from the Father to the Son, in the covenant of Grace, will be saved; none that Christ died for can be lost. The Bible saith Christ gave himself for *ALL*, 1 *Tim.* ii. 4, 6. 1 *John* ii. 2. and A double L, does not spell *part*, nor *some*, nor *few*, but it means *all*. Well, now if all Christ died for will be saved, and none of them can be lost, then Universalism must be true:  and you cannot deny it.

And now it appears furthermore, that Universalism leads to Deism—for if all are saved, none are lost, and of course no future punishment: therefore the threatenings in the Bible must be false, like a sham scare crow hung up in the fields, to represent what is not real. And if the threatenings be false, the promises are equally so; for while the promises are given in one scale to encourage virtue, the threatenings are put in the opposite one, to discourage vice. To deny the one, disallows of the other, and of course breaks the chain of the Bible, and thereby destroys its authority; consequently, ye cannot suppose with propriety, that

it came from God by Divine direction; but rather, that it was hatched up by some cunning politicians, to answer their political designs, to keep the people in order—and that it has been kept on the carpet ever since, by the black and blue coats, to get a fat living out of the people. “Away with the Bible” says the Deist, “I will be imposed upon by that no more, but I will go upon *reason*; for who ever came back from the other world, to bring us news from that country about Heaven or Hell, or exhibited a map thereof?”

Now if I denied the Bible, I should of course deny miracles and inspiration; for if I admit of them, I must in reason admit of the propriety of the Bible.

But no one who denies inspiration and miracles, can prove the existence of a God. There are but six ways to receive ideas; which are by *inspiration* or one of the *five senses*. Deny inspiration, there are but the five ways; and matter of fact demonstrates, that a man by these outward sensitive organs, can neither hear, see, smell, taste nor feel God: how then can we know him but by a revelation in the inward sense? Why, saith the Deist, the works of nature proclaim aloud in both my ears, “there is a God,” but I deny it according to your scale of reasoning, for you deny miracles; and yet you say what has been once may be again; now if there was a miracle once; there may be one again; if so, then there may be such a thing as revealed religion, for that is but miraculous: but if there cannot be a miracle again, that is an argument there never was one, and of course denies the works of Creation, if there was no Creation, then there is no *Creator*; for it must have been a miracle, to have spoken the world into existence and to have formed intelligent beings—therefore, if there never was a miracle, then there never was such a thing as Creation: consequently the works of nature do not speak forth a Divine Being, for his hand never formed them; but they argue, that matter is eternal, and that all things come by nature—for it is evident, that if *nought* had been *once*, *nought* had been *now*; for *nothing* cannot put forth the act of power and beget something; yet it is self-evident that something does exist; therefore something must have existed eternally. Then saith reason, if all things come by nature, then nature is eternal; and when forming from its primitive chaos, into its present position by congelation, brought forth mankind, beasts and vegetables spontaneously; something like the mushroom growing up without seed, or the moss growing on the tree; and are kept on the stage by transmigration, like the caterpillar, transmigrating or turning into a beautiful butterfly; or the muck-worm into a horn bug. Thus nature assumes one form or shape for a while, then laying that aside takes up another. In confirmation of this idea, it appears that one race of

animals or beings goes from the stage, and another comes on the carpet; for instance, the bones of a certain animal, found in different parts of the continent of America, demonstrate there was such a race of beings once, called the Mammoth, which as far as we know, are now extinct: and the Hessian fly, which was discovered a few years since, near where the Hessian troops encamped, and from thence took its name, supposed to have been brought by them from Hesse—and since this insect has greatly spread over New England, and destroys the wheat: I have made much inquiry, but cannot learn that it is found in the country from whence the Hessians came; from this one may infer and argue, that it is an animal, come on the stage within late years, as it appears some other insects have done. In further confirmation of this idea, and which stands opposed to the account given by the Bible, “that all animals were drowned, except those with Noah in the ark,” we find that although it is natural for us to conclude, that all animals would generate and be found on that part where the ark rested, yet the Racoon is peculiar to America: this then is a new species of animal, and we may say the account cannot be admitted that all other parts were drowned. But again in confirmation of revolutions in nature we perceive, that even if scripture be true, once Giants did exist; but they are now apparently extinct. On strict examination, it appears that earth and shells congealed, form marble—and wood when put into certain lakes of water, becomes stone.

The turf bogs in Ireland, which are found on the tops of the highest mountains, or in the valleys, miles in length and breadth, and scores of feet deep, evidently appear to have been vegetables washed together by some singular cause or awful deluge; whole trees, with ancient artificial materials, being found many feet below the surface. I likewise was informed of a spring in that country, by putting bars or sheets of iron therein, they would be converted into copper.

On my way from Georgia, I could not but observe great quantities of shells, which to me appear to belong to the oyster, some hundreds of miles from any salt or brackish water, and it is quite improbable they could have been brought by human art, considering the vast quantities found in the Savannas or Piraras to Tombigby, and thence to the Natchez country, and in the Chickasaw nation. It evidently appears likewise, that this western country was once inhabited by a warlike informed people, who had the use of mechanical instruments; and there are evident marks of antiquity, consisting of artificial mounts and fortifications, &c. pronounced by the curious, who have examined, to have been deserted long before the discovery of America by Columbus. One of those mounts, a few miles above the Natchez, covers about six

acres of ground, forty feet above the common level, on which stands another, forty feet high, making in all eighty feet. Great numbers of these artificial mounts, fortifications and beds of ashes, are to be found, extending from the western parts of Georgia, to the Mississippi, and then northward with the waters of said river, to Lake Erie, &c. all which denote it once was a populous, and since is a forsaken country; which neither history nor tradition hath given us any information of. Therefore it appears, that greater revolutions have taken place in this terraqueous globe, than many imagine; and herefrom we might suppose, that the earth hath stood longer than the six thousand years calculated from scripture—and with the Chinese assent to their boasted ancient histories, &c.

Thus I shall be an Atheist instead of a Deist; but I cannot be the *one* nor the *other* according to reason, for if there be no God, nature depends on chance, and this earth would be like a well stringed instrument, without a skilful hand to play upon it; or a well rigged vessel, without mariners to steer her; for every thing that hath not a regulator, is liable to go to ruin: and if all things depend on chance, then by chance there may be a God and a Devil, a Heaven and Hell, Saints and Sinners, and by chance the saints may get to Heaven, and by chance Sinners may go to Hell. It is evident in reason, that as a stream cannot rise higher than its fountain, so confusion can never produce order; for the effect cannot be more noble than the cause: Consequently, if confusion had been once, it must have remained; but as the stars keep their courses without infringing upon each other in their different revolutions, so that the astronomer can calculate his almanacs years before hand, it is evident there is such a thing as order; and to suppose this order to have been eternal would be arguing, that the earth has stood forever, as we now behold it; and to suppose that the earth hath forever had its present form, is to suppose that there has been an eternal succession of men, beasts and vegetables, and that to an *infinite* number; (for if the number be not infinite, how could the succession have been eternal,) and yet to talk about an infinite number, is a contradiction in terms, for there is no number but what may be made larger, by the addition of units; but that which is infinite, cannot be enlarged. Again, if there has been an eternal succession of men and beasts; by the same rule there had been an eternal succession of days and nights, and years likewise. This must be allowed, (that infinite numbers are equal, for if one number be smaller than the other, how can it be said to be infinite?) Well, if infinite numbers be equal, and if there hath been an eternal succession of years, and days, and nights, we must suppose that their infinite numbers are equal. And yet to allow there hath been as many years, as there hath been days and nights, is inconsistent,

seeing that it takes 365 to compose one year; and if the number of years be less than the number of days and nights, the number cannot be admitted to be infinite; consequently the succession cannot have been eternal; therefore it must be, there was a time when years began: If so, we must admit the idea, that there is something superior to nature, that formed it, and thus of course an Almighty regulator, that with wisdom, must have constructed and preserved this system; and this power and regulator must be self dependant, for no power could exceed it for it to be dependant on, and of course, self-existent, of course eternal, according to the foregoing: and this Eternal, self-existent, all wise, regulator, is what we term GOD, and what the Indians term, the GREAT MAN ABOVE.* Various are the ideas formed concerning this GOD: Some acknowledge one Supreme Being, but disallow of what is called the Trinity; saying, how can three be one? Answer, as rain, snow, and hail, when reduced to their origin are one, (water :) and as light, heat, and color are seen in one element, (fire,) and as the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, compose but one, so, if in natural things, three can make one, why may we not admit the idea with reason, that three can be one in things supernatural and divine, &c. What is meant by God the Father, is, that Eternal Being that is every where present. What is meant by Christ the Son, the manhood of Christ, being brought forth by the omnipotent power of God, as the evangelists relate;†

* "CAUSELESS CAUSATOR."

† "Here I trust I may be permitted to say, with all due respect for those who differ from me, that the doctrine of the *eternal Sonship* of Christ is, in my opinion, antisciptural and highly dangerous; this doctrine I reject for the following reasons:

1st. I have not been able to find any express declaration in the Scriptures concerning it.

2dly. If Christ be the Son of God as to his *divine* nature, then he cannot be *eternal*; for *son* implies a *father*; and father implies, in reference to *son*, *precedency in time*, if not in *nature* too. *Father* and *son* imply the idea of *generation*; and *generation* implies a time in which it was effected, and *time* also *antecedent* to such generation.

3dly. If Christ be the Son of God, as to his *divine* nature, then the *Father* is of necessity *prior*, consequently superior to him.

4thly. Again, if this *divine nature* were *begotten* of the *Father*, then it must be *in time*! i. e. there was a period in which it *did not* exist, and a period when it *began* to exist. This destroys the eternity of our blessed Lord, and robs him at once of his Godhead.

5thly. To say that he was *begotten* from all *eternity*, is in my opinion, absurd; and the phrase *eternal Son* is a positive self-contradiction. *Eternity* is that which has had no *beginning*, nor stands in any reference to *time*. *Son* supposes *time*, *generation*, and *father*; and time also *antecedent* to such generation. Therefore the conjunction of these two terms *Son* and *eternity* is absolutely impossible, as they imply essentially different and *opposite* ideas.

The enemies of Christ's divinity have, in all ages, availed themselves of this incautious method of treating this subject, and on *this ground*, have ever had the advantage of the defenders of the Godhead of Christ. This doctrine of the *eternal Sonship* destroys the *deity* of Christ: now if his deity be taken away, the whole gospel scheme of redemption is ruined. On this ground, the atonement of Christ cannot have been of *infinite* merit, and consequently could not purchase pardon for the of-

and *that* manhood being filled with the divine nature, of course he would be God as well as man, and man as well as God—two dis-

fences of mankind, nor give any right to, or possession of, an *eternal* glory. The very use of this phrase is both absurd and dangerous; therefore let all those who value *Jesus* and their *salvation* abide by the *Scriptures*."—*Dr. Clarke*.

We read, "No man hath seen God at any time." 1 John iv. 12. But Christ saith to Philip "He that hath seen *me*, hath seen the *Father*." John xiv. 9. Again, "*I* in *them*, and *Thou* in *me*." John xvii. 23. *i. e.* the invisible manifestation, as Paul saith "Christ in *you*, the hope of glory." Colos. i. 27. Again, "*We* will come unto *him*, and make our abode with *him*." John xiv. 23. In this the Christian feels God to be his *Father*, *Redeemer*, and *Comforter*. And supposing the word *Trinity* is not to be found in the Bible, or *Persons* the plural, yet there are manifestations, and people should be careful not to quarrel too much about *names*, *forms*, or *words*, but seek for essential realities.

We read Heb. i. 1, 2, "*God*—hath in these last days spoken unto *us* by his *Son*, by whom also he made the worlds," or, as John i. 1—4. He existed as the *Word*, visible manifestation or Son of God; as, by an act of mind a thought is begot, so this manifestation might be said to be begotten by the will and power of God, though some query it does not appear to be written whether he existed as the *Son*, or only as the *Word*, until he was *manifested in the flesh*.

The first covenant, the covenant of works, was made with us in Adam, we being in his loins, he was our federal head and representative, and God required him to keep a moral law of innocence for us in himself, &c. Adam fell from his innocent happiness, and we being in his loins, fell with him. Well, says one, would not God be just to have damned us for Adam's sin? Answer—a punishment should never exceed the transgression, and of course, we deserve not a personal punishment for that which we were never *actually* guilty of; but as we were *passive* in the action, should have been passive in the suffering; of course as we fell in Adam's loins, should have been punished in his loins, and of course have perished in his loins.—Adam and Eve only were actually guilty, and of course they only, deserved an actual punishment, which I believe would have been just in God to have inflicted; but to punish his posterity with a personal punishment, for that of which they were never personally guilty would be representing God as unjust, by making the punishment to exceed the crime, which would exceed the bounds of moral justice. I therefore argue, that as the punishment should be proportioned to the crime; if a mediator was not provided, we should have perished, by being punished in Adam's loins; and if we had, then God's declarative glory must have been eclipsed, he not being actually glorified in our personal salvation or damnation. In further demonstration of this idea, I argue, that as every title to any blessing was forfeited by Adam's fall, they could never have been enjoyed, except they were purchased, (for if they could there was no need for him to purchase them for us, &c.) Our temporal lives being blessings, they came through the merits of Christ, of course, if it had not been for Christ's merits we should not have had this blessing, and of course should have perished in Adam, as we fell with him, as above. But as we read that Christ was a lamb slain (not from all eternity) from the foundation of the world, though not actually slain until four thousand years after; meaning that God made a revelation of his Son to the ancients, who were saved by faith in a Messiah which was to come, the same as we are saved by faith in a Messiah which hath come eighteen hundred years ago, &c. as Christ said, "Abraham rejoiced to see my day, he saw it and was glad." John viii. 56: Romans i. 19, 20, to ii. 14, 15. Galat. iii. 8. Job was a heathen, yet observe his faith. Job xix. 25, 26.

Observe, as the first covenant, the covenant of works was made with us in Adam, he being our head and representative, &c. So the second covenant, the covenant of grace, was not made between the Father and the Son, as some do vainly think, (there is no mention of such a covenant in the bible, but was made with US IN Christ, he being given to the people for a covenant, &c. Isaiah xlii. 6. and xlix. 8.

God had a sovereign right to make the first Adam and require his obedience, and when he fell, he had the same sovereign right to raise up the second Adam as he had the first and to require his obedience. But says the deist, there would be no moral justice to make the innocent suffer for the guilty. Allowing it, what then? If the innocent suffer voluntarily, who can be impeached with injustice? for instance, if I break a law, and the penalty is, pay five pounds or take the lash. If I cannot advance the money, I must take the stripes. But a gentleman steps up and

inct natures in one person; and it is no more inconsistent with reason, to acknowledge that he came as above, than to acknow-

voluntarily suffers the loss of five pounds out of his own pocket, nobody can be censured with injustice. At the same time the law having full satisfaction would have no further demand, and of course, I should be extricated from the punishment. So Christ our second Adam, our second head and representative, was raised up to heal the breach that Adam made. For this purpose he stepped right into the shoes of the first Adam, between that law of moral innocence, that Adam was required to keep for us, and kept it, even as Adam was required to keep it. How did he keep it? First by a passive obedience, having no will of his own abstract from what that law required. Secondly, by an active obedience, doing what the law did require, during the thirty-three years which he resided in this vale of tears. And thirdly, by voluntarily laying down his life to suffer in our lieu, what we must have suffered in Adam if he did not do it. Observe, it was not the divinity of Christ that suffered, but the manhood. And where the Bible calls Christ the Son of God, it does not allude to his Godhead as God, but manifestation; as we read Gal. iv. 4: Heb. x. 5: and i. 5, 6: John xv. 13, and x. 18, that "he was made or born of a woman, (who was the first in the transgression) and made or born under the law, as no man ever came into the world as we are informed Christ did," &c. Luke i. 35. But, says one, Prove, that he did it voluntarily. Very well—Christ saith, "greater love than this hath no man, that he lay down his life for his friends," and "I lay down my life for the sheep." Again, "no man taketh my life from me—I have power to lay it down, and power to take it again."

Now, if no man took Christ's life from him, then their nailing him to the tree did not cause him to die; if not then it must have been something else, and of course the sin of the world. Again, we read, that "Christ was heard, in that he feared—and that he pleased not himself, but gave himself a ransom." Heb. v. 7. Rom. xv. 3. 1 Tim. ii. 6. Luke xxii. 42. And Heb. xii. 2. "he, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God, &c. Again, he said in the garden of Gethsemane, "Not my will but thine be done," &c. which certainly argues, that he had a human will, and when he thus gave up voluntarily, &c. we find that the sin of the world was laid upon him and caused him to cry out, "my soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death," (and he never spoke extravagantly)—and the agony of his mind, caused the very blood to gush through the pores of his skin, and ran down like drops of sweat; and by his dying so much sooner than malefactors do in general when crucified, the governor appeared to have been astonished, and marvelled if he were already dead, and could hardly believe the account till he had called the Centurian and had it from his own mouth, &c. Mark xv. 44, 45. I herefrom infer, that as no man took his life from him, and as he died out of the common course of nature, that something out of the course of nature killed him—which must have been the sin of the world.—And when he had suffered so much as what was necessary to suffer, even unto death, the law which Adam broke had full satisfaction on him, and having full satisfaction, it had no further demand. On the third day, the Divinity raised the Humanity from the dead, by which means, life and immortality are brought to light by the gospel; and Glory be to God!


We read nothing about John the Methodist, nor John the Presbyterian, in all the Bible, but we read of John the Baptist; but what did he say? John i. 29. He saith, "behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world."

Observe, the *sin* of the world was the sin of Adam, as he was the representative of the world, and Christ, the second Adam, John says, took it away—How? By atoning for it, &c. Now if John preached up that Christ took away the *sin* of the world, then all John's people ought to preach it up; and if he took it away, then it does not lie upon us, and if not, then we do not feel the guilt, only the effect, which is the evil corrupt nature instinct within, &c. and not the guilt—this is the truth and you cannot deny it.


Thus, you see the *first* covenant of works was made with us in our first head, and the second covenant with us in our second head (Christ.)

According to Isaiah liii. 6, "all we like sheep, are gone astray, &c. and the Lord hath laid upon him (Christ) the iniquity of us all."

Observe, John did not say the *sins* of the world, but *sin*, the singular, and the

ledge a miracle for the first man's origin ; which idea in reason we must admit, for there cannot be an effect without a cause ; and as men do exist, it is evident there is but one way for them to generate in nature ; if so, who did the first man and woman generate from—to suppose that they came by nature, is to suppose the earth brought them forth spontaneously ; if so, take the inhabitants from an island, and it would produce them again—but matter of fact, sayeth it will not. Then if nature hath not changed, it never brought forth people ; for if it had, it might again do so, and if not, a miracle hath taken place in nature.  What is meant by the Holy Ghost, is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father, through the mediation of the man Christ Jesus, down to the sons of men ; the office of which Spirit is to instruct mankind, and purify and prepare them, for the enjoyment of God in Glory.

If I deny there was such a person as Christ on this earth eighteen hundred years ago, I should deny three things :—1st, our dates,—2nd, all sacred, and 3d, the greatest part of profane history ; which historians in general would not be willing to give up. If I allow there was such a person as Christ, I must acknowledge his miracles too ; for the same histories, sacred and profane, which mention his person, relate his miracles ; and to deny his miracles, would be giving the histories the lie, and of course destroy their authority. If I allow his miracles I must allow his sacred character also ; for it is inconsistent with reason, to believe that God would aid and assist a liar, or an impostor, to do the mighty deeds which we are informed Christ did.*

prophet Isaiah doth not say *iniquities*, but *iniquity*, which must have alluded to the fall of man. Therefore the plaister is as large as the wound,  and you cannot deny it. As we read, Rom. v. 13, therefore *as* by the offence of one, judgment came upon *all* men unto condemnation, *even* so (not *never*) by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon *all* men unto justification of life. Observe the words *justification* and *regeneration* are not synonymous as some use them, but are of different meanings. Regeneration signifies to be born of the Spirit of God ; i. e. to be purified within by its inspiration, and to become holy and Godlike, &c. But justification signifies to acquit and look upon us free from guilt. And now if the free gift from God by Christ, came upon all men unto justification of life, I herefrom would infer, that God hath justified all men by the death of his Son, i. e. acquitted them from what is called the guilt of original sin, and looks upon them free therefrom as they come into the world.

* There is an inward feeling of the mind, as well as an outward feeling of the body ; for instance, sometimes my mind is calm, yet I feel pain of body ; at other times, my body is well, and I feel pain of mind, *remorse, guilt, fear, &c.* which are not feelings of the body, but in, or of the mind, which feelings are as perceptible as the wind blowing upon the body, and you cannot deny it. Again, a man walking along, spies the wild beast of the forest and feels his hair to rise and his flesh to crawl upon his bones. What is the cause of this feeling ? It must be the fears in his mind, originating from a view of his danger, and perhaps likewise he may feel the powers of his limbs in a measure to fail, and sits down under the shock. Now allowing the above, why should it be thought strange, if people were to fall under the mighty power of God, operating upon the human mind.

If there be no such thing as inspiration, how could the Prophets foretel future events, out of the common course of nature?

But, says one, it is inconsistent with reason to adopt the idea that God will work in this form; but I say hush! There cannot be a law without a penalty, and we know that we are accountable unto God, for our moral conduct; for we feel it in our own breasts, and when we do wrong, we feel misery, and living and dying therein, shall carry our misery to eternity with us; as death only separates the soul from the body, but doth not change the disposition of the mind.

Again, through the medium of organs, my spirit can convey an idea to the spirit of another and make him angry or wrathful, or please him with novelty, and make him laugh and feel joyful: if so, then spirit can operate on spirit, as well as matter upon matter, and convey ideas, &c. and you cannot deny it. If so, why not the Divine spirit operate on the human mind, and give an inward conviction, &c. of right and wrong? If we are accountable unto God, then we are rewardable or punishable according to our behaviour and capacity, and of course, a day of accounts must take place when these rewards and punishments must be actually given. From this I argue, there is such a thing as moral evil and good, or vice and virtue, of course there is a road to shun, and a particular one in which we ought to walk; therefore, it is necessary to have a guide. And now the question arises, what guide is necessary? Some say the Alcoran; but there is more proof for the belief of the writings of Moses, than for those of Mahomet. Moses got a whole nation of people to believe that he led them through the Red Sea, by drying it up before them, &c. —likewise got them to erect a monument in remembrance, that they actually saw it, viz. to kill the *paschal lamb* and eat him with bitter herbs, and walk with their staffs in their hands on a certain night of the year, which monument is now standing, and has been annually observed among them, for some thousands of years, though for near eighteen centuries, they have been scattered as a nation. Now, it is evident, the most ignorant people could not be imposed upon, and made to believe that they saw a river dry up, if they never did see it dry, and likewise to get them to erect a monument of stone in remembrance that they saw it, if they never did. But Moses left this proof of his mission, which the other did not; therefore, there is more reason to credit him than Mahomet, &c. and you cannot deny it.

Another says, reason is the surest and only guide; this I deny, because the greatest divines, so called, disagree; as you may find, that out of about three hundred and seventy denominations, thirty-one take the scripture to prove their doctrines by; yet out of these thirty-one, neither two agree with regard to their religious tenets or opinions; yet one says I am right and you are wrong: another, no; you are wrong and I am right; here steps up a Deist and says, all religion is counterfeit, and the reason why they so disagree, is because no consistent system can be formed on the Christian plan. Answer—Your objection proves too much, and is not solid.—For, first, to say all religion is counterfeit, is inconsistent; because, counterfeit religion implies a false one, and there cannot be a false one, except there be one to falsify, and if there be one to falsify, before it is falsified, it must be genuine; therefore, to say all religion is false, is proving too much and just argues that there is a genuine one—as there cannot be such a thing as falsehood without truth, of course counterfeit is the opposite of genuine.

Again, reason alone is not a sufficient guide without revelation; because, when reason was to determine the number of Gods, she said there was about thirty thousand; and in this our day, the men of the greatest acquired information, and strongest powers of mind who deny revelation, of whom some doctors and lawyers, &c. may be included, disagree in their ideas on divine things, and that which is in connection with them, as much as the ministers and preachers; whereas, if reason was a sufficient guide, suppose they would agree and come into one particular channel, &c.

Some say the Bible is revelation; but deny that there is any in this our day, saying the Bible is sufficient without the influence of God's spirit. But observe, I believe in the Scriptures as much as any person, &c. But with regard to the influence of the spirit, I believe

Some people say, the prophecies were written in prophetic language, after the things took place, but that is unreasonable to suppose, for if they were, they were wrote as late down, as what the New Testament dates back, and if so, then both Testaments came on the carpet about one time. How could you impose the one Testament on the learned people, without the other; seeing their close connexion? But as the Jews acknowledge the Old Testament, and disallow the New: I therefrom argue, that, the Old Testament was written sometime previous to the New, of course previous to the things being transacted, which were predicted. It must, therefore, have been by divine inspiration. But says one, the word Revelation, when applied to religion means something immediately communicated from God to man;—that man tells a second, the second a third, &c. &c. *it is revelation to the first only, to the rest is mere hear-say.*

And if the Bible was revealed once, it was not revealed to me; to me, therefore it is hear-say. Answer. Allowing the above, yet if a man tells me, it is revealed to him, that my father

it is strictly necessary: for supposing I was to cast a look at the print and paper, what would be the benefit, except I realized the truth of what is contained therein; and how can I realize it but by the influence of the same spirit which dictated its writings? Surely we read that no man can call Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Ghost, and that the natural man understandeth not the things of the spirit, for they are spiritually discerned. Rom. viii. 9. 1 Cor. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, xii. 3. Rev. xix. 10.

Why is it that the men of the greatest natural and acquired abilities, get to be Deists? They say it is reason, and that the more weak and ignorant part embrace religion; this is pretty true, viz. their reason makes them Deists, and why? There are certain ideas which must be taken through certain mediums, in order to have a right and just conception of them, and otherwise, would cause a person to run into absurdities: for instance, I heard of a blind man, who hearing persons talking about colours, informed them that he thought he could describe what the colour of red was like, viz. *The sound of a trumpet.* This absurdity, that red was like the sound of a trumpet, originated by attempting to catch an idea through the medium of the eye. Equally absurd would be the idea of sounds, if taken through the medium of the eye, which only can be taken through the medium of the ear. So these Deists attempt to conceive just and accurate ideas of revealed religion by natural reason, which leads them into an absurdity, and causes them to conclude that it is imagination, deception, or hypocrisy in those who pretend to it; whereas, if they would conceive of it through a different channel or medium, viz. the inward sensations or convictions of the mind, &c.—If they would give due attention to the same, as sincere enquirers after truth, they would feel the spirit of truth bearing witness to, or of the truth, to convince and correct, &c. and their Deism would flee away. O may God, cause the reader to reflect on what I have just observed, and turn attention within your breast, and weigh the convictions of your mind for eternity!!!

is dead, &c. and the same spirit which revealed it to him, accompanies his words with energy to my heart, then it is revelation to me, as well as to him, and not bare hear-say. Consequently, if the same spirit which dictated the writing of the Bible, attend the same with energy, then it is not hear-say, but revelation; because we have a divine conviction of the truths therein contained. And the sincere of different persuasions, find something in the Bible to attract their attention, above any other book: and even the Deists, when conscience begins to lash them, find something in the Bible to attract their minds, of the truth of which, the conduct of a number to be found on this Continent might be adduced.

Neither can I believe all will be saved; for in Mark iii. 29, we are informed of a certain character, which hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation, which they could not be in danger of, if there be no such thing; and in Luke xvi. we read (not a parable, but a positive matter of fact related by Christ himself, who knew what was transacted in eternity, as well as in time) concerning a rich man, who died and went to hell; and there was a separation between him and the good place; and if one be lost, universalism is not true. We feel in our breast that we are accountable to God, and if so, then rewardable or punishable, according to our behavior, and capacity; and of course a day of accounts must take place, when the rewards, or punishments are given. Some say we have all our punishment here. In reason I deny it; for the benefit of religion is to escape punishment, and if so, none have punishment but the vicious; but as many of the virtuous have suffered the most cruel, tormenting, lingering deaths, as may be said, for years, in matters of tender conscience; while others have lived on flowery beds of ease, and thus die; from this I argue, that the punishment is to come hereafter.*

* Can I suppose those thinking powers which constitute the soul, and make us sensible, active and rational; and prevent the corporeal body from returning to its mother dust, from day to day, will cease to be when I am dead, or am fallen asleep, or gone into a state of nonentity, by annihilation? nay, I rather must believe, this immortal doth still exist; I say immortal because, I do not see how those qualities can be subject to decay considering their nature, though I acknowledge whilst acting upon organs, there may be heaviness, in consequence of mortality, which is the effect of sin, but when disembodied shall appear in their strength. And as a proof of future existence of this thinking power; I ask, why is it, that so many well-informed people shrink at the thoughts of death: seeing it is the common lot of all mankind? I ask, is it barely the thought of dying, which, makes them turn their attention to various objects, to divert their

If all go to heaven as soon as they die, it being looked upon as a piece of humanity, to relieve the distressed, would it not be right for me to end all the sorrows of those I can, who are in trouble? And does this not open a door to argue, that murder is humanity, and thereby, send them to heaven? But says one, I will acknowledge future punishment, but it is not so long, nor so bad as it is represented by some; for we read of the resurrection, when all mortal bodies shall be raised, of course become immortal, and spiritual; and corporeal fire and brimstone cannot operate on a spiritual body, and of course the punishment is but the horror of a guilty conscience. And the word *Forever*, frequently in the Scripture, being of a limited nature, it may be inferred the punishment is not eternal. Answer. Allowing that the punishment is only the horror of a guilty conscience; (which will bear dispute) yet I think, that horror to the mind, will be found equal to fire and brimstone to the material body; for frequently I have been called to visit people on sick beds, who have told me that their pain of body was great, but their pain of mind so far exceeded it, as to cause them to forget their pain of body for hours together, unless some person spoke particularly to them concerning it. Again, you know what horror you felt, for a short space for one crime. Now supposing all the sins that ever you committed, in thought, word, or deed, in public, and in private, were set in array before you, so that you could view all of them, at one glance. And at the same time, that conscience were to have its full latitude, to give you the lash; would not the horror which here causeth people to forget their temporal pain, while there is hope, be worse than fire to the body, when hope is forever fled? for when hope is gone, there is no support.

And the idea that the punishment is not eternal, because the word *forever*, sometimes in scripture is of a limited nature, I think will not do; because the duration of certain words, are bounded by the duration of the things unto which they allude. For instance, "The servant shall serve his master *forever*," in Moses' law. The word *forever*, was bounded by the life of the servant. And where it relates to mortality, it is bounded by mortality; of course where it relates to immortality, it is


minds from reflecting? nay, but a conviction of the realities of an awful eternity. Again, if a limb of mine be dissected or taken off, does that depreciate an eighth or sixteenth part of my soul? Nay, I am as rational as ever; therefore, if my soul can exist without a part of the body, why not exist without the whole or any part of it? Have known men, who have lost their limbs, feel an itching and put down their hand to rub; I ask, what was the cause of that sensation, seeing the leg or foot was gone?

bounded by immortality, and when it relates to God, it is bounded by the eternity of God. And as we are informed in several parts of Scripture, after that mortality is done away, that the wicked shall be banished forever from the presence of God. The word *forever* and the word *eternal* must be synonymous, having one and the same meaning as *endless*; being bounded by the eternity of God and the endless duration of the immortal soul, &c. Matt. xxv. 41, 46; 2d Thes. i. 9; Rev. xix. 3, Jude. vii.

And observing the doctrine of Particular Election, and Reprobation to tend to presumption, or despair, and those who preached it up to make the Bible clash and contradict itself, by preaching somewhat like this:—

“You can and you can’t—You shall and you shan’t—You will and you won’t—And you’ll be damned if you do—And you will be damned if you don’t.”

Thus contradicting themselves, that people must do, and yet they cannot do, and God must do all, and at the same time invite them to come to Christ.

These inconsistencies caused me to reflect upon my past experience, and conclude that, the true tenor of the Bible did not clash, of course that a connect chain should be carried through that book, and the medium struck between the dark passages, which literally contradict, and reconcile them together by explaining Scripture by Scripture. And by striving so to do, I imbibed what here follows:—1st. That election is a Bible doctrine, but not an elect number for I cannot find that in the Bible, but an *Elect Character*, viz. “Him that becomes a true penitent, willing to be made Holy and saved by free grace, merited only by Christ.” And on the other hand, instead of a reprobate number, it is a reprobate character; viz. “him that obstinately and finally continues in unbelief, that shall be cast off, &c.” Thus any one may discover, that it is an Election and Reprobation of characters, instead of numbers,  and you cannot deny it. But the following scriptures demonstrate undeniably, that God instead of reprobating any, is willing to receive all (2 Peter iii. 9. Ezekiel xxxiii. 11. 1 Tim. ii. 3, 4. 2 Cor. v. 19.) Secondly, that Christ instead of dying only for a part, the Prophets, Angels, Christ and the Apostles, positively affirm, that salvation by his merits is possible for all. Genesis xxiii. 14; Isaiah liii. 6; Luke ii. 10; John iii. 16, 17.) Thirdly, that the Holy Spirit doth not strive with a part only, as some say, a *special call*, but strives with every man according to the hardness of his heart; while the day of mercy lasts—(John i. 9, and xvi. 8, compare vi. 44, with xii. 33.) Again there is a Gospel for, and an invitation to all;

and you cannot deny it—(Mark xvi. 15; Matt. xi. 28.) Again, there is a duty which we owe to God, according to reason conscience and scripture; and there are glorious promises for our encouragement in the way of duty, and awful threatenings in the way of disobedience; and you cannot deny it (Prov. xxviii. 13; Matt. v. 2 to 8, vii. 24 to 28; Isaiah i. 16 to 20; Psalm ix. 17.) And now to affirm that a part were unconditionally elected for Heaven, and can never be lost, what need was there of a Savior? To save them from what? And if the rest have no possibility of salvation, who are benefitted by Christ? Or what did he come for? Not to benefit the elect or reprobate, but to accomplish a mere sham, or solemn nothing. This reminds me of a story I heard concerning a negro who had just returned from meeting—his master said, Well Jack, how did you like the minister? “Why massa, me scarcely know, for de minister say, God makey beings, calla man; he pickey out one here, oney dare, and give dem to Jesus Christ, an da cant be lost. He maky all de rest reprobate, and givy dem to de Devil, da cant pe saved. And de Devil, he go about like a roaring Lion, seeking to get away some a Christ, and he cant. De minister, he go about to get away some de Devil’s and *he cant*; me dono which de greatest fool, de Pleacher or de Devil.”

It is evident that the Devil and the damned in Hell do not believe in the doctrine of eternal decrees: for it is in the nature of sinners, to strive to justify themselves in evil, and cast the blame elsewhere. This is evil practice, therefore came from an evil source, and consequently from the Devil. When Adam fell and God called to him, he cast the blame on the woman; God turning to her, she cast the blame on the serpent; God turned to him, and he was speechless. Now if he had believed in the doctrine of decrees, does it not appear evidently, that he would have replied? “Adam was not left to the freedom of his own will; he was bound by the decrees, and we have only fulfilled thy decrees and done thy will, and thou oughtest to reward us for it.” But he was speechless, and knew nothing of such talk then, therefore it must be something he has hatched up since—as saith the poet:—

“There is a Reprobation plan,

Some how it did arise;

By the Predestinarian clan

Of horrid cruelties.


The plan is this, they hold a few,

They are ordained for Heaven,

They hold the rest accursed crew,

That cannot be forgiven.

They do hold, God hath decreed,
 Whatever comes to pass ;
 Some to be damned, some to be freed,
 And this they call free grace.
 This iron bedstead they do fetch,
 To try our hopes upon ;
 And if too short, we must be stretch'd
 Cut off, if we're too long.
 This is a bold serpentine scheme,
 It suits the serpent well ;
 If he can make the sinner dream
 That he is doomed to Hell.
 Or if he can persuade a man,
 Decree is on his side ;
 Then he will say without delay,
 This cannot be untied.
 He tells one sinner, he's decreed
 Unto eternal bliss ;
 He tells another, he can't be freed,
 For he is doom'd to miss.
 The first he bindeth fast in pride,
 The second in despair ;
 If he can only keep them tied,
 Which way he does not care.*

It appeareth by the rich man's desiring his five brethren to be warned, lest they came to hell with him, &c. Luke xvi. that he did not believe their states to be unalterably fixed by God's decrees ; for if he did, why did he request their warning ? saying, " if one arose from the dead, they would repent, &c." It appeareth likewise, that if God hath decreed all things, that his decrees are as ancient as his knowledge ; as his decrees are generally argued from his foreknowledge, and that he foreknows it will be so, because he hath decreed it, &c. This opens a door to argue, there was a time when God was ignorant and knew nothing. For a *decree* is an *act* of the *mind*, and there cannot be an action without there being a particular *time* when that action took place ; if so, then if God hath decreed all things, it must be, that there was a *time* when God passed those decrees ; and if so, then there was a time, when the decrees were *not* passed ; and if God did not foreknow any thing until he decreed it, then there was a time when God knew nothing. This is the truth  and you cannot deny it.*

* Whatever is, or exists abstract from God, is finite. How or what God conceives or knows of himself, or the manner of his knowing, I

And now to talk about God's foreknowledge or decreeing all things *from* all eternity, appears a nonsensical phrase; because to say *from* (as the word *from* implies a place of starting) all eternity, implies eternity had a beginning: And as some use an unmeaning expression, to convey an idea of unbeginning time: for the want of language, it is nonsense to attempt to build an argument thereon: For as it is argued in the foregoing, that God is eternal, we may admit with propriety, that he possesseth all the attributes that are ascribed to him; and yet it is not inconsistent to say that the first thing that ever God made, was *time*,* and in time he made all things, and probably the angelic creation was previous to men. Now, many attempt to make God the author of sin: but sin is not a creature as many falsely think; *it is the abuse of good*. And to say that God who is good, abuses good, is the highest blasphemy that we could impeach the Deity with; therefore he cannot be the author of it, consequently it must have come from another source. Now we must admit the idea that there was a time when there was no creature, but the Creator only; and declarative glory could never redound to God; except that finite accountable intelligencies, were created, (for what should declare his glory,) his justice nor goodness could never be shown forth in rewards and punishments, except such accountable beings were made; and of course must have remained in solemn silence: Therefore declarative glory could never have redounded to God. But, that he might have declarative glory, arising from his attributes,† by intelligencies, it appears, that Angels were created; and we must suppose they were all happy

shall not attempt to fathom, till the day of eternity. But relative to his knowledge as it concerns his creatures, I think the term *infinite* improper, for he can know no more than what hath been, is and will be, (for there is no more to know) which are only finite in any and every sense whatever. Therefore to attempt to build an eternal covenant by arguing or attempting to conceive his infinite knowledge, is a contradiction. For first the term *knowledge* implies a power of perception to know and comprehend the existence of qualities or things, &c.—therefore in this sense, when you speak of the knowledge of God relative to creation or his creatures in the sense they speak, you must necessarily bound God's knowledge by finity; I now refer only to the act or circumference of the act, not to the power or capacity, for only God is infinite; of course to apply the word infinite, &c. to argue great knowledge is a contradiction; and you cannot deny it; because there cannot be an *infinite* finite.

* *Ephesians* i. 3, 4, 5. God hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings, in Christ, (not out of him) according as he hath chosen us in HIM, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame, before HIM in love. Verse 9, 10. hath reference to building up Zion in Christ, not in the universalists' sense, but upon Earth, &c.

† *Rev.* iv. 11. "Thou hast created all things, and for THY PLEASURE (or glory) they are and were created."

holy, and good at first; seeing this is the nature of God, (as all argue from the Christian to the Deist.) As likeness doth beget likeness, and every cause produces its own effect: and as we are informed, that the Devil sinneth from the beginning, and that some kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, and sinned, and were cast down to hell, &c. (2 *Pet.* ii. 4. *Jude* 6. *Rom.* iv. 15. 1 *John* iii. 4, 8.) And as we read, where there is no law, there is no transgression: It must be that the angels had a law to keep, and power sufficient to keep or break the law; or else, how could they be accountable? And if they were not, they could not be rewardable, and if not, then not praise nor blame worthy. But says one, allowing that God did make such pure intelligent accountable beings, and had a sovereign right to demand their obedience, seeing they were dependent: what should induce a *Holy Being* to sin against a Holy God, especially as there was no evil in him or them, nor yet any to tempt him? Answer—suppose I were walking along in meditation, in a great field; of a sudden I cast a look forward, and can see no end to it; it would be natural for me to stop and look back the way from whence I came. So, in my opinion, the angels were looking into futurity—they could discover no end to eternity, and it would be natural for them to reflect on time past. They could remember no time when they had no existence, any more than I can. This would open a door for a self-temptation to arise in thought, “how do we know but we are eternal with God? and why should we be dependant on him, or be accountable to him?” In order to find out whether they were dependent or independent, the only method was, to try their strength, by making head against the King of Heaven, by a violation of his command.


Now, *evil* is the abuse of *good*, and the first abuse of *good* was the origin of *evil*; and as their commandment was good, the evil consisted in the abuse of it; and the natural consequence of breaking the same, would be to convert them into devils—as the consequence of murder is death. From this we may see, that God made *THE Devil*, but he made himself a *Devil*. Now it appears to me impossible for God to show the devils mercy, consistent with, the principles of reason and justice; for I may sin against my equal, and in the eyes of the law, the crime is looked upon as a trifle; the same crime against a government, would forfeit my liberty, if not my life. Thus the magnitude of a crime is not looked upon, according to the dignity of the offender, but according to the dignity of the offended: of course, a finite being sinning against an infinite God, there is an infinite demerit in the transgression; of course justice demands infinite satisfaction. A finite being can make finite satisfaction only, although the crime demands an infinity of punishment. A finite being cannot bear an

infinity of punishment at once ; therefore the punishment must be made up in duration, and of course be eternal, that it may be adequate to the crime.

But says one, Why was not a mediator provided for fallen angels, as well as for fallen men ? Answer—It was impossible, in the reason and nature of things ; for when mankind fell, it was by the action of one, and they multiply. So the Godhead and Manhood could be united, as in the person of Christ : but not so with the devils, for they were all created active beings, and each stood or fell for himself, and of course was actually guilty, and therefore must have actual punishment : Except a Mediator was provided ; which could not be, for the devils do not multiply ; therefore the Godhead and Devilhood, could not be joined together. But supposing it could, yet, says Paul, without shedding of blood there can be no remission, and spirits have no blood to shed : and upon this ground it appears, that the devils' restoration or redemption must fall through.

The scripture which sayeth, *Rom. ix. 11. &c.* "The children being yet unborn, having done neither good or evil, that the purpose of God, according to Election, might stand, it was said unto her, the elder shall serve the younger ; as it is written, "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated," &c. Any person by examining *Genesis xxv. 23.* and *Mal. i. 1, 2.* may see that Paul's talk, doth not mean their persons, but that undeniably it must be applied to their posterities. And to apply them the other way, as though one was an Elect, the other a Reprobate, on purpose to be damned, without a possibility of escape, is a plot of the Devil, to blindfold mankind by a multitude of words without knowledge : for no such inference can be drawn from that passage, that Jacob was made for salvation, and Esau for damnation. But observe, it must be applied to their posterities : see *Gen. xxv. 23.* "And the Lord said to Rebecca, Two nations are in thy womb, and two manners of people, &c. shall be separated from thy bowels ; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." Which came to pass in the reign of King David, when the Edomites were brought in subjection to the Israelites. (*2 Sam. viii. 14. 1 Chron. xviii. 13.*) and that passage, "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated," was not spoken before the children were born, but hundreds of years after they were dead, by *Mal. i. 1, 2.* Now, cannot any person who is unprejudiced, plainly discover, that the word "Jacob" here means the Jewish nation, which God saw fit to exalt to high national privileges : because Christ was to come through that lineage, &c. And as to "*Esau have I hated,*" the word *hate* in scripture, frequently means loving in a less degree, &c. ; for instance—Christ sayeth, except a man *hate* his father, mother


and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple—the word *hate*, here means loving in a less degree, as we are to love God supremely: and lent favors in a less degree, as belonging to him: so the passage “Esau have I hated,” meaneth, that God did not see fit to exalt the Edomites, to so high national privileges as the Jews; yet they were the next highest, for their land was given to them for a possession, which the Jews were not permitted to take from them, as they were going from Egypt to Canaan, (*Deuter. ii. 4, 5.*) and that passage (*Heb. xii. 17.*) which sayeth, that “Esau was rejected, and found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears,” we must not therefrom infer, that it was God who rejected him, because he was a reprobate, but his father Isaac.

Take notice, at a certain time Esau went out a hunting, and on his return home, being at the point to perish with hunger, came into Jacob's tent, and desired refreshment; but Jacob attempted to make Esau's extremity his opportunity to grow rich, and to cheat him out of his birth-right, for a mess of pottage; and Esau, rather than starve, promised to give it up; and who can blame him, considering his distress. All that a man hath, will be given for his life, saith Satan:  this is the truth, and you cannot deny it. (*Gen. xxv. 30. &c.*) But there is no account that ever Jacob got the birth-right, but by Esau's continuing with his father, and being so rich, on Jacob's return; it appears, that he lived with his father, and was heir to the inheritance. Jacob got not any thing from Esau; but Esau got a present from him. After this Isaac was determined to bless Esau, and commanded him to get venison for that purpose; and while he was gone for it, Rebecca tells Jacob to kill kids, &c. and he should get the blessing: He saith, “I shall get a curse instead of a blessing;”—she said, “the curse be on me, &c.” and it appears as though she got it, as it was the means of her losing her idol's company during her life time; for there is no account of her being alive at his return. Scarcely had he told the lies to Isaac, and withdrawn, &c. but Esau came in, and thereby blind Isaac perceived the deception in full, and began to tremble exceedingly, by which Esau perceived what had passed, and immediately lifted up his voice and wept, and sought after repentance; not in himself (for he had done nothing to repent of) but in his father Isaac. But Isaac would not take back the blessing, but said, Jacob is blessed, and shall be blessed, (*Gen. xxvii. &c.*) From this loss of the blessing, some people think Esau was reprobated and damned; but Paul saith, *Heb. xi. 20.* by faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau, concerning things to come. Some forget to read that Esau was blessed as well as Jacob, though not in so great a degree, and how could he be blest by faith if he were reprobated; (*Gen. xxvii. 39, 40.*)

Esau was blessed with four things ; the first two were like a part of Jacob's, viz. the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the Earth—thirdly, by his sword he was to live—and fourthly, when he should have the dominion, he was to break Jacob's (or Jewish) yoke from off his neck, which came to pass in the reign of Jehoram, the son of Jehosaphat, 2 *Chron.* xxi. 8, 10. And now to show the inconsistency of thinking that Esau served Jacob the younger, it doth appear that Jacob served Esau ; and moreover, that Jacob had no religion when he attempted to cheat and lie, that being contrary to the spirit of Christianity. But it appears that he got converted afterwards, when on his way to Pandanaram ; he lay to rest in the woods, and in the night he had a Vision, in which he saw a ladder, the top reaching to Heaven, &c. Now, as the ladder had two sides, it represents the Godhead and Manhood of Christ, and the rounds, the different degrees of grace. If Jacob had been pious, doubtless he would have realized the presence of God, being there to protect him from the wild beasts ; but his expression, “the Lord was in this place, and I knew it not,” argueth ignorance. Secondly, he adds, it is no other than the house of God, and gate of Heaven, which is the language of young converts. Thirdly, he made a vow, if God would give him food to eat, and raiment to put on, and bring him back in peace, that God should be his God ; which certainly implies, that he did not serve God before as he did afterwards. (*Gen.* xxiii. 16.)

Observe, First, Jacob served Esau, was afraid of him, and ran from home twenty years, through scenes of sorrow ; and had his wages changed not less than ten times—Secondly, when he set out to return his past conduct created such fear in his breast, that he dared not see Esau's face, until by messengers he enquired, “may I come in peace?” And understanding, that Esau with a body of men, was coming to meet him, his sleep departed from him. He divided his host in two bands, and wrestled all night in prayer ; and such fear surely denotes guilt. Thirdly, he sent a number of messengers with presents, and a message to Esau, calling him Lord, as if himself was the servant. Fourthly, Esau bowed not at all ; but Jacob bowed not once, nor twice only, but seven times ; and then cried out, I have “seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God.” Now if Esau was a reprobate, how could his face have been as God's?—nay, it would have been as the Devil's. But as they had a joyful meeting together, like two christian brethren, that had been some time absent ; I therefore conclude, that Jacob saw the image of God in his brother Esau ; and in that sense, Esau's face might be said to be as the face of God, and in no other. And as the general tenor of Esau's conduct, was not so bad as some parts of Jacob's conduct, I therefrom


conclude, that Esau died in peace; and if ever I can be so happy as to get to glory, I expect to meet Esau there as well as Jacob, (*Gen. xxxii. and xxxiii. &c.*)

If I believed all things were decreed, I must suppose that Pharaoh did the will of God in all things; seeing God decreed all his thoughts, words and actions: and the *will* being the determining *faculty*, it must be, that whatever God *decrees*, he *wills*; therefore Pharaoh did the will of God, according to that doctrine,  and you cannot deny it. If the Scripture be true, then Pharaoh doing the will of God, according to that doctrine, must be saved, according to the intimation of Christ; that whoever doeth the will of God is his brother, sister, and mother—observe if all Pharaoh's conduct was decreed, he did as well as he could, and Peter as bad as he could; according to that doctrine then, which is the most praise or blame worthy? Again, if God decreed Pharaoh's conduct, did he not decree it right; and if so could it be wrong? If not, there was no sin, consequently no punishment; unless you say a man is punishable for doing right. Again if God decreed Pharaoh should do as he did, why did he command him to act to the reverse? Does he decree one thing and command another? If so, then you make God's *decrees* and *commandments* clash: for, according to that doctrine, God's revealed will is, that we should obey; and his decreed will is, that we should disobey. Thus you make out that God has *two wills* right opposite to each other, which makes God *divided* against himself—Christ intimates, that which is *divided* against *itself*, cannot stand. If so, then Deity being divided must fall, and of course the works of nature sink, and go to ruin. Thus we see the inconsistency of dividing and subdividing God's will.

There is no account of Pharaoh's heart being more hard than others, until he became hardened; but it appeareth from Rom. v. 19, 20, that the hearts of all people are alike hard by nature.—Well, saith one, what is the meaning of that scripture, "For the same purpose have I raised thee up, that I may show forth my power in thee. And I will harden his heart, and he shall not let the people go," &c. Answer, the Lord raised Pharaoh up. Up from what? From the dust unto a child, from a child to man, to be a king on the throne; that he might shew forth his power in him. And he has raised up you, and me, and all mankind, for the same purpose; viz. To shew forth his power in us; if it be not for that, what is it for? We read in several places, that the Lord hardened Pharaoh, and yet that Pharaoh hardened himself: how could that be? God do it, and yet Pharaoh do it. We read that the Lord afflicted Job, and yet that Satan did it: (*Job xix. 21. ii. 7.*) And that the Lord moved David, to number Israel, and yet that Satan did it, &c. (*2 Sam. xxiv. 1. 1 Chron. xxv. 1.*) and


that Solomon built the Temple, and yet tells how his many workmen did it. Thus we see there is a first cause, and a second cause; as saith the Poet:

"No evil can from God proceed,
 "'Twas only suffered, not decreed;
 "As darkness is not from the sun,
 "Nor mounts the shades 'till he is gone."

Reason saith, that mankind are agents, or else prophets; for they can foretell some things, and then fulfil them,*  this is the

* Matter when it is moved by another cause cannot stop of itself, and when stopped cannot move of itself. But as we have the power of action, (the same as I give out my appointment months before hand, and then fulfil it,) it is evident that we are prophets or else agents. To adopt the idea of prophecy, you will not, and if not, you must acknowledge agency which material substance without thinking power doth not possess. From this I argue that there is something in man abstract from matter, which is spirit, which some call the soul, and which makes him *sensible* and *rational*, &c. And to suppose the soul to be a part of God is inconsistent, because God is completely happy, as is acknowledged from the Christian to the Deist. Therefore, if my soul was a part of him I should have one continual stream of happiness.

But as I have frequently felt unhappy in mind, I herefrom argue that my soul is spirit abstract from God.

Some people have an idea that the souls of infants come right pure from the hand of God by infusion into the body, and that the body being of Adam's race, pollutes the soul, and causes it to become impure, just as if the body governed the mind. Allowing the above, When did God make the soul of the child that was born yesterday? Why, says one, within the course of a few months past. Hush, I deny it, for the Bible says, Gen. ii. 1, 2, 3, that God finished the heavens (that is the starry heavens) and earth, and all the host of them, and then God rested from the works of the creation on the seventh day—he hath not been at work in creating new souls ever since. Therefore your idea that God makes new souls daily, falls to the ground;  and you cannot deny it, if the Bible be true.

But says one, their souls were made in the course of six days.

Where then have they been ever since? Laid up in a store house in Heaven? If they were, they were happy; if so, what kind of a being does this represent the Almighty, especially if connected with the opinion of some who suppose that there are infants in Hell, not more than a span long!

First, God makes Adam happy in Paradise and these infantile souls happy in a store house, then when Adam falls, prohibits adultery and at the same time previously decrees that they shall commit it to produce an illegitimate body, and he to help them on to perfect the illegitimate, takes one of these pure souls, infuses it into the body, and the body pollutes it, causes it to become impure, and is now a reprobate for Hell fire. Thus you see some people represent God as making souls pure and keeping them happy some thousands of years, then damning them for a sin they never committed, and now the difference between this *being*, if any such there be, that dealth thus with his creatures and him that we call the *Devil*, I leave you

truth, and you cannot deny it. If so, then it may be said with propriety, that the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and yet

to judge. God help you to look at it in the scale of equality, and see whether the above be right or wrong.

But says one, where do you think the soul comes from?

As Adam was the first man, I must suppose from reason and scripture he got his soul right from God, as there was no other source for him to derive it from, but Eve was taken out of Adam, and there is no account of her receiving her soul right from God; and if not, I must suppose the whole of her was taken from Adam, and of course she got her soul from him as well as her body. And as we read that the souls of Jacob's children, Gen. xlv. 26, were in Jacob's loins, and came out, &c. 2 herefrom infer, that they were not laid up in a store house in Heaven, but came by natural generation from the parents as well as the body. Well, says one, estimate the value of the soul, (by mechanism.)

First, some people prize a thing according as who made it, if one mechanic made it, they prize it so much worth; but if another made it they would prize it higher, because it was made by a more perfect workman. If we prize the soul by this standard, it must be considered as valuable, because it was made by the perfectest of the perfect, and the wisest of the wise, him that cannot err, GOD ALMIGHTY.


Secondly, some people value a thing according to its duration. If the soul be valued on that ground, it must be prized high, for it being spirit, it is immortal and must endure as long as eternal ages pass away.

Thirdly, some people prize a thing according to the case of it; if the soul be prized on this ground, it must be esteemed as valuable; for at a certain time it is said five millions were offered to any one who would contrive a machine that would perform perpetual motion, and as yet none have been able to do it; yet in the construction of the case of the soul, which is the body, there is more wisdom discoverable, than all the wisdom of the mechanics, in all the machinery on the face of this terraqueous globe.

If the case is thus wisely and beautifully made, how valuable must the soul be which the body is made to contain!

Fourthly, some people prize a thing according to what it costs; if the soul be prized according to this medium, it must be valuable, for if any smaller ransom than the blood of Christ could have purchased immortal souls, from the curse of a broken law, doubtless God would have accepted the offering. Some people say that "one drop of Christ's blood is sufficient to cleanse a soul," which idea I condemn, because the magnitude of a crime is not looked upon according to the dignity of the offender, but according to the dignity of the offended; therefore a finite being sinning against an infinite God, there is an infinite demerit in the transgression, and justice demands infinite satisfaction. But a finite being can make finite satisfaction only, therefore there needs a mediator between a rebel creature and the CREATOR, which could be formed no way but by the two natures being joined together, that is to say the *finite* and the *infinite*, or in other words, the *Godhead* and *manhood*, or *divinity veiled in humanity*.

But here comes up a deist, and says, hush Lorenzo, it is inconsistent to adopt the idea that divinity and humanity can be joined together, as you talk, in the person of Christ.—But I say hush, for it is no more inconsistent with reason to adopt the idea that divinity and humanity can be joined together, than to adopt a former one which is self-evident, viz. that spirit and matter can be joined together, and form a man, which idea, or how it is I cannot comprehend, yet self-evident matter of fact, puts it beyond all doubt, that spirit and matter are joined to form man, ~~and~~ and you cannot deny it—and of course the idea that divinity and humanity can be joined together in the person of Christ, may be admitted according to reason. The manhood being offered up under an infinite influence of the DIVINITY, the sacrifice would be of *infinite* merit according to the transgression and the demands of justice. But to return, I cannot suppose that Christ would have done any thing superfluous for man's redemption, and of course, that one drop of his blood is sufficient to cleanse a soul or save a world, is inconsistent, as though a considerable part of what he did was superfluous, &c. of course in atoning for what is called original sin, I must believe that nothing needless was done; if not, then Christ did no more than what was necessary; and if the idea that one drop of his blood, &c. to cleanse a soul is inconsistent. And if the demerit of one transgression demands infinite satisfaction

that Pharaoh hardened himself, even as mankind are hardened in this our day, &c. Observe, first, the Lord called to Pharaoh by favor, and gave him a kingdom. Secondly, the Lord called by commandments, and Pharaoh would not obey, by saying, "I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go." Then the Lord called thirdly, by miracles, but Pharaoh reasoned against them in a diabolical way, by setting the magicians to work. Then fourthly, God called by affliction, then Pharaoh made a promise to obey God, and let the Jews depart, if the affliction might be removed: but when the judgment was removed, Pharaoh broke his promise: therein he was to blame,  and you cannot deny it—for by breaking his promise, his heart would naturally become harder, like metal when melted, it is tender, and when grown cold is harder than before, and of course requires a hotter fire to melt it again; so it required a heavier judgment to operate on Pharaoh, and God would send it, and Pharaoh would promise and break them, till ten afflictions passed away, and when the first born was slain by the Lord, and yet by Evil Angels, as David in the Psalms tells you, Pharaoh was shocked, and let the Jews depart. He pursued them, and God permitted him to be taken in his own folly, and drowned in the Red Sea: Thus we find how God hardened Pharaoh's heart, and yet how he hardened himself by disobedience, and so in this our day it may be said, that God hardens


then the atonement made for that, would be a sufficiency for all the world, or ten thousand times as many: for what greater satisfaction could be made, than that which is infinite? Therefore, the human nature being offered a sacrifice by the influence of the divinity, for the sin of the world, which was the sin of Adam, the sacrifice or ransom in some sense, may be considered as infinite, it being offered under an infinite influence of the divine spirit; therefore, the satisfaction would be according to the transgression, and of course, in doing that, there would be a sufficient provision for all the actual sins of men, considering the nature of it, and how unbounded it is. Therefore, the soul when prized according to what it cost, must be considered very valuable.

But again, fifthly, some people prize a thing according to the scarcity of it. If a thing is very plenty, they would give so much for it, but if it were more scarce, they would give much more, &c. So, immortal souls are plenty, and yet very scarce, for each man hath but one, each woman hath but one. O sinner, if thou lose thy soul, thou losest thy all, thou hast nothing left; God help thee to consider seriously, and stimulate thee to improve thy time, (which is on the wheel) for eternity accordingly.


The soul, which we perceive governs our body, (as the body without the soul, is a lifeless lump of clay,) we find from experience hath a memory, which is the power of reflection or recollection, to call past things to remembrance, &c. Again, it hath an understanding, which is a power to comprehend and realize things as they are; again, it hath a will, which is the power of choosing or determining.


We also have passions, one of which is *love*, inclining us to that which appears delightful. Anger is another passion, which implies dislike or opposition to a thing that is odious in our minds. Likewise we have fear when danger we behold. Also joy when pleasure or happiness we possess. There are five outward senses by which we distinguish objects or qualities; these are inlets of knowledge to the mind, and only through them can we receive ideas, except by inspiration, which is an inward conviction wrought by another spirit. These five senses, are hearing, seeing, tasting, smelling, and feeling.

some and yet they harden themselves, as follows:—First, God calls by prosperity or favors, and yet many enjoy them without a feeling sense from whom they flow. Secondly, God calls by commandments, an inward monitor, telling what is right and what is wrong: but some do not give attention thereto, which, if they would, they would hear the voice more and more distinctly, till at length, it would become their teacher. Thirdly, God calls by miracles, the operation of his spirit perhaps under preaching, or some other cause, and they have thought, if I could always feel as I do now I should soon be a Christian; or if all my companions would turn and serve the Lord, I would gladly go with them to heaven. But through inattention, those serious impressions, which I call miracles, soon wear off. A miracle is something done out of the common course of nature, by the operation of the power or spirit of God; therefore, O reader, it was not the minister who made you have those feelings, but the power of God; therefore, in some sense you have been called upon miraculously, and you cannot deny it. Fourthly, God calls by affliction, and when people are taken sick, and view death near, they make vows and promises, and think how good they will be if God will spare them and raise them up. But when they are recovered, then (Pharaoh like) too soon forget their promises, and break their vows, and hereby become harder than before, and can do things without remorse which once they would have felt the lash of conscience for. And that preaching which once would make impressions on their mind, strikes their heart and bounds back like a stone glancing against a rock. This character is what may be termed a *Gospel hardened sinner*. Thus you may discover that this plan clears the Divine character and casts the blame on the creature, where it ought to be cast; whereas, the opposite would cast the blame directly on God, if he decreed it so: this is the truth and you cannot deny it. Although Christ hath promised once to draw ALL men unto him, (not to drag, for bait draws birds, yet they come voluntarily) yet he never promises to draw them a second time, but on the other hand positively saith, My spirit shall not always strive with man. And again, Because I have called and ye have refused, but ye have set at nought my counsel and would none of my reproofs, I also will laugh at your calamity and mock when your fear cometh. Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone. And the language of a reprobate is "the harvest is past, the summer is ended and we are not saved." *Jer.* viii. 20. *Prov.* i. 24, 25, 26 *Gen.* vi. 3.




As the Lord requireth a right sacrifice in the path of (revealed) duty, those who, like Cain, bring a wrong offering, the fruit of the ground, instead of the firstling of the flock like Abel, must expect, like Cain to be rejected, (Gen. iv. 7.) for God saith, behold I have set life and death before you, choose you this day whom you will serve, &c. (Josh. xxiv. 15.) one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen the good part. We do not read God chose it for her: this is the truth  and you cannot deny it—even as we read in John iii. 19, that this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, &c.—Oh! reader prepare to meet thy God!

Obj. Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump, to make one vessel to honor, and another to dishonor?

Ans. A potter never makes any vessel on purpose to destroy it, for the most dishonorable one in family sickness is as useful as the honorable tea cup in time of health. Neither doth God make any on purpose for destruction, but all mankind are useful, if they get the spirit of their station and fill up that sphere for which they are qualified. For without servants there can be no masters; without subjects, no rulers; without commonality, no quality; and any one may observe that David was elected or set apart to be king; Jeremiah and Samuel, to be prophets, &c. and any discerning eye may easily discover that Paul's election (*Rom. ix.*) was not an election to future happiness, but of temporal advantages. And yet those not so positive, but what the privileges might be forfeited, and lost by sin, as you may find, 1 *Chron. xxviii. 9, 10.* If thou serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him he will cast thee off for ever; (*Deut. xxx. 15, 19.*) Moses' dying declaration was, that the children of Israel must obey, and if they would, all needful blessings they should have, but if rebellious, should be cursed and scattered, &c.  This is the truth and you cannot deny it. And observe Paul, when talking about the clay and potter, alludes to *Jer. xviii.* where the prophet was commanded to see the potter work, &c. And then God says, verse 6th, cannot I do with you as this potter, O house of Israel, &c. Again, verse 7th, at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation or kingdom, to pluck up, pull down, or destroy it; If that nation against whom I have pronounced "turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil I thought to do unto them." "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation or kingdom, to build or plant it, if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them."

Now observe, if God be unchangeable, as Paul saith, God cannot lie, then he is bound by his immutability or the law of his nature, to perform his promises to the obedient, and his threatenings against the disobedient; and this is the truth,  and you

cannot deny it. Objection. Bible language is, I will, and you shall, and the promises are yea and amen, without any *ifs* or *ands*.

Answer. To take the *promises* without the *condition* is a practice of Satan, (*Luke* iv. 10, 12.) which he made use of to our Lord to get him to fall down from the battlement of the temple, and thereby tempt God, and presume on God, because of the promise which the Devil intended he should think to be *unconditional*; and so bear him up in the way of *disobedience*. Whereas our Saviour, knowing the *path of duty* to be the way of *safety*, replied, 'tis written, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. For in the way of *obedience* there is a *promise* of preservation, and in the way of *disobedience* a *threatening* of destruction; this is the truth  and you cannot deny it; therefore to cut these two little letters I F out of the Bible, which make such a great significant word, is wrong, seeing it is so frequent in scripture; and frequently there are conditions implied in the Bible, though not *expressed*; for instance, David, when at Keilah (1 *Sam.* xxiii. &c.) enquired of the Lord whether Saul would come down, and the men of the city deliver him up, and the Lord answered in the affirmative. Here is no condition expressed, yet there is one implied, for David left the city and fled to the wilderness, so Saul came not down, neither did the people deliver him up. Again, God said to the Ninevites, by Jonah, yet forty days and Ninevah shall be overthrown. Now if you say all threatenings are without conditions, you give God the lie, for the city was spared in consequence of their believing God and turning from their evil way. *Jonah* iii. 5, 10. This is the truth  and you cannot deny it. Again *Ezek.* xxxiii. &c. There is a condition implied and explained undeniably, though not so fully expressed at the first, concerning the righteous and wicked man, which you may read at your leisure; this is a truth  and you cannot deny it. Objection, Says one, "God will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, &c."—Answer;

"GOD will have mercy on whom he will,

Come think you who they be?

'Tis every one that loves his Son,

And from their sins do flee;

'Tis every one that doth repent,

And truly hates his sin;

'Tis every one that is content,



To turn to God again.

And whom he will he *hardeneth*,

Come think you who they be?

'Tis every one that hates his son,

Likewise his liberty ;
 'Tis every one that in sin persist,
 And do outstand their day ;
 Then God in justice leaves them to
 Their own heart's lusts a prey.


Objec. "*My* people shall be *made* willing in the day of my power," says one. Answer. That is home-made scripture, for the Almighty doth not so speak, but King David (*Psalms* cx. 3.) speaks to the Almighty, "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power." He doth not say, they shall be made willing ; the word *made* is not there, neither has it any business there.—Again, those little words in italic letters were not in the original, but were put in by the translators to make what they think to be sense in the English language ; and those little words "*shall be*" are in *italic* letters, of course put in by the translators ; now I leave them out, and in lieu thereof, put in the word, *are*, and then read it, "*Thy people are willing in the day of thy power.*" Now is the day of God's power, and now his people are willing ; they are always a willing people. It is the reprobate character that is unwilling that God's will should be done ; this is the truth,  and you cannot deny it. (*Matt.* vii. 24, 26.) Objec. Christ did not pray for all mankind, &c. Answer. That's a lie, for *John* xvii. 9, First, Christ prayed for his disciples ; Secondly, v. 20, for those who should believe on him through their word ; and thirdly, for the whole world, (v. 21, 23,) thus "that the *world* may *believe* that thou hast sent me." Again, that the *world* may *know* that thou hast sent me, and this doth not mean A-double-L-part. Objec. Paul says, *Rom.* viii. Whom God foreknew he predestinated, called, justified, and glorified, &c. Here is no condition expressed, of course, it appeareth that he glorified all that he justified, called, and predestinated, and foreknew, &c. Answer. If that be taken just as it stands, without any conditions whatever, it will follow, that Universalism is true, or else, that we are all reprobates. For God foreknows one as much as another, in every sense of the word, and of course, foreknows all mankind ; and now, if all that he foreknows, predestinates, calls, justifies, and glorifies, without any condition, in any shape, or sense, it undeniably argues, the universal salvation of every son of Adam. This is the truth,  and you cannot deny it. Or, else, if you take the Apostle unconditionally, as he speaketh, in the past tense, then no more can be glorified. Therefore *we* are all reprobates, and you cannot deny it. But it is my opinion, that Paul is only rehearsing a catalogue of states, as they take place in succession. And to take any particular part of the Bible, in the face and eyes of twenty scriptures more ; any doctrine thereby may be proved.



and thus we find by such means, have sprung up the many sentiments in the earth. People, desirous to get to Heaven in an easier way than God hath pointed out, will hew out an opinion of their own, a broken cistern that can hold no water, and will twist and bend the scriptures to their sentiment, and sometimes will have to grind the same and put it into a press, and press out a construction of their own. But this will not do, scripture must be explained by scripture, and that according to reason, so as not to make it clash, but rather correspond with the true christian experience.

Objec. We read as many as were ordained to eternal life, believed. Answer. True, but the word *ordained*, signifies, set apart as a minister for his office. Thus Jeremiah was set apart a Prophet. And David saith, "The Lord has set apart him that is godly for himself," Psalm iv. 3. And there is no account of any being set apart for the Lord's self, but the godly. No man is godly, or godlike, but the believer; therefore, none are ordained, or set apart for Heaven, but those that believe. Besides, the acts of the Apostles were written some time after the things took place, and of course is all written in the past tense. Ordained, is in the past tense, and so is believed, and there is no account of the one being prior to the other. But it may be said, as many as believed, were then ordained to eternal life, as none are ordained or set apart for eternal life, but the saints; no man is a saint except he believes. For he that believeth not is condemned already, saith Christ. Therefore, as soon as one believes, he is free from condemnation, and of course set apart for Heaven, and not before; he being in Christ now by the act of faith. Now observe, Peter talks about elect *in Christ* not *out of him*.—Paul saith, 2 Cor. v. 17. If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature, &c., and Rom. viii. 1, saith, there is *now* (not yesterday or to morrow) no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus; *who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, &c.* which implies, there is condemnation to those who are not *in Christ*, but walk after the flesh, and not after the Spirit. And Paul saith, they which have not the Spirit of Christ, are none of his, Rom. viii. 9. And John saith, he that committeth sin, is of the devil, 1 John iii. 8, and again, no man can call Jesus, Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. But *as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of GOD.*

Query. If all things are decreed right, is it not evident that there is no such thing as sin or guilt? For it cannot be wrong to fulfil right decrees. Consequently there can be no redemption, for there is nothing to redeem them from; consequently, if mankind think they have sinned and are redeemed, their thoughts must be a deception, and are imaginary. And of course their praising God for redeeming love is folly. For they praise him

for that which he never did. Now suppose this imaginary, false, mistaken idea, that they "had been sinners and were redeemed," was removed, and they so enlightened as to discover that nothing according to right decrees had ever taken place wrong, &c. How would the heavenly host be astonished to think they had been deceived? What silence would immediately ensue!


Some people hold to a falling from grace, which I think is wrong; for say they, if we were always to be in the light, we should grow proud; therefore it is necessary that we should have a darkness to make us feel our weakness and dependence. From this it appears, that they think a little sin is necessary for the perfecting of the saints:  and you cannot deny it. Now to hold a thing necessary implies *holding to it*, same as I think doing duty, or perfection in love to be necessary, therefore I hold to it. Thus you see they hold to a falling from grace which I think wrong. Yet I adopt the idea that a man *can* fall from grace according to *conscience, reason, and scripture*, which idea some people think to be dangerous; but I think it is not naturally attended with such bad consequences as the other; for if a man thinks he is safe, he is not apt to look out for danger, whereas if he thinks there is danger, he is apt, like the mariner, to look out for breakers. Again, supposing I have religion, I think I can fall so as to perish everlastingly. Here is another man with the same degree of religion, believing *once in grace always in grace*. Now if my idea of the *possibility* of falling, &c. be false, his sentiment if true will certainly reach me; so I am safe as he. But supposing his doctrine to be false and mine true, he is gone for it and mine will not reach him.



So you see I have two strings to my bow to his one.  This is the truth and you cannot deny it. Now reader, observe, as I heard of a *seine* on Rhode Island which caught a scull of fish, and for fear of the escape of some, a number of seines encircled the enclosed, so that they could not escape, and if any did escape the first or second net, the others should catch them, &c. So you may plainly discover as I have linked the above doctrines, if some of my ideas are false, the other ideas as so many seines will catch me. *Once in grace always in grace*, or *Predestination*, or *Universalism*, or *Deism* with *Atheism*. But if they are false those characters are gone, if they have nothing else to depend upon but principles—yet I still may be safe. This is the truth,  and you cannot deny it.

Again, it is evident in reason's eye, that the more light a person hath if he abuse the same, the greater is the sin and guilt. Therefore in justice the condemnation and punishment must be proportioned, according to the saying of Christ. "He that knoweth his master's will and *doeth* it not shall be beaten with many stripes;" whereas he that committeth things worthy of stripes, and know-

eth not his master's will, shall be beaten with few stripes. Thus you see it is required according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not. As we read every man is to be rewarded according to his works, or the deeds done in the body, Rev. xxii. 12, and xiv. 13. Luke xii. 47, &c.—Now scripture proof that a man may fall from grace, runneth thus: "If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. The backslider in heart shall be filled with his own ways," &c. Now if a man were in a high pillory, it would be nonsense for one to cry out, "hold tight, stand and hang fast, for if you fall, it will hurt you;" if there be no danger of his falling, and more so if there is not a possibility of it. If so, then how much greater nonsense, for an Almighty God, to give us his will, with many cautions as needless as the above, there being no danger, nor even a possibility of danger. And yet he like some passionate parents, who say to their children, if you do so and so, I'll whip you; I'll burn you up; I'll skin you, and turn you out of doors, &c., and yet have no intention to perform the threatenings, but do lie to them. Just such a character some people seem to represent the Lord in. When he cautions as follows: *Gen. ii. 17.* In the day thou eateth thereof thou shalt surely die. (Serpent like) say they—*Gen. iii. 4.* Ye shall not surely die.—But it is evident that God is in earnest in the following threatenings: *Rev. xxii. 19.* If any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the Holy City, &c. There is no account of a sinner's having a part in the book of life, or Holy City, but the saint. For it is holiness that gives the title, *Heb. xii. 14.* Again, hold fast that no man take thy crown, &c. *Rev. iii. 11.* Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life—And he that endureth to the end the same shall be saved, *Rev. ii. 10.* *Mark xiii. 13.* Jude tells us of some whose fruit withereth, twice dead, plucked up by the roots. Now it is evident, that a sinner is but once dead, then these must have been once alive in the scriptural sense; or else how could the fruit wither, or they be twiced dead and be plucked up by the roots? ver. 12. Again, there is a sin unto death, which we are not commanded to pray for; compare 1 *John v. 16, 17*, with *Heb. x. 26 to 31.* Again, Peter tells us of some that have forgotten that they were purged from their old sins, and even escaped the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of Christ, &c.—and yet are again entangled therein. And saith he, it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than after they have known it, to turn from, &c. (2 *Peter i. 9.* and *ii. 20 to the end.*) how could they have forgot that which they never knew? &c.—Again, (*Heb. vi. 4 to 7.*) what higher attainments can one have than are here mentioned—and 2 *Peter iii. 17, &c.*, if any man

thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall, (1 *Cor.* x. 12. *Rom.* xi. 20, 21. *Heb.* iv. 1.) Observe there were six hundred thousand Jews, all well, active men, &c. which came out of Egypt with Moses, and one was in as fair a way for Canaan as another; and God promised as positively to carry them to the promised land, as ever he promised to carry the saint from earth to heaven; only four got through the wilderness. Aaron and Moses died on the mountains, and Caleb and Joshua reached the desired country. But all the others who it appears, were once favorites of Heaven, from Paul's talk, 1 *Cor.* x. 3, 4, &c. As Paul saith, they all drank of Christ, the spiritual rock, &c. and yet some of them tempted him, &c. ver. 9, and thus they all by sin fell in the wilderness. And Paul addeth, moreover, that these things happened unto them for examples, and were written for our admonition, ver. 11. Now what need of saints being admonished, if there be no danger of losing the spiritual land of rest? Paul was afraid of falling, ix. 27. But observe, though God had promised to carry the Jews to Canaan, &c. yet there was a condition implied, *Num.* xiv. 34, and ye shall know my breach of promise. That was a condition implied, though not fully expressed before. *Gen.* xvii. 8, 28. xiii. 50. xxiv. 25. *Heb.* xi. 2. *Ex.* iii. 16, 17, *Lev.* xxvi. 27, 28, etc. Hark! If ye will not for all this hearken unto me (saith God) but walk contrary unto me, then I will walk contrary unto you also in fury, and I, even I, will chastise you seven times for your sins. Now if all things are decreed right straight forward, how could the Jews walk contrary to God? And if not, how could God walk contrary to them? God help thee to consider this, if there be no condition implied; and likewise, *Exodus* xiii. 17. *Numbers* xiv. 21, 22, 23, 24, &c. Because those men, which have seen my glory, and miracles which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice, surely they shall not see the land which I swear unto their fathers, &c. verse 34. God help you to take warning by the Jews, for it is evident, that according to the words of Moses, *Deut.* xxviii. that great blessings were promised, if the nation would obey, and curses in consequence of disobedience, which ideas were confirmed in the dying speech of *Joshua* xxiv. 20, which was fulfilled according to the book of Judges. When it went well with the Jews, we find they were serving God; but when they did evil, God sold them into the hands of their enemies. God help thee to compare the promises and threatnings in Deuteronomy, with the book of Judges, &c. And observe God's dealings thenceward, and apply that to *Matthew* vii. 24, &c. and observe the Gospel, for we are to take warning, by God's dealings with the ancients, and square our lives accordingly, because to judgment we must come, and

be judged with strict justice, and receive sentence accordingly : either "Come ye blessed, or depart ye cursed," *Matt.* xxv. 34, 41, &c. Now observe, if I am guilty, I must have pardon here, and then if my life from the day of forgiveness brings forth good fruit from holy heart, it is right : consequently the reward must ensue accordingly. But if I turn, and willingly love sin again, my conduct flowing from that evil desire, thus living and dying, my sentence must be accordingly, agreeable to the principles of true justice ;  this is the truth and you cannot deny it. Read attentively about the good and evil servants, from *Matt.* xxiv. 46 to 48, &c. and xviii. 23, &c.

Observe, Paul exhorts Timothy to war a good warfare, holding *faith* and a *good conscience* which, saith he, some having put away concerning *faith*, have made *shipwreck* ; of whom is Hy- meneus and Alexander, 1 *Tim.* i. 19, John xv. Christ saith, "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman ; every branch, in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away, (observe, he could not take them away unless they were there) and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. Now ye are clean, through the word which I have spoken unto you." Observe, a sinner is not clean, but filthy. But if these were made clean through the word of Christ, as just mentioned, then they were saints,  and you cannot deny it ; verse 4, "Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me ; I am the vine ye are the branches," &c.—verse 6, "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered, &c. Observe, a sinner is not compared to a green tree but a dry, this could not wither except it were green, and a branch once withered, it is hard to make it green again, &c. but they are gathered and burned—verse 7, 8. "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you ; herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be my disciples ;" verse 9—Continue ye in my love—Now ye may see that the five little letters that are herein enclosed, which too many people overlook, and which fixes the sense of a great many scriptures running parallel through the Bible, &c.—viz. "if and eth." Now the Bible runneth thus : *if* ye do so and so, I will do so and so ; and *if* ye do so and so I will do so and so, &c. And again, "ed" past tense, we find but little in the Bible. But the scripture, instead of making a "yesterday christian, it maketh a present, every day christian." Thus, he that *believeth, heareth, seeth, understandeth, knoweth pursueth, watcheth, hath, enjoyeth, and endureth* ; this is the truth,  and you cannot deny it, for the Bible doth not enquire what I was yesterday, but what I am now. Objection. Christ saith,

my sheep *hear* my voice, they *follow me*, and shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand, &c. John x, 27, 28. Answer. Here the saint is represented by the similitude of a sheep, hearing and following a shepherd; and observe the promise is made, as before observed, to a certain obedient character, and here the promise is to those that *hear*; *hearing* doth not mean stopping your ears, or being careless and inattentive; but it implieth, giving strict attention to the object, which requireth the same and *following* likewise, doth not mean running the other way, but a voluntary coming after. Therefore, there is a condition implied and expressed in this passage, viz. *hear* and *follow*, and the promise is to that character; of course a backslider doth not imitate it, and of course cannot claim the promise but what he may perish; may *turn away* according to Ezek. xxxiii. 18,—“When the righteous [man] turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die thereby,” &c.

Objec. The death there spoken of is temporal. Ans. I deny it, for the body will die, whether you sin or not; and God when he meaneth the body, doth not say the soul, but positively declares, “the soul that sinneth, it shall die.”—chap. xviii. 4.

Objec. But the righteous man then spoken of, is a self-righteous man. Ans. I deny it, for he is pronounced a righteous man by God himself, and how can he be righteous in the judgment of God, without saving faith; God doth not call a wicked man good, nor a good man evil; yet you say, him that God here pronounceth righteous, is only self-righteous, a Pharisee. Oh, scandalous for any man to twist the scriptures thus. Now look at it in your own glass; self-righteousness being wickedness, we will style it iniquity, and the man an iniquitous man, and then read it, “when an iniquitous man turneth away from his iniquity, and committeth iniquity, for his iniquity, &c. shall he die;”—read the above twice over, and then sound and see, if there be any bottom or top according to your exposition. Leaving your shameless construction, I pass on to answer another objection, which may be urged from Rom. viii. 38, 39, where Paul saith, “I am persuaded, that neither death nor life, nor angels, principalities, powers, things present or to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God,” &c.

Observe, though Paul speaks of a *second* cause not being able to separate us from the enjoyment of God’s love; yet he doth not say but what we may separate *ourselves* by *disobedience*, which is sin. *Sin* is not a creature as some people falsely think, but sin is a non-conformity to the will of God. If you still say that sin is a creature, I ask you what shape it is in, or what color it is of, or how many eyes or wings it hath, or whether it crawls

like snake? Paul doth not term it a creature, but agreeth with St. John, where he saith, *sin* is the *transgression* of the law, and where there is no law, there is no transgression; and being not without law to God, but under the law of Christ. The Christian still feeleth himself conscientiously accountable unto God, and you cannot deny it. 1 John iii. 4: Rom. iii. 20 iv. 15; 1 Cor. ix. 21; for we read, not that a good man falleth into sin every day, and still is in the way to Heaven, being a child of God, but to the reverse—1 John iii, 8, “he that committeth sin, is of the Devil, John viii. 34; whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin,”—v. 36. “If the son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.” Rom. vi. 18. “Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness—v. 20, for when you were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness; v. 22, 23, but now being made free from sin, &c. for the wages of sin is death.”

Any person by reading the lxxxix Psalm, may plainly discover, that the promise made therein to David, as in the person of Christ, was not altogether without *condition*, by comparing the promise from verse 19 to 29, &c. to 38. From that, either there is a contradiction in the Psalm, or else a condition must be allowed; for one part saith, that his *seed* and *throne* shall endure for ever, and another part “thou hast cast his *throne* to the ground,” v. 36, 44, &c. But observe, most people when quoting this Psalm to prove, once in grace, always in grace, read thus, v. 33, “nevertheless will I not utterly take from them, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail,” which is a wrong quotation; he does not say in the plural, he will not take it from *them*, but in the singular, will not utterly take from *him*; that is, from Christ Jesus, as David frequently represents Christ; compare this Psalm with 1 Chron. xxviii. 6, 7. 1 Kings ix. 4 to 9—where undeniably you will find the condition.

Objec. “I have loved thee with an everlasting love,” and “he that believeth hath everlasting life.” Answ. The life there spoken of is the love of God, which is called everlasting, because it is his eternal nature, which all those that believe enjoy; yet God being holy, cannot behold iniquity with allowance; of course his justice cries against it; and demands satisfaction: It must be, that if I lose that life, that the nature of it does not change, but returns to God who gave it, by my out-sinuing the day or reach of mercy, &c. But says one, can a man sin beyond the love of God, or out of the reach of mercy? Ans. We read that God loved the world, and yet that there is a sin unto death, which we are not commanded to pray for, when one committeth, John iii. 16, 17; 1 John v. 16. Those who may read the above, that have enjoyed the comforts of religion in their own souls, when

they are faithful to God, they feel his love and enjoy the light of his countenance; and a mountain of trouble appears as a hill, and he surmounts it with delight, and cries in the Poet's language:

"Give joy or grief, give ease or pain,
Take life or friends away;
But let me find them all again,
In that eternal day."

They feel the truth of Christ's words, John viii. 12. "He that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." But when they let down their watch, their strength departs like Sampson's when shorn, and the enemies get the better. A hill of trouble appears as a mountain, and they feel like one forsaken; and on reflection, conscience lays the blame not on God, like the doctrine of decrees, but on them; and they have no peace until they repent, and do their first work, viz. to go to God as a criminal, and yet as a beggar, broken-hearted, willing to part with the accursed thing—then they find the Lord to lift upon them the light of his countenance, and their peaceful hours return. They take their harps from the willows, and cry like the ancients, "our soul is escaped, as a bird from the snare of the fowler, the snare is broken, and we are escaped."

Query—Whoever fell from grace?—Ans.—We are informed, 1 Sam. xv. 17, that when Saul was little in his own eyes, God exalted him to be King over Israel, and x. 6. when Samuel anointed him, he said, "the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophecy, and shall be turned into another man, &c." verse 9, we read moreover, that God gave him another heart, &c. and what sort of a heart God gives, I leave you to judge. And God seemed to prosper Saul, while he was humble, xiii. 12. It appeareth after two years, that his heart got lifted up with pride, and the Lord sent him to utterly destroy the Amalekites, and all things belonging thereto, according to the commandment by Moses. But Saul rebelled and committed a sin thereby, which was as the sin of witchcraft and idolatry, xv. 23; after this the spirit of the Lord departed from him; and afterwards Saul murdered himself in the field of battle. And we read no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him: and that murderers hereafter shall be shut out of the Holy City, xvi. 14, and xxxi. 4; 1 John iii. 15; Rev. xxii. 15. But saith one, was not David a man after God's own heart, when committing adultery and murder? Ans. No, for God hath not the heart of an adulterer nor a murderer. And again, no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him, 1 John iii. 15. And supposing David was a man

after God's own heart, when feeding his Father's sheep; that is no sign he was, when committing adultery and murder, any more than if I were honest seven years ago, and then turned thief—am honest still because I was once; this is the truth, ~~and~~ and you cannot deny it. But observe the Lord was displeased with David, being angry with the wicked every day; and there is no account, that the Lord put away David's sin until he confessed it, &c. 2 Sam. xi. 27, xii. 13, and all backsliders who sincerely repent may receive pardon, as David did, &c. But yet there is no scripture that saith, they shall be brought to repentance irresistibly, whether they will or not; for God will have volunteers for Heaven, or none at all, Rev. xxii. 14, 17. We cannot with reason suppose that a king would choose an enemy as an ambassador, with an embassy to rebels, but a friend; neither can we suppose with propriety, that God or Christ would call an enemy, a child of the devil, to go and preach and do miracles; but a friend. Yet we find in Matt. x. that *Judas* with the others, was positively called, and commanded to preach, and had power to raise the dead, heal the sick, and cast out devils, &c. And the twelve went out, and returned, &c. It speaks of them collectively, but not individually, doing miracles till after Christ's resurrection. Chap. xix. Peter saith, *we* have forsaken all, (not *I*) and followed thee, what shall we have therefore? Christ answereth, verse 28, Verily (or certainly) I say unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his Glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the tribes of Israel. Now I ask, how they could follow Christ in the regeneration, except they were regenerated, i. e. born again? Doth it not mean Judas for one, seeing there were twelve apostles, twelve thrones, and twelve tribes? a throne for each; but it appeareth that the thrones were promised on conditions of overcoming, Rev. iii. 21; and that Judas forfeited his title by disobedience, &c. But saith one, "I thought Judas was raised up for the very purpose to betray Christ, and was always a wicked man." Answer. Many people think so, through the prejudice of education, and set up their opinion for the standard, and attempt to bend the scriptures to it; but that will not do; for truth will stand when error falls, and of course our tenets should correspond with the Bible, which doth not say, that Judas was always evil; but Christ conveys an idea to the reverse, when referring John xiii. 18, to Psalm xli. 9, where David is speaking of Judas, as in the person of Christ; and saith, "*Mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me.*" Here Judas is not only styled Christ's friend, but his familiar one, in whom he trusted. Now, can we suppose with propriety, that Christ would be familiar with

the deceitful, and put confidence in them? No! methinks he would have set a better example.

Objec. Christ says, *John* vi. 70. "have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil."

Ans. Sometimes Christ spoke as man, and sometimes as God, and God frequently speaks of things that are not as though they were; for instance, *Rev.* xiii. 8, we read that Christ was a Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, and yet he was not actually slain till four thousand years after.



Again, God said to Abraham, I have made thee a Father of many nations; when he was not the Father of but one child (Ishmael.) So Christ foreseeing as God, that Satan would enter into Judas, spoke of it, as if it was in the present tense, though it were not really so for some time after; there was more trust put in Judas than in the other Apostles, he being made treasurer.—We have repeated accounts of Peter, James, and John sinning; but no account that Judas did until six days before the Passover, *John* xii. *Mark* xiv. 3. When our Lord was in the house of Simon the Leper, which appears to be Judas' father's house, in came a woman to annoint Christ, &c. and it appears that Judas felt a *thievish* covetous disposition to arise; and from that no doubt he was called a *thief*, and had the bag, for he never was called a thief *before*; and Christ gave him a gentle rebuke, and it appears that Judas got affronted, by his complying with a suggestion of Satan. (Satan was not really in him yet, only tempted him).—And going out the same day, he made a bargain, *John* xiii. and 2. and *Mark* xiv. 10. (like some ministers) saying what will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you, &c. Some people make scripture, and say, whom Christ loves, he loves to the end, (and to the end of what?) There are no such words in the Bible—*John* xiii. 1, we read thus: "When Jesus knew that his hour was come, that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end;" namely, the night in which the sacrament was instituted, Judas being present, &c. received the sop, *after* which Satan entered him, ver. 27. And now it may be said in the full sense of the word, that *he* was a *devil*, and *not before*, unless you allow of his being one before, and another entering him now, and so making a double devil of him—and what sort of being that may be, I cannot tell.

Objec. I think if Judas had *regeneration*, or was ever a friend to Christ, as you talk from *Mat.* xix. 28, 29, and *Psal.* xli. 9, that he is gone to glory. Ans. No, he has not, for Christ affirmed, "woe to that man, it had been good for him that he had never been born." *Mark* xiv. 21. *Luke* xxii, 19, 20. Again, we read Judas murdered himself; and no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.—Objec. I do not think one that is *given* to Christ can


be lost. Answer—Then you do not believe the Bible, for we read *John* xvii. 12, that Judas was given to Christ, and yet he is lost, and styled a son of *Perdition*, which means a son of destruction—and *Acts* i. 24, 25, where the eleven surviving Apostles, chose Matthias to fill up Judas' sphere, no more, nor less than what Judas did; they prayed thus, "Thou Lord, who knoweth the hearts of all men, show whether of these two thou hast chosen, that he may take part of this ministry, and Apostleship, from which Judas, by transgression fell, &c." Now, if Judas were always a Devil, (which could not be, for there must have been a time when he begun to be one,) why would they choose a good man to fill up a Devil's place? Observe, there were twelve parts of the ministry, and the Apostles being accountable persons to God. Judas fell by transgression, (for where there is no law, there is no transgression.) Now, what did he fall from? An old profession?—To fall from an old profession, is no transgression at all; for transgression is sin, which implies the violation of a known law; of course, falling by transgression, implies losing something which is valuable, by misconduct, &c. this is the truth, and you cannot deny it. But says one, I do not like your talk, for you destroy my comfort: and it is a discouraging doctrine against getting religion, if one thinks they can lose it after they get it.—Answer, I might on the other hand, or in another case say, that it is discouraging against getting money, or buying this farm, or that horse, for perhaps it may be squandered, lost or die; therefore I would not try for them. What would you think of the man that would stop and be negligent at such objections? People temporally do not term such things discouraging, so as to flee; and methinks none will make that reply, but those who love and plead for a *little* sin; one leak will sink a ship.

Objec. Solomon was a wise man, and yet did many things wrong; and yet wrote Ecclesiastes afterward, from which we may infer, no doubt he is happy. Answer—Solomon no doubt was a *wise* man, above all the Kings of the earth, and yet became the greatest *fool* by abusing his wisdom; for after that God had done so much for Solomon—Solomon turned and committed sin; and according to the Mosaic law, was worthy of temporal death in *five* respects: First, he made an *afinity* with Pharaoh, King of Egypt—Secondly took his *daughter* to be his wife—Thirdly, made *afinity* with Hiram, king of Tyre—Fourthly, fell in *love* with *Heathenish* women, who turned his heart from God—Fifthly, fell into *idolatry*. He had *four* gods that he worshipped himself, and *others* for his *wives*. When Solomon was young, we read the Lord *loved* him; but now he was old, we read the Lord was *angry* with him, and he is angry with the *wicked* every

day. The Lord endeavored to reclaim Solomon—first by mercy, and then by affliction; and raised up three adversaries for that purpose; but Solomon would not hear, but went on a step farther, and attempted to *kill* Jeroboam, who arose and fled to Egypt: and as the Scripture leaves Solomon, he died in that state, with *murder* in his heart, as he attempted to slay the *innocent*; and “no *murderer* hath *eternal* life *abiding* in him.” And there is no account of Solomon’s repentance, but that he died in his sins; and our Lord intimates, that if we die in our sins, where he is, we cannot come. And David’s dying words to Solomon were, “If thou seek the Lord, he will be found of thee; but if thou *for-sake* him, he will cast thee *off* forever.” Solomon sought the Lord, and the Lord *appeared* to him *twice*; afterwards he forsook God, and there is no account of his return as before observed: and as for believing that Ecclesiastes was wrote afterwards, I no more believe Solomon could write when he was dead, than I believe I could; and to evade this answer, and say Solomon wrote it when he was old, I reply, it is no more than any old man that swears or gets drunk can do, to cry out vanity of vanities, &c. when their lives are burthensome; but what makes the beauty of Ecclesiastes is, to see that a young man could cry out *vanity*, which is so contrary to *nature*, when nature is so fond of it: and as for the book of Proverbs, any person may discover they were wrote before the building of the temple, by turning to 1 *Kings* iv. 32, &c. and before much of his wickedness. You need not say, that I *said*, that Solomon is gone to Hell, I did not affirm so; but I take Solomon where the Scripture doth, and leave him where the Scripture doth, in the hand of a merciful God. Asking why the Bible is so particular to mention all the *good* conduct of Solomon and then this *bad* conduct, if he repented why was not that put down? Turn to the history of *Josephus* and it leaves Solomon if possible, in a worse situation than the Bible doth, &c.

Some people blame me for *holding* to *perfection*, and at the same time they hold to it stronger than me; and moreover, for not holding to the final *perseverance* of the Saints; which assertion I think is wrong, for I think there is danger of *falling* away—therefore I hold to *perseverance*  and they cannot deny it. But they hold, a man *cannot* get rid of sin. Here therefore they hold to *persevering* in sin, and they hold to a falling from grace of course,  this is the truth, and they cannot deny it. Some have heard ministers pray to God; that the people might be sanctified from all sin; and then told them that they could not get rid of all sin—this was a clash. People frequently feel good desires from God to get rid of “all sin,” *James* i. 17, and yet think they cannot obtain the blessing, so pray in unbelief for it. We

read, that whatsoever is not of *faith* is *sin*; therefore, if I hold with them, I should pray thus, "Lord save me from part of my sins now, and at death take them all away," &c. But this doth not correspond with the Lord's Prayer, which commandeth us to pray that God's *Kingdom may come*, and his *will* be done, &c. as in Heaven; and we delivered from *evil*.

The kingdom of God, we read, is not meat and drink; but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. And Paul saith, this is the will of God, even your sanctification: and if a man be delivered from all evil, there is no sin left—And what is the benefit to pray for it, if we cannot have it? But in obedience to the commandment to pray for deliverance from evil; Paul besought God to sanctify the Thessalonians wholly, and to preserve their whole spirit, soul and body blameless unto the coming of Christ; 1 *Thes.* v. 23, and again, ver. 16, to 18, he commandeth them to rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, in every thing give thanks, for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you. *Matt.* v. 48, Christ saith, be ye perfect even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect, i. e. for a man in our sphere, as perfect as God is for God in his sphere. Again, be ye holy, for I am holy. Again, the commandment is to love the Lord with all our heart, soul, body, mind and strength, and our neighbor as our self, &c. And blessed be God the promise is equal to the commandments; for God hath bound himself by a promise, *Ezek.* xxxvi. 25, then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean, from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you, a new heart also will I give you, &c. Again, *Psalms* cxxx. 8, the promise is that Israel shall be redeemed from her iniquities: *John* viii. 12. Christ saith, he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. And again, God hath promised by the hand of Moses, thus "I will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord with all thy heart, &c." and thy neighbor as thyself. And Paul speaking of the oath and the promise of God, two immutable things, in which it is impossible for God to lie. Now if God cannot lie, then he cannot do all things, especially that which is contrary to his nature; if so, then the above mentioned promises are equal to the commandments, and God is bound by the law of his nature to perform the same. This is the truth,  and you cannot deny it.

Objec. David said "There is none righteous, no, not one."—Answer. True, yet we read about *righteous* Abel, and Lot's righteous soul, (2 *Peter* ii. 8. *Matt.* xxiii. 35.) Objec. Solomon saith, "there is no man that sinneth not."—Ans. True, but John saith, "he that is born of God doth not commit sin."—Objec. Paul saith, "I am carnal, sold under sin;" yet he was a saint. Ans. Paul


addeth elsewhere, "that the carnal mind is enmity against God, and is not subject to his law, neither indeed can be, and to be carnally minded is death." Again, "Christ came to save sinners, &c. of whom I am chief." Now to take these expressions together just as they stand, you might prove that Paul was one of the worst of men, in the way to death, and at the same time one of the best apostles in the way to life, &c. Though Paul saith, I am carnal, sold under sin, yet it cannot be that he was speaking of himself, as a holy apostle; but was describing or rehearsing the language of one under the law, as you may see *Rom. vii. 1.* "I speak to them that know the law," &c. but chap. *viii. 1, 2.* Paul saith, there is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk *not* after the flesh, *but* after the spirit, for the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me *free* from the law of sin and death."—And now, if Paul was made free he could not be groaning under bondage at the same time, unless you can reconcile liberty and slavery together. Paul saith in one place, "I robbed other churches," now to take this passage just as it stands, you might prove that Paul was a robber; if so, would not the Government hang him if he was here, as they hang robbers, &c.

And to take any particular passage you may prove almost any doctrine, if it be not taken in connection with the context or general tenor of the scripture. But as the Bible in general doth not plead for sin, but condemneth it, commanding us to be holy in heart and life, &c. Therefore we should not plead for sin as though we loved it, and rolled it under our tongue as a sweet morsel, but should be *scripturians* or Bible men, for Paul telleth the Romans, to whom some think Paul made allowance for a little sin, inferring it from the 7th chapter: but, by the by, they should remember that Paul talketh thus, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God, chap. *v. 1. vi. 18, 22,* he saith, being free from sin," &c. and being now made free from sin, &c. Well, says one, what next! Ans. Any person by reading the epistles of John may find a sufficiency of proof to convince any candid mind that the doctrine of Christian perfection in love, is a Bible doctrine. Query. How far can a man be perfect in this life?

Ans. A man may be a perfect sinner by the help of Satan, and you cannot deny it. Now if a man can be a perfect sinner, why not a perfect saint? Shall we not allow as much power to God to perfect his children in his own nature, which is love, as the Devil has power to perfect his in sin, &c.? But, says one, answer the former question, and likewise, who ever attained what you are talking about. Very well—I'll tell you; I think a man cannot be perfect as God, except it be for men in our sphere, as

God is for God in his sphere; for *absolute* perfection belongs to God alone: neither as perfect as *angels* or even Adam before he *fell*, because I feel the effect of Adam's fall, my body being mortal is a clog to my soul, and frequently tends to weigh down my mind, which infirmity I do not expect to get rid of until my spirit returns to God: yet I do believe that it is the privilege of every saint, to drink in the spirit or nature of God, so far as to live without committing wilful, or known, or malicious sins against God, but to have love the ruling principle within, and what we say and do, to flow from that divine principle of love within, from a sense of duty, though subject to trials, temptations, and mistakes at the same time; and a mistake in judgment may occasion a mistake in practice—I may think a man more pious than he is, and put too much confidence in him, and thereby be brought into trouble. Now such a mistake as this, and many other similar ones I might mention, you cannot term sin with propriety; for when Eldad and Medad prophesied in the camp, Joshua mistaking in his judgment, thinking they did wrong, occasioned a practical mistake, requesting Moses to stop them, &c. which was not granted. Observe, one sin shut Moses out of Canaan, of course one sin must have shut Joshua out; but as God said, "Joshua wholly followed him," and *wholly* not being *partly*, and as he entered Canaan, from that circumstance, I argue that a mistake flowing from love is not imputed as a sin. Again as we are informed, that Christ was tempted in all respects like as we are, Heb. iv. 15, yet without sin, and *can be touched* with the *feeling* of our *infirmities*, &c. Again, as we are commanded, James i. 2, to count it all joy, when we fall (not give way) into divers temptations. And if the Devil, or wicked men tempt me, and I reject and repel the temptation with all my heart, how can it be said that I sin? Am I to blame for the Devil's conduct? I can no more prevent my thoughts than I can prevent the birds from flying over my head; but I can prevent them from making nests in my hair.

Some people expect purgatory to deliver them from sin; but this would, methinks, make discord in Heaven. Others think that death will do it. If death will deliver one from the last of sin why not two? why not all the world by the same rule? So, universalism will be true, and death have the praise, and Jesus Christ be out of the question! But death is not called a *friend*, but is styled an *enemy*, and it does not *change* the *disposition* of the *mind*. All that death does is to *separate* the *soul* from the *body*; therefore, as we must get rid of the last of sin, either here or hereafter, and as but few in America allow of purgatory, I suppose it must be here. If so, then it is before the

soul leaves the body, consequently it is in *time*, of course *before* death. Now the query arises how long first? Why, says one, perhaps a minute before the soul leaves the body. Well, if a minute before, why not two minutes, or an hour; yea, a day, a week, a month, or a year, or even ten years before death—or even now? Is there not power sufficient with God, or efficacy enough in the blood of Christ! Certainly the scripture saith, all things are now ready; now is the accepted time, and behold now (not to-morrow) is the day of salvation. To-day if you will hear his voice. Remember now thy Creator in the days, &c. and there being no encouragement in the Bible for to-morrow, now is God's time  and you cannot deny it, &c. Observe examples—by faith Enoch walked with God (not with sin) three hundred years, and had the testimony that he pleased God—Gen. v. 22. Heb. xi. 5. Caleb and Joshua, wholly (not partly) followed the Lord—Num. xxxii. 11, 12. Job likewise, God said was a perfect man, and you must not contradict him; and though Satan had as much power to kill Job's wife, as to destroy the other things; as all except Job's life was in his hands, but he thought he would spare her for an instrument, or a torment, Job i. 12, 22, and ii. 9, 10. David was a man after God's own heart, when feeding his father's sheep, not when he was committing adultery—1 Sam. xiii. 14, and xvi. 7, 11—2 Sam. xii. 13. Zacharias and Elizabeth, were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments, &c. blameless—Luke i. 5, 6. Nathaniel was an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile, &c. John i. 47. John, speaking of himself, and those to whom he wrote, herein is our love made perfect, and perfect love casteth out fear,"—1 John iv. 17, 18. Again, of the seven Churches of Asia, five had some reproof, but two had *no* reproof at all; Smyrna and Philadelphia, why not if they had a little sin; the latter was *highly* commended, Rev. ii. 8, 9, and iii. 7, and so on, &c.

Query—Must we not get rid of all sin before we go to glory? do not we feel desires for it? did not God give us these desires? does not he command us to pray for it? should we not look in expectation of receiving? God help thee, without prejudice to consider the above impartially, as a sincere enquirer after truth, let it come from whom it may, intending to improve conscientiously as for eternity—Amen———Says one, do you think a man can know his sins forgiven in this life, and have the evidence of his acceptance with God? Answer—We are informed, that Abel had the witness that he was righteous—Gen. iv. 4; Heb. xi. 4, Enoch had the testimony—v. 5. Job said, I know that my Redeemer liveth, and though he slay me, yet will I trust in him; Job xix. 25. David said, "come unto

me all ye that fear the Lord, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soul." As far as the east is from the west so far hath the Lord separated our sins from us. Psalm lxi. 16. Peter said, John 21, "Lord thou knowest that I love thee." John saith, "he that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself." 1 John v. 10, and Matt. i. 25. Jesus shall save his people (not in, but) from their sins. Again, John iii. 8, the wind bloweth where it listeth, thou hearest the sound thereof, &c. so is every one that is *born* of the spirit. The wind though we do not see it, we feel and hear it, and see the effect it produces; it waves the grass, &c. So the spirit of God, we feel it, it gives serious impressions, and good desires within our breast for religion. Again, we hear it, an inward voice telling what is right and what is wrong; and the more attention one gives to the inward monitor, the more distinctly they will hear the sound, till at length it will become their teacher. Again, we may see the effect it produces—some that have been proud and profligate, get reformed and become examples of piety; which change money could not have produced, &c. Says another, I will acknowledge the ancients could talk of the knowledge, but inspiration is now done away; therefore it is nonsense to expect any such thing in this our day. Answer. We read, Jeremiah xxxi. 33, 34, of a time when all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest. Now, if there hath been a time past, when people have known God, and a time to come when all shall know him—which time is not yet arrived, Isa. xi. 9, Hab. ii. 14—why may not people know him in this our day? nature has not changed, nor God, and if matter still can operate on matter, why not spirit upon spirit. Some people are so much like fools, that they think they are not bound in reason to believe any thing except they can comprehend it. This idea centres right in Atheism: for the thing which comprehends, is always greater than the thing comprehended; therefore, if we could comprehend God, we should be greater than he, and of course look down upon him with contempt. But because we cannot comprehend him, then according to the above ideas we must disbelieve and reject the idea of a God. The man who so acts, supposes himself to be the greatest, he comprehending all other men or things, and of course he is God; and many such a god there is, full of conceit. Observe, I can know different objects by the sensitive organs of the eye, ear, &c. and tell whether they are animate or inanimate; and yet how my thinking power gets the idea, or comprehends the same through the medium of matter, is a thing I cannot comprehend; yet it being such a self-evident matter-of-fact, I must assent to the idea, &c. But says one, who

knows these things in this our day? Ans. the *Church of England* prayeth to have the *thoughts* of their *hearts* cleansed by the *inspiration* of God's *holy spirit*, and with the *Church of Rome*, acknowledgeth what is called the *Apostles' creed*; a part of which runneth thus, "I believe in the communion of *Saints*, and in the forgiveness of sins." Again, the above ideas are in the *Presbyterian Catechism*, which saith, "that the *assurance* of God's love, *peace* of conscience,* and joy in

* *Conscience*, so called, is the result of the *judgment*, and the *judgment* is the result or conclusion of the *understanding*, and according to the information or illumination of the *understanding*, so the *judgment* is formed pro or con. and accordingly the conscience speaks. from which I argue that reason without revelation or the influence of the *Holy Spirit*, is not a sufficient guide; for instance, a *Roman's* conscience will not allow him to eat an egg on Friday, and yet they will curse and swear. A *Quaker's* conscience will not allow him to partake of the sacrament; as a sincere one informed me, when taken prisoner by the *Romish* rebels in Ireland, they strove to make him conform to their ceremonies—he replied, "nothing that you can inflict will make me yield." Thus you see, men's consciences lead them diametrically opposite to each other—from which I argue, that conscience is not a sufficient guide, though a man ought not to go contrary to his conscience. For instance, if the *understanding* be *misinformed* the *judgment* draws a *wrong* conclusion, viewing things in false colors, by which means the *conscience* is not properly regulated, and thereby runs into *absurdity*, as Paul mentions some, whose *consciences* were *defiled*.

Any man who does a thing contrary to what he thinks or judges is right, his conscience, which is the *result* of his judgment, will *convict* or condemn him. Therefore, supposing a man's understanding to be *misinformed*, he might conclude or judge a thing to be wrong when it is right, and thereby feel conviction, as if in an error, when in fact there is none but his mistake. From this I again argue the need we have of revelation, in order to understand and know our duty aright, and likewise to form proper ideas of God, and eternal things.

As God is a spirit, we can know no more of him than he is pleased to reveal except we draw it from his dealings with his creatures, &c. and as we have not the *language* of *immortality*, we can form no just or proper ideas of the eternal, immortal or celestial realms, or world; but by the *representations* of earthly things. Therefore for the want of a better language, we have to make use of the most striking *metaphors* or representations that *mortal* language will or can admit, &c. and this is so far short of the real essence of the matter, that if people are not much aware, they will form improper ideas from unmeaning expressions which we are obliged to use for the want of better, and so form wrong ideas by drawing a wrong conclusion relative to the same, and then lay down those ideas as positive arguments. By these means much error is gone abroad into the world; and from expressions similar to these, INFINITE NUMBER,—an ETERNAL DECREE, &c. Now observe, there is no number but may be

the the Holy Ghost, doth accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification, in this life," (not in the life to come.)

enlarged by the addition of units ; but that which is infinite cannot be enlarged ; therefore to talk about infinite numbers, is a contradiction in terms.

From light cometh sight, from sight cometh sense, and sense giveth sorrow. When the divine influence shines into the understanding, and gives the soul a discovery of the danger to which sin exposes it, &c. the soul that yieldeth obedience to this light, findeth the mind to grow solemn under a sense of eternal things, the heart to grow tender, and the conscience to be as the apple of an eye, arising from a view of their situation, occasioned by this divine revelation in the mind, &c. So the soul, seeing the evil of sin, which it once cleaved to in love, now abhors it like as one fleeth from a serpent. Here penitence takes place, the heart melts to tenderness likewax before the fire, and becomes willing to part with their sins and to be saved by free grace ; they likewise feel a cry in their hearts for mercy, not like the man who says over his prayers as a lazy school-boy says his lesson and thinks he has done his stint, but rather like a drowning man that cannot swim, calls mightily to one on the shore for help or I am drowning, &c. Their cry is, what shall I do to be saved ? God be merciful unto me a sinner.

Here is repentance pointed out, which implies three things—first, a sensibility of the evil done—secondly, brokenness of heart or contrition of mind for it—and thirdly, a willingness to make confession or satisfaction, &c. Observe, a man cannot repent of his error till he is sensible he is in one—here I again argue the need of revelation to give an internal conviction, with regard to that which is displeasing in God's sight, &c. Again, if a man persists in a thing, he does not abhor it, and of course does not repent of it, for if he did, he would forsake it instead of delighting and persisting in it, &c. Again, if one be in an evil and will not confess it from his heart to the injured or abused, he is impenitent ; of course he does not repent—God pity him. The way to have repentance towards God, is to yield obedience to the influence of God's awakening spirit, and *consideration* is the first thing. O God help thee, reader, to adhere to the inward whispering voice and seriously reflect on the value of thy soul, the shortness and uncertainty of time, and the necessity of improving your accountability for eternity. Again, a *resolution* is positively necessary to be on the Lord's side, as saith Christ, the kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. The prodigal son came to himself, (which implies he was beside himself, as every sinner is) and reflected or considered how many hired servants, &c. at my father's house, and I perish with hunger. A resolution was then formed ; I will arise and go to my father ; and the resolution was put into practice, not in a dilatory way, as though he must first go and tell the citizen ; but he at once left all behind, and his father did not wait for him to get clear home, but met with him when he was yet a great way off.

Agreeable to the above, the Baptists, when going to the water, tell how this assurance was communicated to their souls.

So, reader, if you intend to serve God, you must count the cost, and then enlist for the war; i. e. set out for eternity and give up the idols of your heart, for you cannot serve two masters, saith Christ. And again, he that loveth father, mother, brother or sister, wife or children, houses or lands more than me, is not worthy of me; and except a man deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me, he cannot be my disciple. God help thee to reflect whether you will set out and encounter the difficulties to enjoy future happiness, or whether you will slight the offers of Heaven, and sell your soul for the sake of the pleasures of vice, which you can now roll under your tongue as a sweet morsel, but your latter end will be bitter: O, will you run the risk of being cut off in your sins!

FAITH is a *divine conviction* of the attributes of God, wrought in the MIND by the *Spirit of God*, that there is a *reality* in the *invisible world*, or a supernatural *evidence* communicated to the understanding, that there is a reality in spiritual things, as saith the apostle "Say not in thy heart, who shall ascend into Heaven to bring Christ from above, or who shall descend into the deep to bring up Christ, &c. But the word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart, i. e. the word of faith which we preach." Rom. x. 6, 7, 8. The word there spoken of, is what in other parts of the Bible is called the *word of God*, which is the voice or power of Jesus Christ, speaking to the hearts of the sons of men, as you may observe, John i. 1 to 4, and xv. 3, 22, where is the man who hath not heard? consideration and resolution are *actions* of the mind. Some people suppose that faith and believing are synonymous expressions, with one and the same meaning; but I think they are different, and that *believing* is the *act* of *faith*, the same as *seeing* is the *act* of *sight*. I cannot *see* without *sight*; God gives me *sight*, but the *act* of *seeing* is *mine*. So *believing* is the *act* of the *creature*; if it were not so, *why* should we be commanded to *believe*, and condemned for *unbelief*, or not *believing*?

Surely believing is the action of the creature, but he cannot believe without a power, any more than I can see without sight—faith is the gift of God, that is the internal power to *realize spiritual and eternal things*. Well, says one, when I attempt to pray, what shall I believe? Answer—*prayer* being the sincere desire of the heart, earnestly ascending to God; when you feel your need of a *blessing*, raise your desires with fervency in expectation, believing that God is *able* to give you the things you feel you need. Believe, secondly, that he is *willing* to do it, as he willeth not the death of a sinner, but that all should come to repentance, Ezek. xxxiii. 11; 2 Peter iii. 9. Believe, thirdly, that he will bless you because he has promised it. Observe, some people claim the promises when they have no right to them, for they live in the commission of known sin—"for the wages of sin is death," and "the soul that sinneth it shall die." But those who are willing to part with their sins have a right to the promises of God, according to Prov. xxviii. 13, and Matt. xi. 28, for God cannot lie, says Paul. Therefore God is bound by the law of his nature, to

and when, &c. The Quakers likewise acknowledge that the true worship is in spirit (not in the outward letter) and in truth

perform his promises to the sons of men when they fulfil the condition, which is to be sensible of their need, and become penitentially passive in his hand ; so far resigned as to have no will of their own, abstract from his, and yet active to enquire his will, willing to do it as far as it is manifested, &c. Some people under a sense of their unworthiness, think that God is so very angry with them, that he will not receive them till they are better, and of course that they must do something to pacify him, just as if his will must be turned in order to be willing to receive them. But observe the poet saith,—

“ If you tarry till you’re better,

“ You will never come at all.”

Therefore, you cannot make yourself better by tarrying from him a space, by striving to do something to recommend yourself to his favor. But remember that God is willing to receive you, if you are but willing to receive him at the expense of your sins, and submit for him to take possession and reign within. For we read, 2 Cor. v. 18, 19, 20, that God is *in* Christ reconciling the world to himself; and it is for us to be reconciled to God, as God is love; and his love, according to John iii. 16, 17, influenced him to send his Son to make it possible for our salvation. Therefore, he is willing to receive us, if we are willing to receive him, as now is the Lord’s accepted time and day of salvation; all things are now ready, &c. Therefore take God at his word *now* and let thy soul’s desires be enlarged in expectation of the blessing, as the watchman looketh out for the dawn of day, believing as Christ died for all, he died for me. Now is the time for salvation and I can only receive him by faith, and rest my soul upon him as the sinners saviour.

“ Lord, I give myself to thee,

“ ’Tis all that I can do.”

The very moment you thus yield and give up, and submit to the grace of God by throwing down the weapons of your rebellion, relying your whole dependence on the mercy of God in the merits of the Redeemer for salvation, &c. that very moment the spirit which converts will give the testimony of pardon and reconciliation in the beloved: for the Spirit bears witness to truth: (Rev. iii. 20) and thou wilt feel a change within, whereby thou canst say, one thing I know, that whereas I was blind, I now see; or the thing I once hated I now love, and the thing I once loved I now hate; i. e. the things of the world, which I once placed my heart upon, I see how empty and vain they are, and religion, which I little esteemed, I prize to be of more value than all the world besides. Give me Christ or else I die.

“ Only Jesus will I know,

“ And Jesus crucified.”

(not in error) and many other proofs might be brought, but let *one* more suffice; and that is in *your own breast*. You feel

The word *HOPE*, implies a well grounded *expectation* of the enjoyment of something in future; therefore, it is more than a bare *wish*, *desire*, or *presumption*, that it will be so without any evidence, &c.

Supposing I was condemned to die for the horrid crime of murder, and there is no possibility of escape, one asks me, Lorenzo, do you expect to escape the gallows? I reply, I hope so. Now if there be no probability of escape, how could I hope? I would naturally despair, and if I *despaired* I could not *hope*, for hope and despair do not go hand in hand. So my hope would be but a wish or desire. So it is with some sinners who are more afraid of what will happen after death, than they are of death itself, and yet say they *hope* to go to Heaven when they die, and yet they know in their own hearts and feel that they are unprepared, &c.

I herefrom argue, that their *hope* is nothing but a *wish* or *desire*; for doubtless they would wish to escape misery, as self-preservation is said to be the first law of nature. But a wish or a desire (which all feel at times, &c.) will no more carry a person to Heaven without practice, than a desire to see my parents would carry me to New England.

Again, suppose a man possessing a plantation would neither plough nor plant, yet *expect* a crop in the fall, because God was able to make it grow in a day—this man's *hope* would be nothing but *presumption*—presuming on the power of God without any *evidence* that God would exert that power. Just so it is with some people; say they, I have not been so bad as many of my neighbors, and God is good, and Christ is good, and I hope to make out somehow when I die. Thus they conclude all is well without evidence, and deceive themselves. This presumptuous hope will do to live by, but will desert the *planter* in the fall, and thee in death.

Observe, the Christian *hopes* for happiness beyond this life, and his hope is something more than a bare wish or presumption that it will be so without evidence, but rather he is like the man who ploughs the ground, the crop springs up and begins to grow, there is a fine *probability* that he will have a crop in the fall, so the Christian has a *probability* of Heaven or future bliss, *arising* from a good *prospect*, for the spirit of Christ which reigns in Heaven hath *convicted* him, and given him a divine *evidence* relative to his present dangerous state, brought him to repentance, enabled him to yield obedience, and given him an *evidence* of *pardon*, so the burthen is gone, and the man feels a change wrought within him, and can tell you an experience of grace; so the *hope* is well grounded.

Again, the Christian viewing the goodness and mercy of God in redemption, and viewing a beauty in holiness, feels his heart drawn out in love to the Lord and to his ways, and can say in Bible language, "Lord thou knowest that I love thee; or we love God because he first loved us." And they obey him not so much out of a slavish fear of being damned, as out of a loving filial fear of offending. Again, they love the Lord's people according to the eleventh commandment, and

the witness and reproof sometimes for doing wrong ; now why may we not, on the principles of reason, admit the idea of a

can say with John, “ by this we know, that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.” The Christian loves the image of his master wherever he can see it, he loves their company and conversation, for their hearts run together in cords of love like two drops of water. And Christ has given us a method whereby the wicked may know whether we possess religion or not. *John* xiii. 34, 35. By this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.

Observe, you may take a piece of iron and wood, and you cannot weld them together, but two pieces of iron may be welded together—but if iron be welded around wood, the wood may shrink from it and get loose. So relative to religion—two Christians will unite like iron, but it is not every professor that is a real possessor. And the non-possessing professor, will not unite with the true professor, and if an appearance of unity is taking place, they will shrink from it like the wood from iron, which hath too frequently been the case in Christendom, to the no small injury of the cause of religion in the unbelieving world. But as far as holiness prevails, so far a union of spirit will take place. O may God carry on the revival of religion, now in the earth, and open a door for the promulgation of the gospel, and may laborers be raised up, such as will count not their lives dear to themselves so that they may finish their course with joy, and a nation to be born to God in a day, and the nations learn war no more !

Again, the spirit of Christ influenceth his followers to obey his commandments, which are, to *love your enemies*, to *bless them that curse you*, and *pray for them that despitefully use and persecute you*.

And that man who cannot pray for his enemies, but feels malice against them, hath got no religion, for the Christian being holy, abhors their evil conduct, yet loves their precious souls with a love of pity, *Matt. v. 44, &c.*

Again, he being *justified by faith*, he hath *peace* with God through Christ. The *spirit of peace* reigning within, he hath *peace of conscience* and becomes a *peace-maker* : and such are called the *children of God*, *Matt. v. 9*, and this influences him to live peaceably with all men, as much as the nature and circumstances of things will admit of. Likewise, this peace makes his soul like the ocean, while the surface is uneven by the tempestuous storms, the bottom of it is calm ; so the Christian possessing this peace within, while in the midst of outward difficulties, the centre of the soul is calmly stayed on God.

Again, there is *joy* in the Holy Ghost, which is sweeter than the honey from the honey comb, and will give refreshment to the *mind*, like corporeal bread refreshing the hungry body, to the *satisfaction* thereof. The things of this *world* can no more give contentment to the *mind* than a handful of sand can refresh the hunger of the body ; for the mind is *spirit* and its *happiness* must be *spiritual* and come from a *spiritual source*, of course from *God* ; consequently it must be found in revealed religion.

witness within likewise of doing right; also of pardon from God through Christ, and acceptance. And now I have as good

Therefore, we need the *influence* of the *Holy Spirit*, which I call *inspiration* or *revelation*, &c. which we all feel at times and seasons to *operate* upon our *minds*, causing good *desires* to *spring up within*, &c.

And by the help of this spirit, many have, and all may repent if they will, but *obey* it whilst the day of mercy lasts, as saith the maxim—

“While the lamp holds out to burn,

“The vilest sinner may return;

“But if you will not when you may,

“When you will you shall have nay.”

Temperance is Christian fruit—many to avoid one extreme, run into another on the other side. Temperance implies avoiding extremes, by striking the medium—I may talk too little and prevent my usefulness—I may talk too much and spoil my influence—Likewise, eat too little or too much, and injure my constitution—also, drink too little, or perhaps drink too much and get drunk; and become worse than a beast or a devil, for they do not get drunk; and in this one sin, I commit ever so many—first, I injure my body—secondly, I bring a scandal on myself—thirdly, I set a bad example before others—fourthly, I lay out my money for that which is worse than if thrown into the fire—fifthly, I break the command of God—sixthly, I quench the good Spirit—seventhly, I deprive myself of the power of reason—eighthly, I hereby am liable to injure or murder my friends, &c. &c.

Again, there is *meekness*, which implies *humility* or the *possessing* the *spirit* of our *station*, to *act* in that *sphere* of *life* which heaven hath *allotted* or *qualified* us *for*; not wishing to appear above what we really are, neither to sink ourselves below our proper dignity; whether among the great or small, willing to take up our daily cross and follow Christ through evil as well as through good report to joys on high. Christ saith, come and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart. *Matt. xi. 29.* But some people are proud and haughty, and think, *great I* and *LITTLE U.*

Another quality of this fruit, is *long suffering*; for if God had come out in strict justice, he would have cut us down while in our sins, as cumberers of the ground; but he bore with us and forebore to cut us off, that we might have a longer space to repent in.

So we should be God-like in this respect and never return evil for evil, but contrariwise, good for evil, and bear and forbear as much as what the nature and circumstances of the case will admit.

Again, *gentleness* is another quality of this fruit, as saith the Apostle, a servant must not strive, but be gentle; and let your moderation be known to all men, &c. Some people give reproof in anger, &c. to the no small injury of Christianity by prejudicing minds thereby against it, &c. But as God came to Adam in the cool of the day, and as soft words turn away wrath, I entreat those into whose hands this may fall never to take the harsher way when love will do the deed. For by reproof in anger, you make the opposite party angry; they

a right to dispute whether there were any such land as Canaan, as you have to dispute revealed religion; for if I credit it, it is by human information, and you have as strong proof about revealed religion. And such proof as this in

then will take you to be their enemy, and thereby their ears are cut off, and none but Christ can heal them; so your word will be as chaff before the wind.

But go in gentleness, in the Christian spirit with sound argument, and though they get angry at first, yet this way will tend to cool them down and convince their judgment, they see their error, feel conviction and for the sake of peace of mind, reform, &c. How much more probable is this way of success than the other?

Again, PATIENCE which implies bearing trials with an humble resignation to the will of God, believing that he will carry us through, &c. the greatest mercies when abused, become the greatest curses, as the offers of mercy when rejected is the cause of the sinners condemnation; whereas the greatest afflictions when sanctified are *mercies in disguise*; for instance, it is said that a man in the reign of Queen Mary, said every thing which happened to him would be for the best: he was to be burned as a heretic, on account of his religion, &c. and being made prisoner, on his journey he happened to fall down and break a limb. Said the guard, will this be for the best? He answered in the affirmative; and before he got able to continue his journey the Queen died, by which means his life was preserved—thus you see the truth of his words.

Whatever trials I bring upon myself by my misconduct, I may thank myself for. But whatever trials befall me when in the path of duty, such as I cannot avoid without getting out of duty's path—such I believe happen not by chance, nor come from the dust, but are God's mercies in disguise, as above.

We read that it is through much tribulation we are to enter into the kingdom of God. And those who have got through, came out of great tribulation, and all that will live godly in Christ shall *suffer* persecution, which implies that if he meets with no opposition, he hath not religion enough to make the Devil angry with him. Again, Christ saith, in the world you shall have tribulation, but in me you shall have peace; and Heb. xii. we read, what son is he whom the father chasteneth not. And though no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous but grievous, nevertheless, afterwards it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby; and we have *not* an high priest which *cannot* be touched with the feelings of our infirmities; but glory to God, he can; as saith the poet,

“He in the days of feeble flesh,

“Poured out strong cries and tears,

“And in his measure feels afresh,

“What every member bears.

“A smoking flax he will not quench,

“But raise it to a flame,

other affairs, in common courts of equity, would be allowed,
 and you cannot deny it.

"A bruised reed he will not break,
 "Nor scorn the meanest name."

Therefore,

"Ye fearful saints fresh courage take,
 "The clouds ye so much dread,
 "Are big with mercies and shall break
 "In blessings on your head."

Therefore,

"Ye conquering souls fight on,
 "And when the conquest you have won,
 "Palms of victory you shall bear,
 "And in Christ's kingdom have a share,
 "And crowns of glory ever wear,
 "In endless day."

Christ saith, Luke xxi. 19. In your patience possess ye your souls—O how much there is contained in this expression! And if we possess our souls in our patience, how ought we to exercise patience under trials and be resigned to the will of providence, who hath the disposal of all events, lest we prevent the sanctification of the affliction, and thereby lose a blessing and get a curse. James saith, you have heard of the patience of Job, and seen the end of the Lord, and exhorted his brethren to count it joy, when they fell into temptation or afflictions for a trial of their faith, which worketh patience, and patience experience, &c. which enlarges the capacity, so that we shall be more capable of enjoying God here and hereafter. Job's afflictions were great, yet remember God carried him through, and first, Job had a great experience, which otherwise he could not have had—second, he saw the salvation of God—third, his latter end was blessed twice as much as his beginning—fourth, his enemies were brought to bow to him; and this is left on record for the benefit of the after generations—and God in this our day, frequently sees it necessary to suffer his dear children to pass through trials and difficulties, to set them up as examples of patience for others to copy after, and to wean them from the world, and ripen them for the kingdom of everlasting glory—and those who put their trust in him, he deserteth not, but proportions their strength to their day, and gives them suffering grace in trying times. Yea, he is with them in six trials, and in the seventh forsakes them not, as saith the Apostle—he will not suffer you to be tempted above what you are able to bear—but will with

the temptation make a way for your escape. A storm denotes a calm; so do trials and afflictions denote good days, to those who put their trust in God, with prayer and resignation to his disposal.

When all things go well with me, like pleasant sailing, I conceive there is a storm somewhere gathering; I endeavor to lay out accordingly, and by so doing I am prepared for it when it comes, and if I be disappointed, I am disappointed on the right side. It is now upwards of ten years, that I have devoted my life as a travelling missionary, though not in the common way but rather like the fowls of the air, more dependent for my daily bread, have had no particular source to depend upon except divine providence, whom as yet I have never found to desert me—no not in my greatest discouragements; but hitherto he hath helped and raised me up friends in times of need; and now I am among kind friends; and though I expect trials are before me, previous to my dissolution yet he who hath been with me, I trust will still continue his mercy, and one day take me to rest above, where the wicked shall cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.

“Where all our toils are o’er,
“Our sufferings and our pain;
“Who meet on that eternal shore,
“Shall never part again.”

David saith, Psalm lxxxiv. 11, “no good thing will God withhold from them that walk uprightly,” therefore, if God withholds a thing from the *upright* in heart, it is not in judgment but in mercy, because he sees that the fruition of it would not be best for them in the long run. And Paul saith “all things shall work together for good to them that love God.” Therefore, let us lie passive in the hand of providence, at the disposal of his will, knowing that if we are active to enquire and do it according to the light and knowledge imparted, it being the delight of providence to do his needy creatures good—he will be well pleased with us in Christ and choose those things which shall be for our present and eternal good; for God is love and doth not willingly afflict the righteous or punish the wicked without a cause, for his tender care is over all his works. Therefore it is not good to be our own choosers, lest we pursue wrong things and be brought into difficulties and woe. But rather give thy heart to God, who will then become thy friend; for this purpose, watch much, pray much, and that in private. Give daily attention likewise to the scriptures, and follow the *inward convictions* of the *divine*

spirit, which leadeth from vice to virtue, and from the love of sin to the love of God, and from the things of earth to the things of heaven, &c. and live as you would wish to die, and be willing to give an account to the GREAT JUDGE of all the earth.
MAN PREPARE TO MEET THY GOD—may the Lord bless you, and bring us to glory—Amen.

ANALECTIC MISCELLANY.

Mr. *Asbury* observes in his Journal, page 230, "Is it strange to see a *Priest* conducting a persecution against the people of God? When did a persecution take place, in which men of that *character* had no hand? But although Satan may be permitted to transform himself into an "*Angel of Light*" for a season; yet he will not *always* have his own way in this matter"—which remarks are worthy of observation. For when those who have been persecuted, become in *power* themselves, they frequently persecute others who differ from them, out of a mistaken blind zeal—but not according to knowledge, nor the spirit of the gospel—and so injure the cause of religion. Yet God's hand may superintend and over-rule it for the circumfusion of his kingdom on earth—which many cases might be cited to exemplify.

Truth and innocency are the handmaids of the Lord; and without these, there can be no righteousness acceptable in the sight of God, who looketh at the *heart* and judgeth according to intentions!

Is it not a self-evident *truth*, that bigotry is not and cannot be the pure and holy religion of Jesus; whose benign influence writes the spirit of *love* on the hearts of all his followers?

To make proselytes to a *party* is one thing, but to make a Christian, disciplined by Jesus, may be another. To promote a party by prejudice and bigotry, filled with a spirit of bitterness and enmity, is not promoting the cause of God, nor truth, nor virtue; but must be considered, by every candid, well-informed mind, to be the fruits of the *serpent*, and the spirit of moral evil—to answer the carnal mind!—For little minds, when filled with darkness, are only capable of little things? But let all the disciples of the Lord, who love the cause of Jesus, receive *truth* in its simplicity; and acknowledge virtue and religion, wherever the grace of God may cause it to be seen and shine forth. Why? Because truth is truth—Good is good!! and bad is bad!! find them where you will, the world over!

But alas! alas! there are too many who will *persecute* others, and blacken up their characters, in order to destroy their reputa-

tion, and so break down their influence; and thus under the pretext of *zeal* to keep their own together, they fill them with prejudice against others; which *prejudice* serves as a "bulwark" and a barrier, to prevent any inundation—in doing which, many have shut out the "*true light*," and thereby blindfolded themselves, and so prevented a reformation, and consequently led to utter ruin!

The mode of forming "articles of faith" had its origin less than three hundred years ago; and involves the idea, that man is only born to *believe*, without any *reason* why or wherefore. Thus he, like a blockhead, must be a stoic or as a machine which is but a cypher in the *actions* of life—"Passive obedience and non-resistance"—and not pretend to call any thing in question which others pretend to preach, but receive the whole for truth: like young birds, eat every thing put into the mouth—hit or miss—right or wrong—*amen* to it! down with it for the most sacred and divine truth—and to doubt and call it in question, is a crime of blasphemy!!! But GOD saith, "Come and let us REASON TOGETHER"—WORSHIP—and SING with the SPIRIT and with the UNDERSTANDING also! The Spirit of Truth gathereth, but the spirit of the wicked one scattereth! "Where two or three are met together in the name of Jesus, he is with and present to bless them with his presence"—"and those who feared his name, spake often one to another." The Lord hearkened and heard it, and they shall be *mine* in the day that I make up my jewels, is the Lord's encouragement to his followers!

In the early days of my *itinerancy*, such was my regard for, and confidence in the Methodist connection, that I was willing to pass through any inconvenience, to keep in their good graces—and also sacrifice all I could to merit their esteem; in order to have access to the people through their medium, and thereby extend my usefulness to mankind!

Hence among the many hundred dollars offered me, which I declined to accept, were many instances to avoid the very *appearance* of hurting the preacher's *salaries*, &c. though without a cent in my pocket.

The profits of my *books*, published before I went to Europe, 1805, were applied to meeting houses and other charitable purposes; and however judged by others, it was well meant by me then, though when I sailed for a strange land, I had but about ten dollars to calculate upon!

But those things which were meant well by me, were, through jealousy and prejudice construed differently by others.

The terms *Bishop* and *Elder*, in scripture, are the same *grade*, and mean the same thing as *Presbyter*.—There were both *travel-*

ling and *local* Elders in the time of the Apostles. Peter was an Elder only—not an “*Arch-Bishop*.” 1. Pet. v. i.

DEACONS were an order of men to attend to the *money* matters of the Church; *chosen*, not by the Apostles, but by the PEOPLE, to fill that office. Acts. vi.

Whoever looks over the *Political* mode of government among the Roman Emperors, and compares the Pontificate mode *Ecclesiastically*, will perceive the great resemblance between them; as if the latter was deduced from, and built upon the former.—And moreover, it does not require the wisdom of a Solomon, nor to split a hair, to perceive that “MONARCHY,” “POPERY,” “SLAVERY,” and “EPISCOPACY” are all bottomed on the *same* “PRINCIPLE,” in their several degrees; though their MODE may be *different*.

The term “*Elders*” existed in the early ages of the world; probably referring to elderly or old, experienced, or wise men—hence in the days of the Patriarchish government, we read of the “Elders of their city”—the “Elders of Israel,” &c. like the *Sages* of the *East*; and the reference of the young to the *old men* among the *Natives* of America.

There was free debate in the Church at Jerusalem, in questions of importance where all were concerned. The affairs of the Church were done on the “*LORD’S day*, or the first day of the week, on which He rose. 1. Cor. xvi. 2. Acts xx. 7. Whoever attends to the *Passover* and the *Sacrament*, will perceive that they were attended to in a SOCIAL FAMILY WAY at *evening*.

The *Priests* in order to gain the ascendancy over mankind, as a superior order of beings—have assumed the prerogative of giving it to some, and denying it to others; as if they would say, “stand off, I am more holy than thou!” and had a right to anathematize whom they pleased—with “bell book and candle light.”

It is not three hundred years, since they would allow the *Lay-folks* to drink the Wine at all; but the Priest would drink it for them, and so *impute* it to them, &c. Most of the *Clergy* Dissenters, so called, have adopted the mode of distributing it; But Jesus said, “take *divide* it among yourselves.” And in the Church at *Corinth*, it appears that only *this* mode did exist, but they abused it—which gave rise to such a mode of expression in Paul’s reproof.—Compare Luke xxii. 17. John xiii. 23, 28. with Exodus xii. and 1 Cor. xi.

Hence I infer, if several persons are together in the evening, who have love, confidence, and fellowship with each other, and the bread and wine be set, and each partakes as he feels freedom

—he voluntarily shows forth his *faith* in the Death of the Lord Jesus, &c., and who can deny but what it is as acceptable in the sight of God as any way it can be done? Who in tender conscience can *say* or *prove* it to be wrong? This mode would tend to do away bigotry, and create a spirit of Love and forbearance among the followers of Jesus of the different Denominations—for bigotry is not religion!

The following summary is an exhibition by a learned JEW, and elucidates a view of the ISRAELITES prospectively.

“WE learn from Daniel, that great events in the Religious and Political World are about to take place, in or about the year 1833.—*Tarshish* (Great Britain) will obtain possession or command of *Palestine*; and under whose protection the Israelites will commence the return of their captivity; and it appears, also, that *Sheba* and *Dedan*, certain tribes or nations, dwellers on the sea coast of *Arabia*, will form an *alliance* with ‘*Tarshish*,’ or her East India Company, designated the ‘*Merchants of Tarshish*,’ during the ensuing forty-five years. We find that *Russia* (according to Ezekiel, chap. 38 and 39) will conquer or form alliances with *Persia*, *Ethiopia*, *Lybia*, (*BARBARY*,) *Gomer* and all his bands, (*Gomer* was the father of the *Germans*, French and northern Italians,) and *Togarmah* of the North Quarters, (*Togarmah* was the father of the Tartars and Turcomans,) and not being able to do any thing against Great Britain, by sea, will bring up all the nations of the civilized earth under her control, against Great Britain and her allies; and we are led to believe that the young Lions of *Tarshish*, mentioned in the 13th verse of the 38th chapter, designate the *United States*, because she is clearly pointed out in the xviii. chap. of *Isaiah*, as hastening to the assistance of the distressed Israelites in *Palestine*, where the whole Russian forces are forcing their way by conquest, probably on their route to the East Indies. We have no doubt of this great conqueror *Gog*, being the Emperor of *Russia*, from his being designated in the *Hebrew* text, Prince of *Rush*, (*Russia*,) *Mesheck*, (*Muscovy*,) and *Tubal*, (*Tobolski*,) not as it is translated in our English Bibles, ‘Chief Prince of *Mesheck* and *Tubal*.’ And it appears, from numerous prophecies in the Scriptures, that he will there receive a total overthrow; that Providence will assist the Jews, and their allies, as it is written in Daniel. ‘The stone which was cut out without hands, smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.’ The effect of this battle, and the wonders which will be heard and seen at this time, will cause the entire destruction of Priestcraft, Bigotry, and Superstition in the Religious World; and the downfall of despotism, Monarchy and Aristocracy in the Political World; and as we have every reason to believe, in 1833, the Messiah of the Jews, of the seed of David, will be born, and that the great battle of *Gog* and *Magog*

will take place in 1857, and be immediately followed by the appearance of the Messiah, and his government to be fully established. The resurrection of the dead—the temple rebuilt—the complete restoration of the House of Israel, by the means of the vessels or machines of Tarshish, (Isa.) '*flying like doves to the windows, bringing home my people from afar, even from the ends of the earth,*' and '*the sanctuary be cleansed,*' (or justified,) in the year 1878, being the completion of the 2,300 years prophesied by Daniel, from taking away the daily sacrifice by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon." J. J.

Note.—Compare the foregoing with the following extract from the *Life of Wesley*, page 237.

September 1, 1781, he says, "I made an end of reading that curious book, Dr. Parsons' *Remains of Japhet*. The very ingenious author has struck much light into some of the darkest parts of ancient history. And although I cannot subscribe to every proposition which he advances, yet I apprehend, he has sufficiently proved the main of his hypothesis; namely, 1. That after the flood, Shem and his descendants, peopled the greatest part of Asia. 2. Ham and his descendants peopled Africa. 3. That Europe was peopled by the two sons of Japhet, Gomer and Magog; the southern and southwestern, by Gomer and his children; and the north and northwestern, by the children of Magog. 4. That the former was called Gomerians, Cimmerians, and Cimbrians; and afterwards, Celtæ, Galatæ, and Gauls; the latter were called by the general name of Scythians, Scuti, and Scots. 5. That the Gomerians spread swiftly through the north of Europe, as far as the Cimbrian Chersonesus, including Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and divers other countries, and then into Ireland, where they multiplied very early into a considerable nation. 6. That some ages after, another part of them, who had first settled in Spain, sailed to Ireland under Milea, or Melesius, and conquering the first inhabitants, took possession of the land. 7. That about the same time the Gomerians came to Ireland, the Magogians, or Scythians, came to Britain: so early, that both spake the same language, and well understood each other. 8. That the Irish spoken by the Gomerians, and the Welsh, spoken by the Magogians, are one and the same language, expressed by the same seventeen letters, which were long after brought by a Gomerian prince into Greece. 9. That all the languages of Europe, Greek and Latin in particular, are derived from this. 10. That the antediluvian language spoken by all till after the flood, and then continued in the family of Shem, was Hebrew; and from this (the Hebrew) tongue, many of the eastern languages are derived. The foregoing particulars this fine writer has made highly probable. And these may be admitted, though we do not agree to his vehement panegyric, on the Irish language; much less receive all the stories told by the Irish poets, or chroniclers, as genuine authentic history."

Solomon had two *fleets* of ships; one in the Red Sea, that went to Ophir for gold, which took three years to accomplish, and by some is supposed to refer to America, as being known to the ancients.

The other fleet was in the Mediterranean Sea, and there are eastern characters or hieroglyphics now to be seen in the tin mines of Cornwall, in England; and hence seem to have been visited by those from the East, in that day.

The division of the Holy Land, after Gog and Magog, by Ezekiel, and the *house*, as described by him, and the book of Revelation, is worthy of remark.

1. For the division is different from that mentioned in Joshua.
2. The battle of Gog and Magog is not the same Gog and Magog as in Rev. but corresponds with the battle of Armageddon.
3. The *house* of Ezekiel with—after the second beast slays the two witnesses, and Rev. 7000 slain, 63,000 are converted.
4. Great Babylon came in remembrance before God; the *CITIES* of the *nations* fall! What treachery, struggles, revolutions and changes may be near at hand in the earth, particularly the ancient Scripture World: the *seventh phial*.

The Dr. in Divinity said at New York—It will be as much impossible to stop the progress of the Bible, Missionary, and Tract societies, as for a little fish to stop a big steamboat. A few days after, one *shad* was sucked up into the *pump*, so as to stop the largest steamboat on the river.

God generally brings about things in a very different way from the calculations of men!

The Hebrews have been a people of Providence from the call of Abraham to the present time.

From America to India they are a brotherhood, scattered in all quarters, and in the employ of almost all ranks of people, from the farm and kitchen to the minister of state and the throne. Hence, probably, there is no one set of people on the earth, who have such a fund of political knowledge and common information, as the Jews, in social matters, and the present state of the world.

Having access to all countries, and understanding all living languages, at the second coming of Christ, when thus convinced, what irresistible evidence to the understanding and judgment of the Pagan, Mahometan, and formal Christians, "IT IS GOD!"—and how soon the gospel in its purity, spirit, and power, could be circulated to all and to each in their own language, to meet the witnesses in the *heart*.

The idea of the second coming of Christ, by John Wesley and John Fletcher, which they think will be at the commencement of that day, called the Millennium by some, that HE will bring his saints with him—RESURRECTION of some of the dead—after the battle of Armageddon mentioned in Rev. And reign upon the earth a prophetic thousand years, 360,000; but if apostolic, 360,000,000 of common years—the *promise*, 'showing mercy unto *thousands of generations*,' could then be fulfilled.

There is great analogy betwixt the reflections of the *Jew* and *Wesley* and *Fletcher*. See Wesley's notes, and Fletcher's ideas, in the *Arminian Magazine*, two letters on the same subject.

The steam boats by sea, and swift footed beasts and dromedaries by land, to help carry on the return of the Jews.

Not 'woe,' but 'ho!' an exclamation!—not 'bull rushes,' but time and reflection will explain a learned 'critical meaning.' The country 'beyond' the rivers of 'Ethiopia'—(which must, when the prophet would be speaking at Canaan) refer *west* to the continent of America,—north and south '*wings*.'

On the night of July 17th, 1830, Cosmopolite dreamed that a "Society of Enquiry" convened, and investigated the question "Of what benefit to Society are Priests and Kings?" The result and conclusion was, that they were of no use, in the manner in which they had governed the world: therefore, after a certain *data*, would LAY THEM ASIDE, as of no account.

Upon this the waters arose amain, very muddy; built a raft; pulled by the bushes; came to a deep *Lake* of clear water, very rough, for the wind was ahead. "Stay in the eddy until the wind falls, then in the calm put forth all the strength *we* have, and may gain the high dry lands in sight on the other side." Then I awoke, and ruminated in strange feelings.

Inquired of *Judge Burke*, after relating it to him, for an interpretation.

Just then a man came in with a writing, containing the following statements. On hearing it read, the Judge observed, "*your dream is now interpreted.*"

"The Jews assert, that according to their chronology, the temple of Solomon was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, 422 years before Christ; and the angel told Daniel, that from the time of daily sacrifice being taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, should be 2300 days; when the sanctuary should be cleansed, and everlasting righteousness brought in. Now, if we count 2300 years from the 422d year before Christ, it will bring us to the year 1878, when this great period of Daniel will have its accomplishment. The other periods of Daniel, viz. time, times, and half a time, or 1260 years, time, times and the dividing of a time, or 1215 years. The 1290, and 1335, are periods of events to have their accomplishment within the great period of 2300, the last of which, with the 1260, to terminate with the 2300; and thus they form a *data*, from which we can go back from 1878, to look for events. Hence, if we deduct 1335 from 1878, it will carry us back to the year A. D. 543, at which time idolatry was established in the Christian church, and the image worship set up by the pope, and supported, and protected, by his authority; and if we deduct 45 days from 1878, it being the difference between 1335 and 1290 days, it will bring us to 1833, as the period of the accomplishment of the 1290 days, when the power of idolatry shall be broken. And if we deduct 1260 from 1878, it will carry us back to the year A. D. 618, the period of the rise of Mahomet and his empire, who was to cast down the truth to the ground, and to practise and prosper for a time, times, and the dividing of a time, which the Jews understand to be 1215 years, and will have its accomplishment in 1833, 'when he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.' From this *data* the 45 years war between truth and error will commence in 1833. In which war all that stands opposed to truth and righteousness shall be overthrown. Civil and religious tyranny, kings and priests, shall be broken to pieces, by the "stone cut out of the mountain without hands," and civil and religious liberty established throughout the world, and the Divine government be established, under which the *saints* of the *Most High* shall take the kingdom, and possess it FOR EVER."

ANALECTS
UPON
NATURAL, SOCIAL, AND MORAL
PHILOSOPHY.

NINTH EDITION.

GENERAL WASHINGTON, in comparing those days of ignorance, when people tamely submitted to the galling yoke of Tyranny and priest-craft with modern times, when men take the liberty to suspect the propriety of the creed of "*passive obedience and non-resistance*," dropped the following reflection.—"But this seems to be the age of wonders: and it is reserved for intoxicated and lawless France, *for Purposes of Providence far beyond the reach of human ken*, to slaughter her own citizens, and disturb the repose of all the world besides."

When we reflect on past occurrences, on the awful revolutions of the present day, and those big events now probably at the door, any person who thinks for himself, and is not callous to all important things, must feel a degree of interest.

It is a self-evident matter of fact, that there has been, and there still is, a great deal of deceit, oppression, and consequent misery in the world.

It is equally certain, that there is such a thing in the world as "*natural evil*." And Natural evil must be the effect or consequence of "*moral evil*,"* otherwise all our ideas of *goodness* and *justice* are chimerical. It therefore may be taken for granted, and our own experience and observations will justify the conclusion, that all things are not right in the present condition of the human family. To be a little more particular, I will for a moment consider man in an individual, social and moral capacity.

First, *Individually*—One seeks to take care of himself only, as charity is said to begin at home. And as long as self is served,

* Gen. iii. 17.

Rom. v. 12.

he may make pretensions to friendship, but when interest ceases, the case is altered.

Again, one is a poor outcast, perishing in the streets, while another is revelling, having more than heart could wish, but because of the trouble will not give the stranger an asylum, or afford him wherewithal to allay his hunger, not expecting a reward. One is in trouble, another is merry at his distress. One commands, because it is his pleasure, and another must obey, however hard and imperious the command. One claims the country for his own, and all the others must pay *him* for the privilege to live in it, or else suffer banishment. One hath thousands, gained by the labor of others, while another hath not the assurance of a day's provision, nor money to procure the coarsest raiment, much less the promise of a friend in the day of adversity.

Secondly. *Socially.* There is a body of men called *Gentlemen or Nobility*. There is another grade, called *Peasants*.—The first will possess the country, and feel and act more than their own importance; while the latter are put on a level with the animals, and treated as an inferior race of beings, who must pay to these Lords a kind of divine honor, and bow, and cringe, and scrape.

The will of one must be the *Law*, and it must be the pleasure of the other to obey. And it is the policy and interest of the former, to keep the latter in subjection and ignorance. For if they were permitted to think, and judge, and act for themselves, they would overthrow their rulers.

Here the question will arise, how such *differences* came to exist among men? Another question also arises—can the *motives* of men who thus conduct themselves in the world, be “*just and good?*”

A third question also arises—If men be actuated by motives in their objects and ends: and in particular, in their actions and dealings with their fellow men, who can doubt whether there be such a thing as “*Moral Evil*” in the world? Every purpose must be *weighed* and willed in the heart, before it is acted out. Of course, to take from another his substance without his consent, or giving him an equivalent, is contrary to every *rule of equity*.

Thirdly. *Morally.* Some people invade the Divine rights by prescribing “*articles of faith*,” and *binding* the *conscience* of man in all things of *Religion*, under the most severe penalties that human ingenuity could invent.

When we reflect, therefore, upon the actions of men, taken as they stand in relation to one another, we are led to *inquire* how they may comport *first*, with our “*personal rights*”—*secondly*,

with our "*social rights*,"—and *thirdly*, with our "*moral rights*," as established on the "*law of nature*."

OF THE LAW OF NATURE.

I here would observe, that all our *rights*, whether Personal, Social, or Moral, are the GRACES of the Governor of the Universe, and established by him primarily in the great and universal "LAW OF NATURE."

It is a self-evident truth, that all men are born *equal* and *independent*; and as individuals, are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights—among which are Life, Liberty, the use of property, the pursuit of happiness, with the privilege of *private judgment*.

These principles being admitted, it will follow, that as the *wants* or necessities of mankind and their *duties* are *equal*, so their rights and obligations are equal also. Hence our Rights, Duties, and Obligations are the same in each and in all.

The "*Rights of man*," when applied to an *individual*, are called "*Personal Rights*;" considered as he stands in relation to his "*Fellow Creatures*," they are called "*Social Rights*;" and considered as he stands in relation to his CREATOR, they are called "MORAL RIGHTS."

OF PERSONAL RIGHTS.

Personal Rights, are those benefits or privileges which appertain to man in *right* or by virtue of his *existence*. Of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind; and also all those rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happiness, which are not injurious to the natural or personal rights of others—of course the rights of the mind, Religious Liberty, Freedom and Independence cannot be taken from a man *justly*, but by his own consent. Except only when taken by the laws of the Creator, who gave them; or when forfeited to Society by some misdemeanor.

The human family, which is divided into Nations, is composed of individuals. And as a whole is composed of parts, and the parts collectively form one whole—of course in their individual capacity, they are *naturally free* and *independent*; and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights and privileges, such as life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, and the right of private judgment in moral duty, &c. They are *equal* and *independent* in their *individual capacity*. This is called the "LAW OF NATURE," established primarily by the Governor of the Universe—of course *differences* and *distinctions* are rather the result of ART in which the order of things is inverted; and by which mankind are deprived of their personal and *just rights*, than of

any natural modification of things. And hence the '*nick names*,' or unmeaning and empty *titles* in the *old world*.

Such distinctions arise, therefore, from a *self-created* authority, or an usurped authority, which of course must be considered as an unjust tyranny. For any thing given by the GOD of *nature* only, can be remanded by none but him alone; consequently for one to take it from another, without his consent, or without giving an equivalent, is to deprive him of his personal rights, and must be an infringement upon *natural justice*.

All men may be considered thus equally free, and independent in their *individual capacity*: but when taken in a *social capacity*, they are certainly *dependent* on each other. And none more so than those who consider themselves the most independent. Because the Governor of the Universe hath determined, as we see in the *order of nature*, that health and laziness cannot dwell together; so man must not be a *Stoic* nor a machine, but an active being. Therefore the '*laws of nature*' are fixed; that self-interest shall be a stimulus, or moving spring to action.—Hence there are some things which man cannot do or subsist without; as food, water, &c. &c. consequently self-preservation is called the '*first law of nature*' in point of *duty*.

But there are some, yea, many things which, we cannot perform ourselves; we are of course dependent on others for their assistance and help; such is the case in different operations of mechanism, agriculture and commerce. Each of these is mutually connected, and dependent on each other. Therefore if I derive advantage from others, why should not others derive some benefit from me in return? This is *equal* and *right*; of course it is *just* and *proper*. If therefore, I withhold that advantage, which I *could* bestow on society, it is an infringement upon *natural justice*. Of course we must account to the Author of Nature, for the neglect or abuse of those natural, or personal and social privileges, bestowed by him, and enjoyed by us.

OF SOCIAL RIGHTS.

As a whole is composed of parts, and the parts collectively form one whole, so to judge correctly of social principles we must view them as they apply naturally, individually, collectively, and prospectively.

As our '*personal rights*' are the same, so are our obligations the same. And hence our rights and obligations are naturally, and necessarily *reciprocal*.

To derive the benefit of society collectively and individually, there is need for *general Rules*, for the regulation of the whole. And how shall general rules be formed, but by general consent? It is therefore our true interest as individuals, to be involved and

connected with such regulations, as may be formed for the benefit and safety of our '*personal rights*,' and such as *prudence dictates*, as necessary to guarantee them from usurpation.

Our personal rights, privileges, and obligations, being *equal*, we have each, as an individual, right to claim a voice in the formation of those general rules—and *personal duty* arising from the '*law of nature*' calls upon us collectively, to act our part as individuals—and there would be an infringement upon *natural justice*, to neglect the right of *suffrage*.

"SOCIAL RIGHTS" are those which appertain to man, in right of his being a '*member of society*.' Every '*social right*,' has for its foundation some '*personal right*' pre-existing in the individual; arising from the '*law of nature*'—but to the enjoyment of which his *individual power* is not, in all cases, sufficiently competent. Of this kind are all those which relate to security and protection.

From this short review, it will be easy to distinguish, between that class of '*Personal rights*' which a man *retains* after entering into society, and those which he throws into the common stock as a member of society.

The '*Personal rights*' which he *retains*, are all those in which the *power* to execute, is as perfect in the individual, as the right itself.—Among this class, as is before mentioned, are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind; consequently religion, and the privilege of private judgment, are some of those rights.

The '*Personal Rights*,' which are not retained, are all those in which, though the right is perfect in the individual, the *power* to execute them is *defective*. They answer not this purpose. A man by the '*law of nature*' has a '*personal right*' to judge in his own cause; and as far as the right of the mind is concerned, he never surrenders it: But what availeth it him to judge, if he has not the *power* to redress? He therefore deposits this right in the common stock of society, and takes the arm of society, of which he is a part, in preference, and in addition to his own.

Society grants him nothing. Every man is a proprietor in society, and draws on the capital as a matter of right.

From these premises, a few certain conclusions will follow.

First. That every '*social right*' *grows out of* a '*personal right*;' and is founded on the '*Law of Nature*,' or, in other words, it is a '*personal right*' *exchanged* agreeable to *natural justice*.

Secondly. That *Civil power*, which is derived from *society*, when applied to the body, is called *political*, but when applied individually is called *civil authority*. This *power* when properly considered as '*legal authority*,' is made up of the aggregate of that class of the personal rights of man, which becomes *defective* in the individual, in point of *power*, and answers not his pur-

pose; but when collected to a *focus*, becomes competent to the purpose of *every one*.

Thirdly. That the power produced from the aggregate of personal rights, imperfect in power in the individual, *cannot* be applied to invade the 'personal rights,' which are *retained* in the individual, and in which the power to execute is as perfect as the right itself without intruding on *natural justice*; seeing the rights are *personal* only and can concern no *body* else.

Thus have we seen, man traced as a natural individual, to a member of society; and observed the qualities of the 'personal rights' *retained*, and *those* which are *exchanged* for 'social rights.'

Those principles, when digested and properly applied, show the *origin* and foundation of the only true and proper fountain of *government*, which is, properly speaking, the "PERSONAL SOCIAL COMPACT." Because mankind in their individual capacity, are equally free and independent; by the '*law of nature*,' as established by its *AUTHOR*. Therefore the *facts* must be, that the individuals themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a compact, (not with a government, but) with each other, to produce a government. And this is the only mode, in which governments have a right to arise, and the only *principles* on which they ought to exist; or possibly *can* exist agreeably to *natural justice*.

It is a self-evident *fact*, that the *PEOPLE* are the original and only true and proper source from whom a government can be deduced, and spring into existence, on just and equitable principles, agreeable to the '*law of nature*,' because the people existed before any government came to exist. Of course *society*, on social principles, have a right to three things.

First. To form their own government.

Secondly. To choose their own *rulers*.

And thirdly. To cashier *them* for misconduct.

Hence it follows, first, that the authority of *rulers* is only *delegated* authority. Secondly, that *they* are accountable to the *fountain* from whom they derived it.—And thirdly, that they are not to serve themselves, but *society*, whose *servants they are*, and by whom they are *employed* and paid for their *services*.

OF MORAL RIGHTS.

'Moral rights' are the personal privilege to think, and judge, and act for one's self in point of moral duty. This is the more plain and clear, as no one is concerned but God the judge, and the individual man, as a responsible agent.

For what right hath any one to meddle with that which does not concern him?

Moral Duties are the result of 'Moral Law,' which is the Divine prerogative alone; and man hath no right to invade the moral duty of another—for this is the right of the Divine Government. No man, therefore, nor set of men, have a right to infringe upon or bind the *conscience* of another. Man therefore, as a rational creature, must be convinced before he can be converted, in order to act consistently, as an agent accountable to the Supreme Governor of the Universe. Consequently, submission of *will* to a compulsory power, in matters of religion, in repugnance to the dictates of tender conscience, is nothing but an empty show, a piece of hypocrisy, without any mixture of moral goodness or genuine virtue.

All Natural Religious *Establishments*, or 'Churches established by *Law*,' have been a curse to mankind, and a pest to society. Vice and corruption in religion are encouraged and upheld, and virtue lies deprest. If a man from a principle of duty would support religion voluntarily, by being compelled to do it, he is prevented the opportunity of showing the virtue of his heart, and the influence of his example is lost. If his Religion be different from that 'established by law,' his conscience is bound and he is prevented from supporting his own religion by taking away from him that which he would give to his own Minister for the support of those in whom he does not *believe*. LAW-RELIGION, will cause people to be Hypocrites, but cannot cure them of error. A man must be convinced in his judgment, by evidence to his understanding, before he is converted in his heart. Of course, to form articles of faith, for people to subscribe under severe penalties is not founded upon common sense, nor on equitable principles. For to suppose people capable of believing without reason or evidence, is contrary to the 'Law of Nature,' and repugnant to natural justice, in as much as all men are free and independent, in their individual capacity, and of course their rights and privileges are equal; to think and to judge, and also to act for themselves, in point of Moral Duty, and in all matters of opinion in Religion.

Suppose that one man believes in one God, another believes in ten, what is that to the first? 'It neither picks his pocket nor breaks his leg,' of course why should he Persecute him? Persecution is contrary to Natural Justice, in as much as it assumes a power which no mortal can claim, it being the Divine right only to judge in such cases. But nevertheless, moral duty from pity, and a concern for his welfare, may excite a man to strive to convince another for his good, to shun the *error* and find the *happy road*.

Universal right of Conscience, is given by the Author of Nature, who is the Moral Governor of the Human Family. And

such liberty of conscience ought to be ESTABLISHED IN EVERY LAND.

Intolerance assumes to itself the *right* of withholding liberty of conscience. 'Toleration' assumes the right of granting it. Both are despotisms in their nature. Man worships not himself but his Maker; and liberty of conscience which he claims, is not for the service of himself but of his God. In this case, therefore, we must necessarily, have the associated ideas of two beings; the mortal who renders the worship, and the Immortal Being who is worshipped.

'Toleration,' therefore, places itself not between man and man, nor between church and church, nor between one denomination of religion and another, but between *God* and *Man*: between the *being* who worships, and the *BEING* who is worshipped; and by the same act of assumed authority, by which it 'tolerates,' man to pay his worship, it presumptuously and blasphemously sets itself up, to 'tolerate' the Almighty to receive it.

Suppose a bill was brought into any Legislature, entitled an 'Act to tolerate or grant liberty to the Almighty, to receive the worship of a Jew or a Turk,' or 'to prohibit the Almighty to receive it,' all men would startle and call it blasphemy. There would be an uproar. The presumption of 'toleration' in religious matters would then present itself unmasked. But the presumption is not the less, because the name of 'Man' only appears to those laws; for the associated ideas of the worshipper and the worshipped cannot be separated. Well may one exclaim—'Who then art thou vain dust and ashes—by whatever name thou art called, whether an Emperor or a King, a *Bishop* or a State, or any thing else, that obtrudes thine insignificance, between the soul of MAN and its MAKER? Mind thine own concerns. If he believes not as thou believest, it is a proof that thou believest not as he believeth, and there is *no earthly* power can determine between you.'

With respect to what are called Denominations of Religion, if every one is left to judge of his own religion, there is not such a thing as a Religion that is *wrong*. But if they are to judge of each others Religion, there is no such a thing as a Religion that is *right*, and therefore all the world is right or all the world is wrong. But with respect to Religion itself, without any regard to names, and as directed from the Universal Family of mankind to the Divine object of all adoration—it is *Man bringing to his MAKER the fruits of his heart*, and the grateful tribute of every one is accepted. "Like as a Father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." HE looketh at the heart, and judgeth according to intentions, 'of a truth is no respecter of persons, but in every nation, he that *feareth* God and worketh right-

eousness, is accepted with him.' It is required of a man according to what is given him, whether 'one, two, or five talents,' 'and he that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes'—for 'where there is no law, there is no transgression'—'sin is the transgression of the law.' Man is under a Moral Law—the Law of the Mind, of *right and wrong*. There is a *moral duty*—and a *moral obligation* on the man to perform that duty. If he does not perform it he falls under condemnation; which he is conscious of, for not acting as well as he knew how:—hence the propriety of the words, 'This is the condemnation, that light has come into the world, and men *love* darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.' Man is a rational agent, actuated by motives; his actions are deliberate, and his motives of two kinds, *Good* and *Evil*—One is called 'moral good,' the good principle existing in the mind—the other is called 'moral evil,' because the spirit of the mind is bad, and the intention of the mind is to do wrong, which motive is not right, not agreeable to natural justice and moral obligation. Because as all men have equal rights and wants, so their duties and obligations are equal in their social capacity, as established in the 'Law of Nature,' by the Creator and Governor of the World; of course there is need for a definite rule by which to measure our duties towards each other; because if our rights and obligations are the same and equal, then we are to expect no more than we can justly claim, or would be willing to bestow, agreeable to that which is just and equal, and hence the *command* which is agreeable to the 'Law of Nature,'—'Love thy neighbor as thyself,' which is always agreeable to the 'Moral Law,' and corresponds with the rule, 'as ye would that others should do to you, do you even so to them—for this is the LAW and the PROPHETS'—or what the Law of Moses and the Prophets and Jesus Christ taught, which ought therefore to be the leading principle of every heart, and the rule of the spirit and conduct of every one in practice, in our actions and dealings with mankind in all things whatever.

Here the 'Moral Law' and the 'Law of Nature' and the 'Rule of Practice,' all correspond and harmonize together, in securing the 'social rights, obligations and duties of man which have the Almighty for their Author; to whom man is accountable.' Of course man ought to be actuated by *noble Principles*, conforming himself accordingly—seeing his eternity depends upon it.

But to deprive man of the right to think and judge, and act for himself, in point of Moral duty, is an infringement on the Creator's government, as well as on Natural Justice, and contrary to every rule of Right, and is attended with complicated misery to the human family. It creates broils, animosities and contentions in society; and raises a domineering spirit in one, and a spirit of resentment and resistance in another; and thus more

blood hath been shed in consequence of such a line of prescription and practice, than from all other sources put together. And hath been attended with more apparent cruelty and misery to mankind, than all other things whatsoever.—Therefore, such national Establishments of Religion, are well styled the *Whore of Babylon*, or the '*Mother of Harlots, and the abominations of the Earth.*' The MOTHER, must be the old 'W****,' and if she be a '*Mother,*' who can her *daughters* be, but the *corrupt, established* Protestant Churches, which came out of her, and have not forgot to tread in her steps of persecution, towards those who differ from them in opinion? And hence they are said to be '*drunk with the blood of the Saints and Martyrs,*' which GOD, as a Just Governor, will cause to be visited on them in their turn: that the Earth may revert to its original and proper OWNER, and the inhabitants know that HIS *Kingdom is over all.*

OF GOVERNMENTS.

From what authority, shall one person or body of men, have power and exercise a command over others?

It must be obtained in one of these three ways. 1st. It must be the *gift* of the Creator and governor of the Universe—or 2dly, it must be delegated by the people—or else 3dly, must be *self created or usurped.**

OF DIVINE DELEGATION.

First. With regard to *that* AUTHORITY, which is said to be the *gift* of the Creator, and derived from the Governor of the Universe as his *delegated power.* It hath not for its foundation or support, either *Scripture* or *Common Sense.*

Before any conclusion can be admitted, certain facts, or first principles, or data must be established or admitted for its confirmation.

The error of those who reason by precedents drawn from antiquity, respecting the *Rights of Man*, is, that they do not go far enough into antiquity. They do not go the whole way. They stop in some of the intermediate stages, of a hundred or a thousand years, and produce what was then done, as their precedent. This is no authority at all. If we travel still further into antiquity, we shall find a direct contrary opinion and practice prevailing. And if antiquity is to be authority, a thousand such authorities may be produced, successively contradicting each other. But if we proceed on, we shall at last come out right—we shall come to the time, when man came from the hands of his Maker.

* By the Creator's '*Law of Nature,*' is Man a *Cosmopolite* or the *Local property* of another!

What was he then? 'MAN!' Man was his high and only title, and a higher cannot be given him.

We have now gone back to the origin of man and to the origin of his *rights*. As to the manner in which the world has been governed from that day to this, it is no farther any concern of ours, than to help us to make a proper use of former errors, and suitable improvements upon ancient history. Those who lived an hundred or a thousand years ago, were then *moderns* as we are now. They had their ancients, and those ancients had others, and we shall be ancients in our turn. If the mere name of antiquity is to govern in the affairs of life, the people who are to live an hundred or a thousand years hence, will be as much bound to take us for a precedent, as we are to take as a precedent those who lived an hundred or a thousand years ago.

The fact is, that an appeal to antiquity, may prove any thing, and establish nothing. It is authority against authority, still ascending till we come to the *Divine* origin of the Rights of Man *at the Creation*. Here our inquiries find a resting place, and reason finds a home. If a dispute about the Rights of Man had arisen at the distance of an hundred years from the Creation, to this source of authority they must have referred—and to the same source of authority, we must now refer.

The genealogy of Christ is traced to Adam.—Why not trace the Rights of Man up to his creation? The answer is—'That upstart governments,' through ambition founded in '*Moral Evil*,' have arisen and thrust themselves between, to unmake man, and trample upon all his *precious rights*, to keep him in profound ignorance, that they may be served at *his* expense.

If any generation of men ever possessed the right of dictating the mode by which the world should be governed forever, it was the first generation that existed; and if that generation did not, no succeeding generation can show authority for so doing. The illuminating and divine principle of the equal rights of man, (for it has its origin from the Maker of man) relates not only to living individuals, but to all generations of men succeeding each other. Every generation is equal in rights, to the generation which preceded it; by the same rule that every individual is born equal in rights to his *cotemporary*.

Every history of the creation, and every traditionary account; whether from the lettered or unlettered world, however they may vary in their opinion or belief of certain particulars, all agree in establishing one point: *the unity of man*. By which I mean that all men are of one degree: and consequently, that all men are born *equal*, and with equal natural rights; in the same manner as if posterity had been continued by *Creation* instead of *Generation*. The latter being only the mode by which the former is carried

forward ; and consequently, every child born into the world, must be considered as deriving its existence from GOD. The world is as new to him, as it was to the first man that existed, and his natural rights are of the same kind.

The Mosaic account of the Creation, whether taken as Divine authority, or merely historical, fully maintains the unity or equality of man. The following expression admits of no controversy. "And GOD said, let us make man in our own image. In the image of GOD created he him ; male and female created he them." The distinction of the SEXES is pointed out, but no other distinction is implied. If this be not divine authority, it is at least historical authority, and shews the equality of man so far from being a modern doctrine, to be the oldest upon record.

It is also to be observed, that all the religions known in the world, are founded, as far as they relate to man, on the unity of Man, as being all of one degree. Whether in heaven or hell, or in whatever state man may be supposed to exist hereafter, the bad and good are the only distinctions. Nay, even the laws of government are obligated to slide into this principle, by making degree to consist in crimes and not in persons.

This is one of the greatest of all truths, and it is our highest interest to cultivate it. By considering man in this light, it places him in a close connection with his duties, whether to his Creator, or the creation, of which he is a part ; and it is only when he forgets his birth or origin, or to use a more fashionable phrase, "his birth and family," that he becomes dissolute.

The distinction of the sexes only, is mentioned at the creation of man. Hence, the MAN was considered as the head of his family ; and so established by the law of custom, which gave rise to the simple PATRIARCHAL GOVERNMENT.

But so far are the Scriptures from justifying the idea that monarchy is the "Delegated power of God," that they speak directly to the reverse.—They inform us that the Jews were the peculiar people of God, and "they desired a KING to reign over them, to be like all the nations round about," after they had been a Commonwealth for several hundred years. And a KING they obtained, as a judgment for their "MORAL EVIL ;" and HE proved a scourge for their national sin.

Thus, "the nations round about," had KINGS at an early period. The Israelites also desired to have one, and a King was given them as a judgment. We may therefore conclude, that Monarchy had its ORIGIN in some wisdom, which was NOT divine.

Here it may be observed, that the wisdom of God, in his dispensations to nations and people accomplishes many great

ends with a very few simple means—hence when one “social compact” is removed, in *justice* for SIN, a WAY is then opened for another as a matter of mercy. This was manifested in the overthrow of Babylon, for the relief and return of the Jews to Jerusalem, to rebuild the temple. So also, Saul was removed for a better man to reign in his stead. Hence if there be KINGS, it is better to have good men than bad ones. Therefore the Christians were commanded to pray for them, as well-wishers and friends to mankind, who wished for peace in the land.

It could have been no difficult thing, in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of man, was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to overrun a country, and lay it under contributions. Their power being established, the chief of the band contrived to lose the name of “Robber” into that of Monarch; and hence the origin of MONARCHY and KINGS.

Those bands of robbers having “parcelled out the WORLD,” and divided it into dominions, began, as is naturally the case, to quarrel with each other. What at first was obtained by violence, was considered by others, as proper and lawful to be taken, and a second plunderer succeeded the first.

They alternately invaded the dominions which each had assigned to himself, and the brutality with which they treated each other, explains the original character of Monarchy; it was ruffian torturing ruffian. The conqueror considered the conquered, not as his prisoner, but his property. He led them in triumph, rattling in chains, and doomed him at pleasure, to slavery or death. As time obliterated the history of their beginning, their successors assumed new appearances, to cut off the entail of their disgrace, but their principle and object remained the same. What at first was plundered, assumed the softer name of revenue, and the *power* originally *usurped*, they affected to *inherit*.

The career of Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander the Great, Julius and Augustus Cæsar, Mahomet, William the Conqueror, Cromwell and Bonaparte, with their concomitants, are enough to exemplify the propriety of the remarks already made.

Monarchical government, when considered as the delegated power of God, supposes an *hereditary succession*; and of course the *will* of the Monarch, with his successors, must be binding, not only on the present generation, but also on those which are to come. To suppose that the *will* of those who existed once, but are now dead, can be binding on the generations yet to come, is ridiculous. One is out of the world, and the other not in it, and of course they are two *non-entities*, which can never meet in this world, and therefore can by no means form obligations for one another, agreeably to Natural Justice. Moreover, as the govern-

ment is for the benefit of the people, and not the people for the government. Hence, it must be calculated so as to answer every purpose of government. But Monarchy is not calculated so to do, but by the aid or assistance of an Aristocracy, an additional oppression, whereby the generality of the people must be kept in *fear* and profound *ignorance*, by tyrannical laws, to prevent the "*spirit of enquiry*," the "*liberty of speech*" and of the "*press*;" which shews that their *works* are *bad*, and that they "*love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil*!" Of course it is not the most excellent way; because it supposes one man to have more sense and wisdom than all the nation beside—whereas hereditary succession is as liable to have a *fool* as a wise man for a governor; and more so, when *degeneration* is rendered certain by confining their intermarriages exclusively to Royal Blood.

The more this subject is investigated, the more the absurdity of it will appear. It is inconsistent, both with *Scripture* and *Common Sense*. It is contrary to every principle both of *moral goodness* and of *natural justice*. It cannot stand the test of a comparison with the *Moral Law*, the *Law of Nature*, or the *Rule of Practice*.

OF THE POPE'S POWER.

If the Progressive power of the Pope, and the almost incredible height to which it grew, the summit appearing so stupendous with a pompous show, be compared with the "*Law of Nature*," and the character of the Almighty, the idea of Monarchy or Tyrannical power as being the delegated power of God, will sink into contempt.

Moral obligation and duty having great influence on the mind and practice of man, Religion was made use of as a tool to answer the purposes of ambitious and designing men. Hence the *origin* of "*Religion established by Law*." But in order to accomplish the end, the charge must be committed only to an ingenious few, who are fitted and qualified for the purpose by every possible *instruction*; which all the rest must be kept in the greatest possible *ignorance*, that they may be the more manageable.

The *executors* of the work being ingeniously qualified and the minds of the people prepared, a deception might easily be practised where none were permitted to think and judge and act for themselves. Hence the origin of the Pagan Heroes, and Mythology, and Oracles, and Priests.

Under tyranny and oppression, which prohibit liberty of conscience, and bind the people in eternal ignorance, the mental powers of men are so impaired, and their *moral faculties* so darkened, that *reason* will not do its office: And hence mankind became

credulous to a degree which in this enlightened day, is hardly to be believed.

Constantine *the Great*, in order to secure the influence of *Christian Ministers* in his favor, and thereby establish his unbounded power, in and over the *Roman Empire*, abolished Paganism, and established Christianity as the National Religion. And from thence the *Ministry* became a species of *trade* and *traffic* down to this time.

Every valuable and important institution is capable of abuse ; and not any thing more so than religion : but there is a distinction to be made between the thing itself and the abuse of it. Religion is a good thing ; but from one small abuse of it may originate important consequences. Constantine, in order to accomplish his own purposes, erected the *image* of the *Saviour* on the *cross*, and carried it in the front of his army, to lead on the van of nominal Christians. The *image* of the *Virgin Mary* found its way to follow after ; and hence all the abomination of images, &c. &c. in the *Christian Church*.

As might have been expected, the temptation of gain and grandeur, arising out of the "Religious law establishment" of Constantine, many of the heathen Priests and others, became professional Christians, either for the *name*, or for the '*Loaves and Fishes*.' Of course, "moral evil," took the lead, and the church, so called, went on the road to ruin.

In those days of yore, when people were taught that the will of a tyrant should be considered as the delegated power of God, and reverentially obeyed accordingly, few pretended to *think* and *act* for themselves, except the *true worshippers* of GOD, who acted from *conscientious motives*. The multitudes were sadly imposed upon. The bare *say-so* of the Priest was received as Divine truth, and impostors became influential, and were respected. It was difficult to cope with popular opinion, which was founded in long established habits—backed by *Civil*, and supported by *Ecclesiastical authority* ; till at length, the power of the established Clergy became more respectable and influential than the civil authority, and began to take the lead, and bear rule accordingly ; domineering over those who had been their promoters, until affairs were entirely transposed ; so that the Civil Law and authority were only used as tools by the Ecclesiastics, to answer their own ends, as the Priests were formerly used to support the tyrannical power of ambitious usurpers.

Credulous people, still chained by despotism and ignorance, retained their old prejudices. With them tyranny was humanity, and was revered as the delegated power of God. And if a Priest should say that a "*horse* was a *cow*," or a "*ham* of *bacon*

was a *fish*, he must not dispute it ; but must believe the “ say-so ” of the Priest, in opposition to his own senses.

At length, one was exalted above his fellows, and as an expression of his power and dignity, was styled, “ Bishop of Bishops, or UNIVERSAL BISHOP,” and claimed all the world for his own, so that no King or Potentate could reign but by his *consent*, as he was to be considered the successor of the Apostle Peter, who was constituted the Vicegerent of the *Almighty* upon *earth*.— Thus the *right* to determine all disputes, and to bestow crowns and kingdoms at pleasure, and to make new laws, &c. &c. were his pretensions to mankind, as exemplified in the affairs of Poland. —“ And all the world wondered after the Beast ”—Infallibility, which belongs to the Almighty alone, was ascribed to this GREAT ONE by all his adherents.

The crown of France possessed by Henry IV., was adjudged to Rudolph, his competitor, by the power and decision of the Pope, who also claimed the kingdom of Spain, as the patrimony of St. Peter, by virtue of some *old deeds* which he pretended were lost.

The claim not being disputed, a tax or annuity was the result. Hence the origin of “ *Peter Pence*,” known in different countries to a late day.

The titles of “ *Most Christian Majesty*,” and “ *Most Catholic Majesty*,” were the result and donation of this self-claimed “ Vicegerent power.” Also “ Defender of the Faith,” was another *spurious* gift from the same *self-claimed* authority, as a reward for merit in writing a book in favor of the Vicegerency, by Henry VIII. of England.

The crown of England was adjudged to the king of France, unless King John would comply with the Vicegerent’s requisition ; which was done to save the *kingdom*.

The idea became so popular, that the sanction and confirmation of this “ *spurious* ” Vicegerent was so necessary to make good and valid any kingly authority, that the king of Denmark sent to Rome, to obtain the blessing of confirmation, in and over his Kingdom.

The Son to the emperor of Russia posted off to Rome also, to be confirmed in what he expected to inherit by virtue of his father. And “ The world wondered after the Beast ! ”

A law of “ Inquisition ” was enacted by the Ecclesiastical court, to destroy “ heresy,”—that is, all who dare to think and judge, and act for themselves.

The “ Art of Printing,” was considered “ witchcraft,” and the inventor was punished as a “ wizzard,” and his colleague only escaped by proving it to be mere mechanism.

A gentleman who taught the present theory of Astronomy, was adjudged to die for heresy, because he apprehended the earth to

be like a ball, when the pretended Vicegerent affirmed it to be like a table upon *legs*; and a recantation was necessary to save his life. And all who believed in the "Antipodes," were excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII.

Difference of opinion was heresy, and the consequence was recantation or death. And doubtful cases were put to the torture, to compel them to give evidence against themselves.

If a man should speak the truth, it would be considered and construed as a libel, if in opposition to popular and common received opinion. And the greater the truth, the greater the libel or heresy, of course.

Many Dead Bodies were raised, and their coffins chained, to prevent them from giving "leg-bail," while they were excommunicated and "cursed" to eternal misery, with "Bell book and Candle light," and then consigned to the flames as Culprits, or "Heretics," who were to be "burnt alive." What a pompous show, what a farce, and a mocking of Common Sense!

The fallacious ideas that "TYRANNY is the delegated power of God," and that ignorance is necessary for the welfare of society, are not happily excluded from the United States, and ought to be banished out of the world.

THE DAWN OF LIBERTY.

The Bishop's power arrived at its zenith, had so intoxicated him, that he fell asleep. This spurious Vicegerent who was so charitable as to give crowns and kingdoms not his own, to obtain money and popularity from his courtiers, and enlarge his own power and influence, bestowed two things more than formerly, which began to awaken up "common sense." The first was countries of which he had never heard: and secondly, pardons, not only for sins past and present, but also for "those which were to come." The first laid the foundation for enterprize. It excited inquiry after true philosophic information, and improvements in the arts and sciences. The latter paved the way for the discovery of truth in Divinity.

One quarter of the world, by the wisdom of the Creator, for the benefit of rising generations of man, for several thousands of years, had remained an uncultivated wilderness. A land magnificent for its stupendous and lofty mountains—its numerous and extensive rivers—its expanded lakes or inland seas, with a soil superior to that of any country in the ancient known world is discovered. A new world appears—the theatre, designed by the Governor of the Universe, for the display of some important and grand design, worthy of Himself.

Tyranny had unmanned the people; but the spirit of enterprize and discovery being excited, and the countries which might be

discovered being conferred upon the fortunate adventurer by the spurious Vicegerent, which was considered sufficient to give a good and sufficient title to any discovered countries. Many thousands embarked in the undertaking. Supported by this authority, they considered not the countries only, but the people also who inhabited those countries, as their property, and treated them as an inferior race of beings, doomed them at pleasure both to slavery and death. Such was the degraded state of the human mind ! So much was an universal revolution wanting for the amelioration of man !

On the other hand, the selling of pardons, or granting "indulgencies" for "sins to come," opened a door for all manner of vice ; so offensive to virtuous minds, as to excite a spirit of detestation and abhorrence. And "common sense" awoke from its lethargy, and paved the way for what is called the "reformation." MARTIN LUTHER bore testimony in Germany against the Pope. And the Pope in his turn, poured out "bulls," with fury. Their disputes, aided by the Art of Printing, produced an almost universal reflection among the people, attended with a spirit of inquiry and research after truth. And thus after a sleep of several hundred years, the people were awakened, and began to think and judge for themselves. But common sense had become so much blinded by the darkness of ignorance, that she only "viewed men as trees walking !" And such were the prejudices of the people of the old world, that there was not a place found among them, where the "Rights of Man" could be peaceably enjoyed agreeable to the "Law of Nature."

Mark the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Governor of the world ! that the discovery of America was so long delayed ; and that at length it happened at such an important era of the world.

The two grants of the Vicegerent, viz. that by which unheard of countries were given away, and that by which indulgencies for sin were given to purchasers ; both were conferred about the same time ; and the discovery of America, and the reformation in Germany, followed very shortly after the same period of time : all of which, co-operated in effecting a revolution in the theory both of Astronomy and Divinity. The earth was no longer considered by thinking men, as a "table upon legs." And the Vicegerency was treated with contempt, as being an imposition upon mankind : and the Bishop was soon stripped of one-third of his dominions. But nevertheless, the spirit of persecution still prevailed among the different sects, until the innocent Quakers appeared in the days of Fox. It could not be otherwise, it will ever attend all 'Law religion.' John Calvin was the cause of M. S. being put to death, for mere matters of opinion, and Melancthon justified him in it.

Martin Luther wrote to the magistrates to punish some who differed from him, which afterwards gave great uneasiness. Hence, many thousands who were waked up, 'flew to the wilderness of America,' hoping there peaceably to enjoy those rights bestowed upon them by the God of Nature. But the spirit and prejudice of education, so deeply rooted, was hard to be eradicated. Hence, some who had fled from the intolerant hand of persecution, became oppressive, themselves; and others in turn had to suffer.—Four Quakers were put to death; merely for indifferent matters of religion. And from the old idea that religion could not be maintained unless upheld by civil power, those who had come hither to enjoy their opinions, began to form 'Religious establishments, by laws of their own.' At length, however, they were better informed, and their progeny better taught, which laid a foundation for the investigation of the "Rights of Man," and the more perfect knowledge of the "law of nature."

As virtue and religion, and the arts and sciences have gone hand in hand together; so dissipation and destruction succeed each other. These things are observable in the rise and fall of the five succeeding nations—the Jews, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Greeks and Romans, who succeeded each other in their turns.

Persecution drove the first settlers to America, and oppression pursuing them still, gave rise to the spirit of enquiry. All that energy of soul, with which man is endowed by the God of Nature was roused; and they were determined to enjoy as much of nature's law, as by their exertions they could secure. From this sprung the outlines of our national character.

As *ignorance* and severity are necessary for the support of tyranny, to keep the people in *awe*, so LIGHT and INFORMATION are necessary to cut the sinews of tyrannical government, and bring mankind into the exercise and enjoyment of their proper rights and dignity, agreeably to the 'Law of Nature,' to the 'Moral Law,' and to the 'Rule of Practice,' as established by the Governor of the Universe.

The LAWS, PREJUDICES and IGNORANCE of mankind had been such, that there was not a place in the ancient known world, that admitted of the revolution to begin, which was necessary for the emergency of man.

No place was so RIPE—no part in the natural world so fitted as America. Because of its infancy, the people would bear instruction as a child who wishes to acquire a perfect education. But those of the old countries of monarchy, imagined themselves to have arrived at the summit of political perfection; of course there is no occasion for further inquiry. Re-

religious bigotry also was another great hindrance, which through the prejudice of Church and State, had mighty influence. Besides, the minds of the people were so degraded, the moral faculty was so debased, they were not prepared to act with that prompt and deliberate firmness, which was required in so great a work. From all these considerations, such persons who had the clearest heads and best hearts which those days afforded, fled to America. Determined not to receive things as matters of fact on the bare say-so of others, when repugnant to common sense; they were men—they had the spirit of inquiry; and took the liberty to think, and judge, and act for themselves. And as that was not admissible in the OLD WORLD, they had energy and enterprize enough to come to the New World and enjoy their opinions. Thus the spirit of INDEPENDENCE in embryo, migrated with our ancestors, when they emigrated to this happy land.

One thing is worthy of observation, which, though of small beginning, produced noble consequences. William Penn, the celebrated Quaker, in his regulations for Pennsylvania, contrary to the practice in all other countries, required no particular 'TEST' or religious opinion as a qualification for OFFICE; but encouraged all societies, to settle in the state, making all EQUALLY secure, and eligible to any office and dignity which their worth and virtue might deserve.

The persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts, was the effect or relics of prejudices brought from the OLD WORLD. But the death of those four innocent sufferers, tended in its consequences to check religious bigotry, and it lowered away.

The various opinions which emigrated were a check upon each other, and laid a foundation for a mutual forbearance, which were exemplified by Providence and Rhode Island!

→ Lord Baltimore also, who was a Roman Catholic, being provoked to jealousy, became liberal towards emigrants of different opinions, and gave them encouragement to settle in his colony. And since the revolution, the oppressive Tobacco Laws have been repealed both in Maryland and Virginia; which put the established Clergy on a level with other denominations. New Hampshire and Vermont have likewise laid aside the Clerical yoke. But Massachusetts and Connecticut retain a tincture of the old W——; which is a departure from the '*Law of Nature*,' and a violation of '*Moral obligation*,' and an infringement upon '*Natural Justice*!' Though some of their laws have been modified in a small degree.

And the liberal spirit of Penn, so agreeable to the '*Law of Nature*,' the '*Moral Law*,' and the '*Rule of Practice*,' prevailed in the land, until the '*Law of Nature*,' established by

the Governor of the Universe—that is an universal liberty of conscience was established.* This done, nothing further is wanting but that the ‘Moral Law’ of Love should be written in every heart. ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,’ and the ‘Rule of Practice’ be seen in the conduct of each and every individual, ‘As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,’ that golden ‘Rule of Practice,’ which was the ‘Law of Moses,’ the spirit of the ‘Prophets,’ and the injunction of Jesus Christ.’

Before all things can be right in the human family, the ‘Moral Law’ must reign in all parts. Before that can exist universally, the ‘Law of Nature,’ must be revived and restored, to reign in all nations; and that it may be so, the ‘Rule of Practice’ must be attended to from *principle* because they are connected with, and mutually dependant upon each other. Therefore, there is need for a general reform in the world, both in the head and heart. For the whole *head is sick*, and the whole *heart is faint*—from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, is full of wounds, bruises and putrifying sores.

The discovery of America after her dormant state, with the concomitant circumstances attending it, began to cast great light on the dispensations of Divine Providence, and shed a new lustre on the aspect of human affairs.

The spirit of the Gospel, or the ‘Moral Law’ of Love, the ‘Law of Nature’ and the ‘Rule of Practice,’ have begun to revive, and some are running to and fro, and knowledge is increasing. But all things are not right yet, nor can they be, until the ‘Personal, Social, and Moral Rights’ of mankind are restored. When this is done, there will be an end of ‘Tyranical power, and established religion will cease, and universal liberty of conscience will be enjoyed in the love of the Creator, and of mankind. Then the ‘Wolf and the Lamb will dwell together, and there will not be any more war.’

The Almighty had long borne with the nations of the earth, but now His controversy has begun, and happy will it be for those who are prepared for the storm.

It is a matter of rejoicing with the upright in heart, that they have an asylum in the day of trouble. But where will the wicked and proud oppressors hide their guilty heads! The day of vengeance is near, and the *five swords of the Almighty*, are so visible in the earth, that no considerate man can deny the hand of GOD. Destructive insects, earthquakes, wars, pestilence and famine. Though people account for these things on

* By the Confederation in the CONSTITUTION of the Federal Government.

natural principles, yet nature emanated from the power of GOD, still is under HIS control, which to the discerning eye is visible in all HIS works. Hence the words of Gen. Washington are pertinent to the case in hand.—‘But this seems to be the age of wonders, and it is reserved for intoxicated and lawless France, for purposes of Providence far beyond the reach of human ken, to slaughter her own citizens, and disturb the repose of all the world besides.’

OF FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

We have no instance of an elective monarchy established upon proper social principles. To avoid perpetual civil commotion, it has been found necessary to make the electors hereditary. Of course to confine the right of suffrage, in the most important of all elections, to a few overgrown individuals.

An hereditary monarchy is both dangerous and absurd. And an absolute monarchy, where an individual is endowed with both ‘legislative’ and ‘executive authority,’ is still much more to be feared. He that is not accountable to any body for his conduct, should be intrusted by no body. Besides, hereditary monarchy in any form, runs an equal risk to have a FOOL as a wise man for a governor, and more so, considering the effects of limited intermarriages.

An ‘Aristocracy’ may secure to the counsels of state a larger fund of information; but at the same time, it places the people under many tyrants instead of one. Besides, as they must also be hereditary, and be supported by entailed property, they are disqualified for ‘Legislative and Executive,’ and even for Judicial trust,’ inasmuch as the ‘Law of Nature’ is violated in their very raising. They have become unnatural brothers, who consider their brethren as beings of an inferior grade and rank to themselves; and of course, from the spirit of their education, they are contaminated with prejudices and partiality, which wholly disqualifies them to judge with equity and humanity agreeable to the ‘Law of Nature.’

‘Democracy,’ in small and petty societies, may apply and answer many valuable purposes to mankind; as in days of old, where the whole voice of the people could be obtained, or at least all of those concerned. But in a large and extensive country it would become too unwieldy. But as the ‘Law of Nature’ on social principles makes them equally interested and entitled to a voice in the formation of those ‘prudential rules’ made for the regulation of the whole ‘Representative’ form of government presents itself as most appropriate to answer every purpose. By this method the voice of the people is made over to their Representative. And hence, there is a ‘personal and social compact.’

agreeable to the 'Law of Nature;' which may be made to suit the greatest nation. And provided the world of mankind were more enlightened, it might forever exclude the necessity of an appeal to *war*. Wars are neither more nor less than national quarrels; and when both parties are sick and tired of the contest, they settle their differences through the medium of a convention of Delegates. Why not take this course in the first instance, and spare human blood?

This mode of government will best guard the people against tyrannical imposition of both 'Church and State.' The Representation being only for a limited time, and then the Delegate returns to his former sphere, and becomes a private citizen, and of course, feels the effects of his own legislation as a member of society. This exchange of public for private life, like the ebbing and flowing of the sea, will tend to keep things pure, so that the affairs of the nation may at all times bear investigation. Moreover, it stimulates people of all classes to search after truth and to communicate knowledge. And the interest of the commonwealth is made secure, whilst the rights of individuals are safely guaranteed, and sacredly kept by chosen men in trust, who as faithful Executors, must give account.

RIGHT OF PROPERTY HELD UNDER MONARCHS.

In 'Monarchical Governments,' in cases of 'rebellion or treason,' the 'real estates' are forfeited to the monarch, and the widow and fatherless child is turned out of doors, and the poor culprit himself suffers death. Now considering the punishment to be proportioned to the crime, the conclusion must be, that the *Land* properly belongs to the Monarch; otherwise why disinherit the wife and children, seeing there is no natural justice in making the innocent suffer for the guilty? But as *real estates* are made hereditary in a particular branch of the family, and subject to forfeiture to the Crown in cases of rebellion or treason, it is manifest that they must have been derived from the government, and are only held during good behavior. Of course, all lands originally were considered Crown Lands, no doubt made so by conquest or usurpation; and then parcelled out to a few, who should hold them as tenants to the Crown. These tenants had their tenants also—and thus the whole was dependant on the will and pleasure of one *individual*.

OF REPRESENTATION.

All men being considered free and independent in their individual capacity; but dependant in their social capacity, the rights of each are equal. The first by virtue of existence; the latter by virtue of being a member of Society. Our personal and social

rights being equal, neither of them can be taken from us but by our own consent, without infringing upon natural justice. Except only when forfeited to Society by some misdemeanor, or taken by the laws of the Creator who gave them. Our rights being equal, so are our privileges—of course our rights, privileges, duties, and obligations are the same in each and in all. Therefore the neglect of the right of suffrage in any individual is a violation of social duty—that is, a breach of one of the obligations we owe to society. By neglecting our social duties we involve ourselves in a violation of natural justice, which requires a proper use and improvement of those social blessings, conferred upon us by the Supreme Governor of the World, who will hold us accountable for the neglect of every relative duty. These are considerations not sufficiently weighed by many. All are deeply interested in them, though many remain ignorant of it. And to excuse ourselves by concluding that these things do not concern us, though our well being is deeply concerned, is all of a piece with the supposition, that the *will of a Tyrant* is the order of Providence and the delegated power of God.

As individuals and as members of society, we have a right to claim a voice in all public deliberations, and to see to it that we have justice done to us. Because our 'social rights' grow out of our 'personal rights.'—Our own power as individuals, not being equal to our wants and necessities, we exchange a part of our 'personal rights' for 'social rights,' by casting a part into the common stock by delegation; and hence our power and will is made over to our Representative, and we take the arm of society of which we are a part, for our protection, in addition to our own. So that society grants us nothing—but we draw on the capital as a matter of right. Hence it is self-evident, that Social or Civil distinctions can be founded only on public utility agreeable to the rules of equity.

NATURE AND DESIGN, AND ENACTION OF LAW.

'Social Rights' when protected by 'general rules' and applied to a nation or people as a body, are called 'political;' but when applied to individuals, are called 'civil.' Hence the distinction between 'Political and Civil Law.'

The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible 'Rights of Man;' and these rights are 'Liberty, Property, Security, and resistance of *Oppression*.' The people are essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual or body of men be entitled to any authority, which is not expressly derived from them. 'Civil Liberty' consists in doing whatever does not injure another. And the LAW is an

expression of the *will* of the community for individual instruction.

The Law, of course, ought to prohibit such actions only as are hurtful to society, and to impose no penalties, but such as are absolutely and manifestly necessary, for the welfare of society.

And all Citizens have a right to concur, either personally, or by their representative, in the formation of those *general rules*, which might be properly enough called the Law of 'Prudence.'

The general rule, or the Law of Prudence, should be the same to all, whether to punish or protect. All being equal in rights, are equally eligible to all honors, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtue and talents.

OF THE LAW OF NATIONS.

Here it is proper to remark, that there is frequently a misapplication of terms, which gives improper conceptions, leading the reader or hearer to ascribe effects to causes which could never produce them. And so setting out in error, they must forever continue to be wrong. Thus, says one, '*Reason* teaches me this or that,' when the information was derived through the channel of *tradition*. Again, '*Nature* works' so and so, when there is no principle in nature to operate it; but is wholly the effect of ART, or the works of Nature's GOD.

To ascribe that to nature which belongs to art is certainly wrong, and leads to confusion! Every effect should be ascribed to its original and proper cause, in order to come at the true knowledge of things, as they are, or as they should be, in a relative point of view.

Islands, for example, may originate three ways.—First, From *Nature's God*; Secondly—From *Nature herself*; Thirdly—From ART. Thus, the Island of Great-Britain was formed by Nature's God, at the creation. The island of New Orleans, near two hundred miles in length and about twelve in breadth, was formed by nature. The flood-wood and mud washing down from the Missouri and other rivers into the Mississippi, having formed this island, and divided the water that was once an arm of the sea, making Lake Poinchetrain and Tuckepaw Bay. And an artificial island is formed at New York for the erection of a battery, at the junction of two rivers.

I have now hinted at our rights, as existing by the 'Law of Nature,' established primarily by our Creator, as we individually stand related to each other; and also at the 'Law of Nations,' which is improperly called the 'Law of Nature,' and is evidently the effect of ART; and such as prudence dictates as necessary for general rules, for the regulation of the whole, and may with

greater propriety be called the 'Law of Prudence.' These last being received in some degree among the nations, are therefore called the 'Law of Nations.' And indeed it might be well, if they were received more generally among the Human Family.

RECAPITULATION.

We have derived from the God of Nature certain unalienable rights. It is necessary to have those rights guaranteed against an Usurper.

Civil Government is therefore necessary.—Prudence dictates the propriety of delegating to suitable persons so much of those rights as may be necessary for the formation and execution of that political machine which is called Government.

Government, when formed, is under obligations to act only for the public good and general welfare. And the principles of natural justice and Moral obligation will sanction the same, when considered in relation to the Moral Governor of the World.

By way of explanation, from what hath been observed, as *one* of the *whole*, I have certain personal rights which cannot be taken from me on the principles of natural justice, without my consent. I am naturally interested in their security; of course prudence requires my consent. I give it, and by virtue thereof, I have a right to expect and claim in conjunction with others, certain privileges at the hand of my government—that is my bounty, viz.—Protection of my person, character and property; and peaceably to enjoy without interruption, the use of my liberty, and the privilege of seeking happiness in an innocent way—that is, where no man's right is invaded, nor the public peace disturbed. I have also the right and privilege of private judgment in matters of opinion and moral duty in the things of God and eternity—things which can concern no one but myself.

A CONTRAST.

Let the foregoing reflection be contrasted with the present state of the world, and we shall distinctly see that all things are not right in the world, and of course that there is need of a great and general reform, before the Head and Heart, the motives and conduct of men will correspond with the 'Moral Law,' the 'Law of Nature,' and the 'Rule of Practice.' And it will be well to remember that all men are accountable to the Supreme Governor of the World, not only for their motives and conduct toward each other, but for their disposition of Heart towards HIM, whether they be Rulers, Subjects or Citizens, if they would meet the approbation of God upon their souls. Let them therefore take heed how they suffer considerations of interest or popularity to lead them astray. Lest they sell their eternal peace for a transitory

object. Upstart Governments may take heed and tremble, and so may all oppressors and workers of iniquity, seeing their eternity is at stake!

OF PUNISHMENTS.

It is the certainty of punishment, more than the severity of it, that will have the greatest effect upon mankind. Vigorous laws, properly apportioned to the nature of crimes, and well and faithfully executed, are best for the well-being of society. But as the degrees of punishment must bear some analogy to the circumstances of the crime, so the heinousness of the offence with its magnitude, must be taken into the account, to judge properly what degrees of chastisement shall be inflicted in any case.—Very few, if any persons should be punished with death, because it is taking that which cannot be restored. And to take that from another, which we did not bestow, and which cannot be restored, is running near to the precipice of doing unnatural injustice.

An innocent person being suddenly cut off, is injured irreparably beyond all possible calculation; for his eternity may depend upon it. But the variations of crimes are so great and numerous, that a variety of punishments is necessary to meet every case; hence the *Penitentiary System* presents to view, as proper for the subject, by admitting of degrees, both of time and solitude.

The institution is humane, both in its nature and consequences. The culprit is prevented from further injury to society, and has opportunity for reflection—and by learning or improving some trade, he may become an useful member of society—and if innocent of the charge, may yet be restored to his privileges, which has been exemplified in several cases.

In many cases the Judge or Jury, from strong presumptive proof, may believe a man accused to be guilty of the charge, and as a dangerous man to society and to his neighborhood, would feel free to send him to the Penitentiary, when neither the crime nor the evidence would justify them to take his life. Hence, under sanguinary Laws many offenders would escape through humanity.

A few plain Rules, properly enforced, will prove of more consequence, than tyrannical barbarity, or despotic cruelty. This is self-evident, to those who reflect on the various modes of family government.

Those parents who threaten much, and perform but little, and promise some and do nothing, but by fits and starts, dealing out blows without rule or reason, and then only when in a pet or passion—have children who have no confidence in what they

say. For their inconsistencies they are cordially despised by their children, who wish to get from under their government. And such children become mere pests to society. On the other hand, such parents as use few words, and are firm, who act deliberately, perform their promises or threats, are generally blest with obedient children, who afterwards are a blessing to the community.

The design of punishment is,—1st, to reform the person who suffers it—2dly, to prevent the perpetration of crimes, by deterring others—3dly, to remove those persons from society, who have manifested by their tempers and crimes, that they are unfit to live in it.

The reformation of a criminal can never be effected by a public punishment, for the following reasons:

First—As it is always connected with infamy; it destroys in him the sense of shame, which is one of the strongest out-posts to virtue.

Secondly—It is generally of such short duration, as to produce none of those changes in body or mind, which are absolutely necessary to reform obstinate habits of vice.

Thirdly—Experience proves, that public punishments have increased propensities to crimes. A man who has lost his character at a public whipping-post, hath nothing valuable left to lose in society.

Pain has begotten insensibility to the whip, and shame to infamy: these, added to his old habits of vice, he probably feels a spirit of revenge against the whole community, whose laws have inflicted his punishment upon him, and hence he is stimulated to add to the number and enormity of his outrages upon society.

Therefore public punishment will harden the heart, and tend to qualify men to be a nuisance to society, and a pest to mankind. For a man who hath neither moral virtue, nor a good character, nor property to influence his actions and conduct, hath nothing to lose by misconduct but his soul—the company of his friends, and his liberty and life.

Hence the punishment should be fitted to his case, and the degree to the nature of his crime which the Law of Equity requires. The difference of crimes and the variations are such, that the Penitentiary system seems best fitted to it, and appears the most suitable on the principles of humanity and common sense, to answer the purpose.

First—It admits of degrees both of time in the duration, and also in the confinement.

Secondly—It prevents the stupefaction, or insensibility to every sense of shame, or duty and moral obligation and character, which the ignominy from the Pillory or Whipping Post beget—

and also it prevents the resentment or desire to revenge the public infamy.

Thirdly—It prevents his bad example from corrupting society, and gives him no opportunity of injuring others, was he disposed to do it.

Fourthly—It gives him time and opportunity for reflection and repentance; and must naturally prove a stimulus to the mind.—The loss of friends and their company, the loss of liberty, the idea of which is more painful than the thoughts of death; and the idea of regaining or being restored to them again, which is so animating and pleasing, have a powerful operation and influence upon the mind to produce a reformation. And he may yet become an useful citizen by his trade; the injured also may be indemnified, and likewise the public expenses paid.

The practice of hanging for 'horse-stealing,' under the idea of proportioning the punishment to the crime—is to suppose, that a man is of no more value than a horse, degrading mankind down to a level with the brutes.

The frequency of public executions and gibbets in British Europe, tend to harden the people, and contaminate the human mind. It eradicates those soft principles of nature, implanted in the human breast by the Creator, which are so visible in childhood, until they are erased by a long course of evil habits. Thus people becoming hardened, are qualified for every evil work, so as to sport with death, and scoff at damnation—and hence the many pick-pocket robberies, and other evils which transpire while viewing the awful scene of execution, and which, if detected, would expose them to a similar fate.

There are upwards of one hundred and sixty offences, which are punishable with death, according to their code of criminal laws.

Now to consider this subject properly, there appears not that distinction observed between vice and virtue, which the nature of the case admits of, and requires to be made for the welfare of society; and of course, if the human mind is not properly informed, and impressed with just views of Right and Wrong—good society cannot be cultivated, and the world will remain as a bedlam under the curse of ignorance. For according to the fountain so will be the stream. Hence if the principle be bad, the fruit must be bad also. Therefore the axe must be laid at the root, and the rubbish, dissipation and darkness, arising from ignorance, must be removed. General information must be promoted, and proper ideas implanted and cultivated in the mind, that people may practice Virtue from principle, as rational agents, who must give account.

The propriety and importance of a good and early education, is not considered by many. But let it be remembered, whatever is learned in youth, remains fixed for life; whereas what old people learn, is like writing on the sand, which is washed out by the first rain. Therefore bend the tender mind, like a young branch the way you would have it grow, otherwise it will be hard to effect by art, what would become easy and natural, if timely performed.

Provided we are not to be governed on such principles, as ignorance and terror compose, then we must insist on the opposite theory, viz. general information and proper motives. Such are noble in their nature, and calculated in their consequence to promote the welfare of Society. And every one must strive to do his part, both in cultivating and practising the **WORK!**

This subject properly digested, shews the propriety of inculcating the doctrine of First principles—our relation to God and man! Without this how shall people judge of Natural Justice and moral obligation? Or how perform their moral duties? In proportion to the ignorance of the people, vice and imposition have ever abounded—whilst on the other hand, in proportion as light has shone, true dignity of soul has appeared in a line of virtuous conduct. Natural Justice attended to, and the Moral Government of the Supreme Being acknowledged. In proportion as any Nation or People have been just and good, so prosperity has attended them, whilst the arts and sciences have flourished. But when their conduct has been reversed, though God may have borne with them for a season, the day of their visitation will come at last!

OF POLITICAL EXISTENCE.

God, as the Creator and supporter of man hath a right to govern his creatures and prescribe the rule of their actions. Man, as his creature, has a right, and it is his duty and privilege to obey. In eternity people must be judged and rewarded, as individuals only. But in this world as we exist socially, we have social privileges, which are called Political; and National Political privileges abused, becomes a political evil, and a political evil must be cured, or it must become remediless. And as these privileges are for a time only, when abused the personal rights of mankind are infringed upon, contrary to the 'Law of Nature,' and Natural Justice calls for a remedy. Of course there must be 'a reform,' or else an 'overthrow!' It is perfectly consistent with propriety to demand the former—the latter is the just visitation of a righteous JUDGE!! The first is a duty which is in our own power—the latter always a just dispensation of the Almighty. As it is no where said, that Nations in their political

capacity shall be judged in futurity—political evils must be punished here.

Therefore, when a Government is overgrown in tyrannical power and wickedness, dissipation, luxury and oppression abound; and unheard of cruelties prevail. All manner of debauchery—drunkenness and revelling, with other concomitant vices and evils, so great and so many abound that it may be said, 'Moral Evil' reigns triumphant in the land, and virtue cannot be found. Justice is trampled upon—moral obligation is despised! and mankind become like Bedlamites, and the doctrine of Atheism is the order of the day.

Hark! Let reason ask, 'Does it not seem to comport with the Moral Government of the Supreme Being, who is just and wise, to overthrow such Political Existence, as being unworthy, and thereby open a door for another such an one as will secure to the people the enjoyment of their right, agreeable to the order of things, and acknowledging HIS government, live agreeable to the 'Moral Law,' the 'Law of Nature,' and the 'Rule of Practice?'

If all our ideas of 'good and evil,' of 'right and wrong,' are not chimerical, we must answer in 'Reason,' that it would be JUST to overthrow them as a social and political body, as unworthy of their privileges, and it would be a mercy to the people and to rising generations, by some revolutions to be restored to their 'Just Rights.'

The history of the Egyptians, from the time of Joseph to Moses, with their conduct towards the Jews, and the overthrow of the Egyptians, with the consequent deliverance of the Israelites, the former being necessary for the accomplishment of the latter, are examples of this truth. How Just and Merciful, and yet how wise are the dispensations of Divine Providence, in the Social and Political existence of human affairs.

The history of the Jews from the time of Moses to the present day, is a further continued example of the same. And taking 'Moral good and evil' as the rule or criterion by which to judge of expected dispensations, according to Deuteronomy, xxviiith chapter, any considerate man may foretell the probable fate of any nation. The present state of the Jews is a living and standing monument of the dispensations of Divine Providence. The overthrow of Babylon, as unworthy of a political existence, was just; and yet it was a mercy to the Jews, whose deliverance was connected with it. And the same observation would equally apply to the rise and fall of Kingdoms and Empires in different countries and ages of the world; provided we had light and information enough to view the hand of the Lord. For these things happen not by accident or chance, neither do they spring up

from the dust; but they happen under the wise and superintending hand of the providences of God. And these things will continue, until Universal Rights, obligations and duties are universally regarded; and HIS kingdom rules over all.

OF THE SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL.

To judge correctly of things, we must view them as they ought to be, as they are now, and then inquire how they became so.

First. The Gospel was commanded by Jesus Christ to be preached to "all Nations," and to "every creature," promising to be with his Heralds to the "end of the world." When the persecution arose about Stephen, the Brethren were scattered, and were travelling abroad, preaching the word. The blessing of God attended their labors, while the "Apostles" still abode at Jerusalem. Hence the command and promise, for the Spread of the Gospel was not confined and limited to the "Twelve Disciples," but extended to all the ministers of Jesus Christ through all ages to the end of the world. Therefore if all things were right, the gospel would be received in all lands and in all hearts. But it is not so; a small part only of the world hear, and enjoy the heavenly tidings, and that in a very dark degree!

In Asia, which contains, as is computed, five hundred millions of people, what darkness and ignorance prevails! But a few, very few, who have even the outward preaching of the Gospel. Not even excepting those countries and parts of Europe and Africa, as well as Asia, which are contiguous to old Jerusalem, where the Gospel was first propagated and substantiated. Turkish darkness and "Mahometanism" triumph, and the name of "Christian" is held in contempt. Of 120,000,000 of "Christians," nominally so called in Europe, how few have just and proper notions and ideas of things pertaining to religion? For the greater part are almost as ignorant, even of the doctrines of Christianity, as the Indians of America, and of experimental religion they are as ignorant as the Hotentots at the Cape of Good Hope! Of seven or eight millions of people in North America, though most of them have the Bible or Testament in their houses, how many are unacquainted with experimental religion; and even ignorant of the very first principles of the doctrines of Christ? Though America is favored with the greatest share of "Common Learning" amongst the common people, of any nation in the World; probably as three to one. Yet how dark and ignorant still? What selfishness prevails, and how little is Natural Justice regarded in Social life. How little is *moral obligation* considered in the various transactions and concerns of life.

How few are living for eternity, and conducting as they expect to answer at the bar of the Supreme Judge? In short, how few attend to the "Moral Law" "to love the Lord with all their Heart, and their neighbor as themselves." And to the "Law of Nature," which coincides with the "Rule of Practice," as "ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them;" for this is the "Law and the Prophets," and is sanctioned by Jesus Christ.

Until the gospel is preached to all mankind, there is some body who *ought* to preach that does not; and there are grand causes, enough to provoke the God of Love to anger, towards those who hold the people in the darkness of ignorance, by *cruel and wicked LAWS!*

Query.—How happens it, that *Mahometanism* routed Christianity out of the *Eastern World*?

Doubtless Christianity was abused, perverted and so corrupted, that the substance was lost in the shade; and the name of the thing only remained. Hence Mahometanism, which admits of no "idolatry," was preferable; therefore the Nominal Christians, who were not worthy of a political or social existence, having forfeited their right and privilege by sin, were justly scourged—deprived of the gospel, and removed out of the way, that a better 'ism might follow.

These ideas will "justify the ways of God to Man." When a social existence is forfeited by abuse, the people constituting it, stand in the way of their betters; and of course, the Being who "gave, hath a right to take away," and bestow it on such as are more worthy. Justice is then administered to the former, and mercy to the latter. And that people who possess the most "moral virtue," or will answer the best and most noble purpose are the most preferable.—Therefore to remove the vicious out of the way, as being hindrances to righteousness, is good.—Of two objects, *goodness* and *wisdom* will prefer and choose the *best*, to answer a good and important purpose, and accomplish a noble end. Hence of two 'isms supported by the arm of human power,"one is "*old in evil and very bad*;" the other young and more hopeful; and therefore, it is consistent with wisdom, justice, goodness and mercy, to prefer the latter.

Many people talk about the "plans" of the Almighty! If *man was perfect in wisdom* he would need no plan. And that which argues imperfection in man, will not, cannot argue perfection in the *Deity*. Therefore such expressions are *perfect nonsense* if brought for any thing more than a comparison or an illustration!

"Morally" speaking, whosoever is *right* must be *just*, and whosoever is *right* and *just* must be *good*; and whosoever is

right and just and *good*, must be *wise*; and whosoever is *JUST* and *RIGHTEOUS* and *GOOD* and *WISE* must be most *NOBLE* in the Superlative degree! Therefore we must unite these ideas of *Justice*, *Righteousness*, *Goodness* and *Wisdom*, in the *Moral Character* of the Almighty, in order to have any proper conceptions of his *Moral Government* and of his *noble dispensations* to the *social bodies* of mankind.

Some people, to exalt his justice, destroy his *Goodness* and *Mercy*, and represent him a mere *Tyrant*! others speaking to exalt the power of God, destroy his justice and mercy. Another exalting his mercy destroys his *Justice*. Thus they *split* up the Almighty into parts, ascribing to him certain ideas which they call "*Attributes*," formed in their own conceptions—and by extolling his *power*, or his "*mercy or justice*" improperly bear false testimony, and give the Almighty a *character* which is far from the truth, as manifested either in his "*dispensations*" or the "*written word*." For instance, says one—"God is *all* mercy, he is so good. If he be all mercy, where is his *Justice*? A Governor is so good as to be all mercy, and therefore will pardon every culprit; and will suffer none to be punished, however dangerous to Society. Thus the innocent must suffer, and the guilty escape and go free! Now to let the guilty escape and the innocent suffer without any possible remedy, exhibits the executive power as possessing neither *mercy* nor *justice*, nor *goodness*, in his procedure—and of course he cannot be right or noble in his nature or dispensations. A being without mercy, who is *unjust* and not *good*, but destitute of every *right* and *noble* principle; and is not in possession of any true and genuine *wisdom*! This is the picture of the very *Devil himself*.

But the true *character* of *JEHOVAH*, or the manifestation of God in Christ—is uniformly consistent with itself, agreeable to the principles of "*Justice*," and "*Righteousness*," and "*Goodness*," and "*Wisdom*," and "*Mercy*,"—*Mercy* to 'proper objects of *Mercy*—but to let the innocent suffer and the guilty escape, is an unjust tyranny. But "*Mercy*" is always dispensed consistent with, or agreeable to the principles of true "*Justice*," when administered by the Most High. If a person hath sinned, pardon without *repentance* could never excite gratitude; therefore it would be a thankless act, or favor bestowed upon any culprit who remained impenitent. Religious privileges are the *graces* of God—and as a wise Governor *HE* expects and requires a proper use of them. Some people abuse these privileges by *stealing* a power, without a *right*, which is *assumption*; and a *power* possessed without a *right*, is an unjust tyranny. Now here is an abuse of social

rights, so that the innocent must suffer by being oppressed and deprived of their rights, who have not merited such treatment at *their* hands. Natural justice is infringed upon, and the government of the Almighty is despised. God is said to be "jealous for His glory, and will not give it to another." Therefore for the honor of His government and the mercy of the injured, justice demands the removal of such power. And such removal would bring mercy to the injured, justice to the guilty, and honor to His own moral character.

As "Natural evil" is the effect or consequence of "Moral evil;" as nations have flourished in proportion to their virtues, and as judgments have pursued them on account of their wickedness—and hence "Angels sinned, and are reserved under chains of darkness to the judgment day to be punished." Sin drove Adam out of Paradise. Sin brought destruction on the antediluvian world. Sin was the cause of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Of the Canaanites, God said, "the iniquity, &c. is not yet full." He had a right to demand their obedience, and to dispose of their lives in any manner he chose. God waited and bore with them near five hundred years as a political body, and then destruction to the full, overtook them as a nation. Sin brought calamities on the Jews as a nation, and they are a standing monument thereof to this day!

Again, as political evils in social bodies, consequent upon "Moral Evil" in them brings national destruction, so a social *repentance* and political *reform* is necessary, to avert the judgments of God, which threaten impending danger over a guilty land. The case of Ninevah is a striking example of the dealings of God, with a sinful and repenting people. The Jews frequently experienced *deliverances* in their social capacity, when a reform and repentance took place among them. If ten righteous persons had been found in Sodom, the place would have been spared for their sakes. Isaiah said "except the Lord had left unto us a small remnant, we should have been as Sodom and Gomorrah!" Jesus Christ calls the Righteous the *SALT of the EARTH*." And if it were not for the Righteous that now are, and those that will be in succession, it would be inconsistent with the Moral character of the Almighty, and the *nature* of his moral government, to continue the world in existence!

The Jews were to attend three *feasts* in a year, "Pentecost, Tabernacles, and Passover," by the special command of God. All the males who were twenty years of age and upwards, were to appear thrice annually before the Lord, in one Congregation at Jerusalem, which would leave all their borders defenceless,

and exposed to an invading foe. Their enemies in their absence might have laid their country waste and captivated their wives and children, unless restrained by the Providence of God. Here would be a trial of faith, and a proof of Providence; who for their encouragement promised that their enemies should not desire their Land at such times, which argues the superintending hand of Providence over nature and over human affairs. The xiv. chap. of Ezekiel is pertinent to the same point of doctrine: When a nation or people have forfeited their political existence by sin, and the sword of the Lord, either Beasts, Famine, Sword or Pestilence, was drawn for their extermination—'Though Noah, Daniel, and Job stood before me, saith the Lord, they should deliver neither son or daughter but their own souls.' The escape of Lot from the overthrow of Sodom, and by the warning of Christ, the escape of the Christians from the destruction of Jerusalem, are striking examples of Salvation, and remarkable proofs of the providence of God.

OF GOD'S REPOSITORY.

There was but one generation between ADAM and NOAH—in as much as Methuselah the oldest man, connected them both in a line—again, SHEM connected NOAH and Abraham, from whence a connect chain, down through his posterity was transmitted, recording the dispensations of Divine Providence.

God as a wise and good being we may apprehend, has actions and ends worthy of Himself. Hence the Righteous Disposer of events and the universal Governor. What he doeth must be right, just, good, and wise. And hence Righteousness, Justice, Goodness, and Wisdom reigning together, goodness will bestow MERCY where it can be done agreeable to Justice, and Wisdom and Righteousness are perfect and will not err, for here is perfect and complete harmony in the attributes of God, in every case whatever. The fewest means are employed to accomplish the most important and noble ends; in the display of his justice against the impenitent; and in his warnings to rebels. Hence privileges revert to the objects who were injured—whilst the greatest possible good and mercy is extended to future and remote generations of mankind.

'MORAL EVIL,' being universal in a social capacity, there was no 'moral virtue,' but in individuals; and hence the necessity of virtuous society. Therefore, as every thing must have a beginning, Abraham, the fifth life from Adam, Methuselah, Noah and Shem, having come in between, to connect the chain of tradition, by having a personal acquaintance with each other, until the invention of letters should furnish a record. Abraham lived in

Chaldea, feared the Most High, and was enjoined to quit that part of the country, and come to the land of Canaan. And God made a 'covenant with Abraham.' Christ was on the side of God.—The nature and object of the 'covenant' was 'HOLINESS,' which Abraham was to 'receive, practise, teach his family, and transmit to his posterity.'

'FAITH' was the condition on which the promised blessings were depending; and 'Circumcision' was the seal; and the blood of Christ, to which it looked forward, and which was comprised in the blessings, was to purify the heart; through the faith of Abraham, which was in fact the faith of the gospel.

The eternal covenant between the Father and Son, to divide the world between Christ and Satan, is no where to be found in Scripture; but the covenant with Abraham was real. The covenant was frequently intimated, but never confirmed, until it was actually done with Abraham.

The Apostle calls it a 'MAN'S COVENANT:' yet as Abraham was brought into it by faith and obedience, so must we. For we are to be 'justified by faith,' and 'without faith it is impossible to please God.' 'He that cometh to God, must believe that He is, and that he is a rewarder of them who diligently seek Him.'—Hence, in this manner of 'seeking' through 'faith,' there is a moral conformity to the whole will of God, from the heart, which necessarily implies resignation and dependence. Of course, there is an agreement between the 'will' of the 'creature' and the will of the Creator; at which time and place, the blessing of pardon and holiness is given by Christ, and received by the suppliant, which is the 'New Covenant' of grace wrote in the heart, and a confirmation of the covenant made with Abraham.

Thus Christ is the MERITORIOUS cause of our redemption.

But Faith is the "instrumental cause" of our Salvation.

'Abraham *believed* God, and it was counted, or imputed to him for Righteousness?'—Thus Abraham was justified by faith and he was called the friend of God. And Abraham was circumcised, and those males of his household also, which was the beginning of the Church of God, established by faith upon EARTH, as a Spiritual, Personal, Social Compact.

From the family of Abraham originated afterwards, what was called the 'Congregation of the Lord,' and the 'Church in the Wilderness,' through whom the 'Oracles' were transmitted to posterity. As bad and as rebellious as the Jews were, God chose the best people the world furnished at that time, to prove and shew his mercy and display his justice, in a visible and providential manner, to bring about universal righteousness, as a precious seed in reserve, and as a repository for Himself, to be manifested as a standing and living monument and credible proof through all ages

existence. Hence, said Jesus, 'O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, but *ye would not*. Behold, your house is left unto you desolate, and ye shall not see ME, henceforth, until ye shall say, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the LORD.*' And they were destroyed and dispersed, like the Ten Tribes, abroad amongst the nations of the earth, by the Roman army; like as a curse for disobedience, entailed on them to this day.

The abuse of moral privileges, by luxury and dissipation, tends to sink the human mind into brutality, and destroy every principle that is kind, noble, generous and humane. The present state of the natives of Africa and America, are striking examples, and shew to what a low ebb the moral faculty can be reduced. We see them prefer a toy or trifling trinket to useful arts. In them we see every unkind disposition indulged towards their fellow creatures; and *strangers* considered as *enemies*; so that almost every family becomes a village, and every village becomes a nation. And these are almost continually at war, destroying each other, so as to prevent their population from extending.

'The *love of money*' is said to be *the root of all evil.*' The spirit of it is 'moral evil' and the effect is, 'natural evil,' as the necessary consequence entailed. The 'love of money' led the nations of Europe to enslave and destroy the poor Blacks of Africa, and the miserable Indians of America. And within the space of three centuries, they have destroyed and enslaved together, as many of those unfortunate creatures, as now exist in those two quarters of the World. Nine Millions have been enslaved from Africa, which is computed to contain twelve millions of inhabitants. And an incredible number also must have been slain. The Spaniards in South America, enslaved and destroyed alone *twelve millions*—besides the millions which fell in the Isles, of which Hayti itself contained 3,000,000. But the superintending hand of Providence, which over rules the actions of men and devils, will no doubt bring good out of evil. Most of those unhappy wretches, after being in slavery a term of time, will be affronted at the idea of being sent back to their native shores; and many are rejoiced at their situation, miserable as it is, and express gratitude that by this means they have found the *faith of Abraham*, in the gospel of God's dear Son; to bring them the peace and joy of the kingdom. And why should it be incredible to believe, that one day the gospel shall return to their native shores, and spread through *Afric* regions, and that wilderness blossom like the rose?

The *natural abilities* of the European and the Africans, perhaps admit of improvement equally alike. Yet while one is now

rising to its highest excellence, the other is but a little superior to the brute beasts. Doubtless it is the providence of God, attending the improvement of one, while the other is justly visited with the entailment of ignorance, stupidity, and sloth; whilst moral evil fills their hearts, and governs all their actions.

America, adorned and enriched with some of the most lofty mountains, extensive rivers, natural canals, and numerous fresh inland seas; situated between two oceans, nearly divided in the centre, and yet connected by a narrow isthmus—enriched with almost every species of valuable treasure in the bowels of the earth, as if to invite the foreign emigrant to pay a friendly visit; nevertheless, lay undiscovered for several thousand years, as if reserved for the era, when ‘common sense’ began to awake up from her long slumber. As if the Creator’s wisdom and goodness had a ‘New World,’ in reversion from a new theatre for the exhibition of new things.

Here a new philosophy, both in *nature* and in *divinity* was to be taught, and embraced. False notions respecting the figure of the earth and the spurious *Vicegerency*, were both to be rejected together. The doctrine of ‘passive obedience and non-resistance,’ was then to be suspected and go down the hill. There seemed to be no place in the *political world*, nor any part of the *natural world*, that admitted of the change to begin, so thoroughly as in America. The *state of the country*, and the *prejudices of the people*, were both so favorable for it.

And three things are the result, which are worthy of reflection.

First. All *religious opinions* are protected; and universal rights of conscience established; and also a government of *representation*, which is *elective* only.

Secondly. The dirty slave-trade, in which almost all Europe, as well as America, was engaged, is now forever at an end—no nation protecting it. And in those countries where slavery exists, they are used more *humanely* than formerly; and instead of death for mere trifles, the penitentiary system is adopted.

Thirdly. The spirit of inquiry, the spirit of missionary is prevailing, together with the translation of the scriptures into so many new languages. *Bible societies* are forming to disperse the holy scriptures. Priestcraft is falling, and the power and influence of the established, corrupt, and wicked clergy, is broken and tumbling down. Crowned heads are going out of date. The whole world is in commotion, and peace taken from the earth! The *animal* creation is proving a *scourge* in many parts, to the human family. The wars may be considered as the *sword* of the Lord; as ‘if the Devil had come down in great wrath, knowing that he hath but a little time.’ This brings scarcity, which

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produces famine. And famine will bring *plague*, which already prevails in many parts of the world. Besides, such general and repeated shocks of earthquakes—so that *sixteen cities* were destroyed in a very short space of time, in South America. Thus, *so many* extraordinary things as have transpired of *late*, and are transpiring, has not been known in the annals of history. And there never was a *time*, except the *era* which gave our Saviour birth, that was so pregnant with important things, as the day in which we live.

May not the 'seventh trumpet' now be sounding, and the 'seven last plagues' be pouring out? Is not the harvest of the earth ripe for the reaper with the sharp sickle? Then we should swell the cry, 'Thy kingdom come—send forth more laborers into the harvest.' Is not the 'vintage of the earth ripe also to be gathered, and cast into the wine-press of the wrath of Almighty God?'

Are not all the governments of the old world tyrannical, and repugnant to the 'Law of Nature?' Is there any government in the world, except America, that is framed so as to admit of *amendment*? Being contrary to the 'law of nature,' and not admitting of amendments, are not those governments in their *very first principles*, of a pernicious kind, and of an *INCORRIGIBLE* nature, founded in 'moral evil,' so as to perpetuate the same, without any possibility of redress? Why ought they to exist? By what right can they exist? Are they worthy of an existence? Does not injured innocence cry against them for redress to the Governor of the World, whose tender care is over all his works? Does not *JUSTICE* in the 'Law of Nature,' demand a satisfaction against them? Would not *mercy* be extended from the Divine Governor to the *injured*, by undertaking their cause, and restoring to *them* *THEIR* rights, which are unjustly withheld by those evil governments? Do not these reflections lead the mind necessarily to conclude, that a *powerful* and *JUST JUDGE* will undertake the cause of the oppressed, and overwhelm the oppressors with an everlasting destruction.

SUMMARY REVIEW.

The 'Law of Nature,' is that relation which man originally stands in to his Creator and to his fellow Creature.

In this state, all men are *equal*, and naturally *free* and *independent*, in their individual capacity, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, as life, liberty, enjoyment of property, pursuit of happiness, and the privilege of private judgment. In these they are *equal* and *independent*, as much as if there was none other person upon earth, but the individual himself alone. But when taken in a social capacity, they are *depend-*

ent upon each other. The king is dependent on his subjects; and the governor on the governed; the master on the servant, and the servant on the master; the blacksmith upon the carpenter, and the carpenter upon the blacksmith, and both of them upon the farmer for their bread; and the farmer in his turn, is dependent on them for his mechanism. Thus *social* privileges are reciprocal; being connected mutually, they are necessarily dependent upon each other.

A *hermit's* life in solitude, is the most independent of any; and yet what could he do in sickness? He would then be dependent upon others for their assistance, to do that for him, which he could not do for himself. Therefore, the idea of *social independence* is a solecism, which has no place in common sense.

As a *whole* is composed of *parts*, and the parts collectively form one whole; so the human family are, and must be considered socially related, and collectively dependent upon each other.

Hence, our rights and necessities being equal, so are our obligations and duties likewise; and therefore, considering the rights of man as an individual, they are called *personal rights*. Considering them in his relation to his fellow-creature, they are called *social rights*; and considering them in his relation to his *Creator*, they are called *moral rights*.

Personal rights are by virtue of existence, as life, liberty, and all the intellectual rights of the mind; of course religion is one of those rights, as also the pursuit of happiness, &c.

Social rights are by virtue of being a member of society; and, as one of the whole, who is interested in the security of those personal rights against usurpation, *he* hath a claim in conjunction with others for protection of his person, property, and character. The right itself, is good and perfect, by virtue of *existence*; but is imperfect in point of power; both in each and all, in their individual capacity. And hence the power which is called government, is made up or composed of all those rights which are surrendered by the individuals themselves; and cast into the common stock, for the better regulation of the whole; which is made up or consists of the aggregate of those rights, which though perfect in the individual personally, yet *socially*, answer not his purpose for the want of *power*. And therefore, for the want of personal power, for the security of personal rights, the right *imperfect* in power is surrendered and cast into the common stock, and so the arm of society, of which he is a part, is taken in preference, and in addition to his own.—The aggregate of those rights, imperfect in power in the individual, is surrendered to trustees in trust, as the delegates of the people, to act as their representatives for the benefit of the whole. This delegated power is called government, and can never be applied to invade those

rights, retained, which are sufficiently perfect in the individual and for their proper exercise need no political strength. Of this kind are the rights of life, limb, liberty, and all the intellectual powers or rights of the mind, as study, pursuit of happiness, private judgment, &c. These things can never be invaded by the power of the government, without infringing upon natural justice. Because the power delegated, is to be applied for the benefit and welfare of the people; and not to oppress, domineer and tyrannize over the people, and make them miserable.

These observations show the origin of government, and the necessity of a CONSTITUTION, to point out, what may, and what may not be done. To make the rulers responsible for their trust, and conduct, and to secure the admission of improvement, as experience may point out wherein the Constitution is defective; and all the laws which are founded upon this, as a charter given to the delegates or trustees in trust, should be an expression of the *will* of the people. And those laws should be as few as is possible—consistently with the nature and state of things; and should be founded on such principles of justice as will admit of the greatest humanity in the suppression of vice, in the maintenance of equity, and in the promotion of virtue in the land. Therefore a proper *distinction* between vice and virtue should be made: and punishment fitted and apportioned to the nature of crimes. Torture, barbarity, and every thing which has a tendency to harden mankind, should be cautiously avoided. Private revenge should be discountenanced by civil laws; and the ABUSE of *servants* ought not to be passed over with such impunity as it is in many parts of the world; but there ought to be some restriction upon *Masters*, so that *justice* may take place in the administration of corporal chastisement.—Ought not a responsibility to be secured in this as well as in any other exercise of authority?—There is something here, which deserves to be seriously weighed, when we reflect on the universal rights of man.

Moral rights are the result of moral law:—And as a Creature dependent upon the Supreme Governor of the world, who enjoins the obligation and prescribes the Law, and rule of practice, man has a *right to obey*, by attending to the law, and by keeping the *rule*: And human governments, have no right to interfere by assuming a power to *tolerate* man to pay his devotion to his God. For before any human government existed in the world, there was a *compact* between *Man* and his *Maker*, which cannot be altered by any human laws. Therefore, all laws ought to be made in conformity to this pre-existing compact; otherwise they do mischief by making encroachments upon the rights of conscience, and cause confusion in society by creating broils and animosities—consequently all denominations of *Religion* should

be protected in the *peaceable* enjoyment of their *rights*. And *universal* rights of *conscience* ought to be established in every land, agreeable to the Creator's Law, primarily established by HIM.

Rights imply privileges; and a privilege implies duty, when taken on the ground of the '*Law of Nature*,' or the '*moral law*,' or the '*rule of practice*.' And duties imply obligation.—Therefore, if by the '*law of nature*,' one is favored with the Rights of equality and independence, it is his duty to enjoy, maintain and improve them. If it be my right to enjoy life and liberty, it becomes my duty to preserve and improve them; If I have a right to enjoy property and pursue happiness, it is my duty to do ~~it~~ properly. And also in matters of private judgment, in *matters* which concern *me*, it is my duty to investigate and judge rightly. Why is it my duty to maintain my equality and independence; and to preserve my life and liberty; and to enjoy property and pursue happiness and also to judge in matters of moral duty?—Equality, independence, life, liberty, property, happiness, and the *things* of private judgment in moral duty, are the gifts of the God of Nature; and designed by him to answer a purpose worthy of *Himself*. Therefore, to neglect them, is to treat them with indifference; and to be indifferent is to undervalue them; and to undervalue such important gifts, is to undervalue the Giver; and of course to treat him not with neglect only, but with a degree of contempt also. Because our all is connected with it. Not only our *eternity* hangs upon it, but also, all the things of *time*! And hence the omission, or neglect, prevents our accomplishing that *noble* purpose for which we were designed by the Creator.—Therefore we infringe upon the '*law of nature*,' by departing from Her Rule, which is the '*Law of God*'; and violate our moral obligation to the MOST HIGH, who, as a righteous JUDGE, will call all people to an account, '*and reward them*,' each individual, '*according to the deeds done in the body*.'

Consequently, our equality and independence is given us, as individuals, that we may be capable of thinking, and judging, and acting in an individual capacity, and not to be accountable for the misconduct of others, but live in conformity to the '*Moral Law*' of love. Hence Life is the gift of God, which is our right to enjoy. But man has no right to destroy it. To destroy our life, is to infringe on '*Nature's Law*,' and violate the obligation we are under to Nature's God. Of course also, as means are necessary to be used for the preservation of life, they must be attended to accordingly. Liberty also is one of our rights, but it must not be abused, but used agreeably to Natural Justice and moral obligation. The pursuit of property is a right, and becomes a duty, that we may not be dependent on others, but have

wherewith to help ourselves, and afford assistance to a fellow mortal in distress. Man was designed by his Maker to be happy, and the pursuit of happiness is enjoined upon him—and it is his duty to promote the same in others. Hence the *object* and the *right*, and the *means* and the *duty*, are all connected and stand in relation to each other. The duty demands the use of the means to improve the right, to obtain the object—*Happiness!* This duty is a moral obligation, because enjoined by the Moral Governor of the world.

Consequently, all the intellectual powers of the man, are called upon, and employed to act as a *rational* creature, who must give an account. The *understanding* to collect evidence that it may *judge* correctly. The *memory* to reflect and recollect, for the benefit of judgment. The *will* to consent only to what is right, agreeable to his best *judgment*. For man is led by inclination sometimes contrary to his judgment, and then he comes under condemnation, of which he is always *conscious* in a degree, conformable to his judgment.

Man is required to act as a rational creature, and to act from proper motives, and of course to act from a well regulated judgment. And that the judgment may be correct, the understanding must be well and properly formed. This implies a duty to search for truth, and weigh every evidence, and give it just and proper weight, in order to proceed righteously—as for eternity.

‘Moral Evil,’ is an improper motive or bad *principle at heart*. So says Christ—‘he that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed *adultery* with her already in his heart.’ The desire being indulged, and the consent of the mind being given to a thing contrary to a better judgment, against the ‘Law of Nature.’ Sin is a transgression of the law—and the ‘will of God’ is the Moral Law. By going contrary to it, a person must forfeit what I choose to call his *INFANTILE JUSTIFICATION*, mentioned in Romans v. 18 to 20. And thus goes out of the Divine favour by his own personal sin, into personal condemnation and the kingdom of Satan, and led captive by him at his will.

Hence there must be a personal repentance for personal sins; and a moral conformity to the will of God, to be reinstated in the Divine favor, as one of the divine family. This conformity is through ‘the door—the way’ to God, which is Christ. Here is pardon and peace to be found in such conformity, and faith, or what may be termed an assent or conformity to the proper moral evidence—evidence given to the mind, (but not to the bodily sense) is the power by which it may be done. This act of conformity is the *ACT OF FAITH*, which is ‘*imputed* for righteousness.’ Thus, ‘a man is justified by faith, and hath peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.’ Being justified by faith from the guilt of

his own sins, and having peace with God through Christ, he has a sensible love to God from obligation, and a sense of the love of God towards him, in the gift of Jesus Christ, by whom he hath acceptance, and for the Holy Spirit through the same Divine channel, from whom all blessings flow.

After *Justification by Faith* from the guilt of his own sins, he is required to prove his Love to Christ, by *walking in the Light and keeping his Commandments*. Hence the commandment is to 'Love one another'—'Love your enemies'—'do good to them that hate you'—'pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.'

Again, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, mind and strength, and thy NEIGHBOR as thyself.' Which implies that from the Heart, we should devote our whole 'soul, body, and substance,' with all our time and talents to the glory of the Most High which is a resignation to the will, disposal and service of God only—and hence thou shalt—'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' Who is thy neighbor? Thy friend, enemy, acquaintance and stranger, and whosoever is in distress, no matter who. He is God's creature, and thy brother by the 'Law of Nature;' and the 'Moral Law,' commands to 'Love thy neighbor as thyself;' and also enjoins the 'Rule of Practice,—'As ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Thus Moses, the Prophets, and Jesus Christ, teach the same doctrine. Hence the 'Moral Law' and the 'Law of Nature,' and the 'Rule of Practice,' on the principles of equity and obligation are a UNIT!!

Therefore, said Christ, 'if ye LOVE me, keep my commandments.' And one command is, 'to do good to those who are our enemies,' and 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' The conduct of the 'Samaritan' towards the man who fell among the thieves, is enough to prove, who our 'neighbor' is. The Samaritans, who taught to consider the 'Jews as enemies,' and hence the 'woman questioned Christ why he asked her for water.

The Samaritan proved a nurse, a servant, and benefactor, by providing an asylum, and taking him to the Inn, paying the expenses, without expecting any reward from man. And the command was 'go and do thou likewise.'—But 'if a man doth not love his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?

Again, 'If a man seeth his brother stand in need, and give not wherewithal to supply his wants; how dwelleth the love of God in him? Therefore we are commanded to 'love in deed and in truth, and not in word, and in tongue only.' Consequently, to say 'be ye warmed and be ye clothed,' and like the 'Priest and Levite, pass by on the other side,' with perfect neglect or composure, is a departure from the 'Law of Nature,' and the 'Moral

Law,' and the 'Rule of Practice," seeing our rights and wants, duties and obligations are equal in both LAWS and in the Rule !


We are to prove our Faith and Love to Christ, by 'walking' in the light and keeping His commandments ; and hence the injunction, 'as ye have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so *walk* ye in him.' And thence our actions, flowing from 'FAITH' and 'LOVE,' are the evidences or 'fruits of faith'—hence said James, 'show me your *faith without works*, and *I will shew you my faith by my works*.' Then he makes mention of two, who were justified by works flowing from faith, and adds, 'as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.'—therefore, we conclude that a man is justified by works and not by faith only.

Let it ever be remembered, that faith will never be called in question in the day of Judgment ; there will not be any need for faith then, because Christ who then will be our Judge, will have given up the mediatorial kingdom to the Father, and faith will be brought to sight. But the virtue of all our deeds will then be put to the trial, what spirit they were of ; and mankind will be 'rewarded according to their works,' or 'the deeds done in the body, whether they be *good or bad*.'

Those who 'put away the evil of their doings, and wash in the fountain for sin, and have made their robes white in the blood of the Lamb,' having continued 'to take up their cross daily, and follow after him by denying themselves,' will stand acquitted ; but 'these who will not have Christ to reign over them,' but lead a life of rebellion ; the non-conformity disqualifies them for a divine inheritance, hence there must be two classes of different states and dispositions of heart. And of course on the principles of 'moral justice,' they must have different sentences and rewards from a Righteous Judge. How then can it be said to them agreeable to truth, in that day of final retribution, 'Come ye *blessed* of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you—For I was an *hungered*, and ye gave me *meat*, I was *thirsty* and ye gave me *drink* ; I was a *stranger*, and ye took me *in* ; naked, and ye clothed me ; *sick* and in *prison*, and ye came unto me and *visited* me ; inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these, ye did it unto me : provided they have never been in the spirit of doing such things to the people of Christ, for his SAKE ?

The rights and obligations of all men are equal ; and so their exposures, and dangers, and necessities, and reverses of fortune, and hence the golden rule of practice, 'as ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them.'—for the objects of distress are the Representatives of the Lord Jesus—therefore as they are sent to 'prove our love to Christ,' a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple given to one of his little ones, shall

not lose its reward ;' and when done from duty and love to Christ, will be so acknowledged by him in the day of judgment, and is as acceptable to the Lord as if it had been done to the person of Christ. For 'God looketh at the heart, and judgeth according to intentions ;'—therefore 'he that confesseth me before men, him will I confess,' said Jesus, 'before my Father and his holy angels !'—'And for every idle word that man shall speak, he shall give an account thereof in the day of judgment,'—and 'by thy words thou shalt be JUSTIFIED—and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' Matthew xii. 36, 37.

Therefore man is called to devote all his time, soul, body, and substance, to the love and service of the Lord Jesus Christ in this world, if he would stand acquitted in the day of accounts ! Of course, objects of distress are to be attended to, and not barely those of our own household, though they ought not to be neglected ; but objects of charity should be sought out. I do not say, that such as are able to work, and will not, should receive, nor the man that will take your charity to buy spirits and get drunk—because to give to such, instead of its being a *charity*, it is hiring or paying for their idleness and wicked conduct, and encouraging them to persevere in evil. But it would be better to give to ten imposters, than to deny one real object of distress. Therefore remember the good Samaritan, 'Go and do thou likewise,' if you profess to be a follower of Christ, lest you hear the sentence, 'depart ;' with these piercing words—'I was sick, hungry, thirsty, a stranger, naked and in prison, and ye neither visited, nor fed, nor gave me drink, nor clothed me, nor took me in ; inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the *least of these*, ye did it not unto me—depart ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared (not for man) but for the devil and his angels.' Matt. xxv. 41, 42, 43, and 45. For those only '*who have washed their* (not Christ's) *robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb*, will stand before the throne of God.' Rev. vii. 14, 15, Isaiah i. 17. Zach. xiii. 1.— Therefore attend to the Two LAWS and the rule !

CONCLUSION.

'Personal Rights' are by virtue of 'existence.' 'Social Rights,' by virtue of being a member of Society. 'Moral Rights' by virtue of Moral obligation to the Moral governor. Equality and independence being the 'Law of Nature,' from them, government should spring by delegation and representation. But from assumption sprang tyrannical governments. And 'religious establishments by Law,' founded on ignorance and false 'Moral obligation,' was imposed on the world, to answer the purposes of ambitious usurpers. Hence arose the 'Papal Power,' as man was not suffered to think, and judge, and practice for himself :

but the nonsense of others must be believed before his own senses; which produced the 'seas of blood,' which flowed by the intolerant hand of persecution! At length 'Light' broke in! 'Common sense' waked up, and embraced a new theory of 'Philosophy,' both in 'Nature,' and 'Divinity!' The Old World being chained, did not admit of a general and thorough reform; hence America was the only place, both in the Political and Natural World, that opened a fair prospect for a beginning. And such as began to think, and to judge, and to act for themselves, and felt the spirit of 'independence and equality of man, which is the law of nature,' arose from their depressed state, and felt the spirit of enterprize. They 'flew to the wilderness' of America, pregnant with the spirit of freedom in embryo, in their emigration, which then laid the foundation, and still marks the outlines of our national character.

Moral virtue came by revelation, and is enjoyed by inspiration in the heart, called 'restraining grace.' Hence the necessity of a '*moral social compact*.' Abraham and his successors formed the beginning of the true Church of God; through whose succession the promised Messiah came. The Jews are a standing monument of the just dispensations of Divine Providence. Justice, when administered in the removal of societies corrupted through 'moral evil,' who are incorrigible, and unworthy of a political existence, proves a mercy to rising generations. And such revolutions will continue, until it appears whose right it is to reign, and his kingdom come, and reign over all! The sword of the Lord is drawn out; and the five scourges of the Almighty are abroad in the earth; and Oh! that the people would 'learn Righteousness!!!'

A cause of a cause, is the cause of the effect also which that cause produces. And hence, those who *injure* others by *slander* or *misrepresentation*, are responsible for all the consequences attending it; and must answer it before the SUPREME JUDGE of the world!

By what right or authority may one person, or a body of men, raise a persecution against another? It is not authorised in the records of Christ, either by his 'commands' or his 'example.'—And of course, such a right or power was never 'delegated' or sanctioned by him. Man could not bestow the right, because he does not possess the authority to do it; unless it be 'assumed,' which is an unjust tyranny.

'PERSECUTION, for differences of opinion and modes, &c. in religion, is an 'ANTI-CHRISTIAN SPIRIT;' and is contrary to every 'rule of right,' and repugnant to every 'moral obligation; and of course it is a violation of the LAW of NATURE,' as well as

of the 'MORAL LAW,' and of the 'RULE OF PRACTICE.' Of course, 'natural and moral justice' must condemn it.

Those people who usurp the liberty to attack the absent character of others, in an unjust manner, to weaken their influence by destroying their good reputation, and sinking them into 'contempt' in public estimation; rejoicing at their misfortune and calamity, as if a very great victory was gained, do not know what spirit they are of! It would be well for such persons to study the 'law of nature,' with the 'Moral Law,' and reconsider them by comparing them with the 'Rule of Practice,' examining their own SPIRIT and conduct, and then see how they agree and comport together, according to LOVE and UNION, which is enjoined by the gospel of Jesus Christ. For if the PRACTICE flows from an unjust and an unhalloved spirit of jealousy, from ambition, pride, and self-will, the SOUL is surely destitute of that 'heavenly principle,' that 'noble mind,' which was in Christ; and which was designed to reign in the Heart and Practice of His Followers, to be made manifest in their spirit and tempers; and shine forth in their example continually. And hence they are to be called 'the light of the world,' and as a city set on a hill which cannot be hid. And it would be proper for such persons as those to attend to Luke xi. 35th, with the context. And Matt. vii. 2, &c. as a looking-glass.

Therefore 'let all those who name the name of Christ, be careful to depart from iniquity,' and never take the 'devil's tools,' with which to do the Almighty's work.

But said one, 'Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbid him, because he followed not us.' Why do you forbid him?—'He followed not with us.' Wherein does he differ? 'In name, mode and opinion.' But do you believe he is a good man, and that the essence of the matter is in him? O yes, 'but he followeth not with us.' Take care! forbid him not!

The lowest sense in which one can be supposed to '*cast out devils in the name of Christ*,' is to be instrumental in the hands of Christ by preaching the Gospel to the AWAKENING and conversion of sinners, from the errors of their ways, to serve the Living GOD. Now if such fruit evidently appears, and it be manifest that the pleasure of the Lord prospers in his hand, who durst set himself up as inquisitor general? and as the accuser, witness, judge, and jury, to condemn such as being nothing, but *shameless intruders and most daring impostors*? But 'he followeth not us!' Hark! hear what the Master saith—'forbid him not; for there is no one who *shall* do a miracle in my name, that *can* readily speak evil of me; for he that is not against you, is for you.'

It is not enough barely to say, I will let him alone; for there

is no NEUTER in this war ! Therefore, if you are a follower of Christ, you must prove your love to him, according to your ability. 'For he that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin.' And in the day of final decision, you will hear the sentence, 'inasmuch as ye did it NOT unto one of the *least* of these, ye did it not unto ME. Depart, &c.

Consequently, that the cause of Christ be not hindered, but that his gospel take an universal spread, instead of being actuated by a short-sighted, mean, sinister, low, contentious party spirit, we should have a heart full of love to God and man, to expand the mind with that 'Charity which never faileth, and thinketh no evil, but suffereth long and is kind, is gentle, and easy to be intreated.' And look at the universal or most extensive GOOD ; and encourage such *means* and institutions as are most likely to accomplish the most noble ends and purposes to mankind. And hence, not like the Jews, who long looked with expectation for the Messiah, and when he came, rejected him. Or, as some others, who pray to God to revive his work, and send forth more laborers into the harvest ; then oppose both the work and the *means*, which the wisdom of God is pleased to make use of to accomplish it. God doth work and accomplish great and important ends, by simple means, which are noble and worthy of himself, to exhibit his 'finger, hand, or arm,' of Power and Wisdom to mankind ; whilst his mercy and goodness is magnified, and his Justice displayed to the most ordinary understanding. And thus, out of the mouth of BABES and sucklings God will perfect praise !

The apostle rejoiced, that the Gospel was preached ; and even if Christ was preached by those who were of different
***** he did rejoice. Therefore forbid not those whom God hath sent to preach the Gospel of HIS *dear* SON, lest you be found fighting against God, and it cause you tears of sorrow and repentance when it is too late. For the *cause* is the Lord's, and the Eternity of mankind is connected therewith, and hangs upon it ; and 'he that sees the SWORD coming, and *blows* not the trumpet—the man is taken away in his iniquity, but his blood or soul is required at the Watchman's hand !' Therefore 'the Gospel is to be spread into *all nations*, and preached to *every creature*,'—and the Ministers, i. e. Servants, should 'be instant in *season* and *out of season*, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering,'—and swell the cry, 'THY KINGDOM COME,' that 'more laborers may be sent into the harvest—and many run to and fro, and knowledge be increased ;' that people may be informed, and turn from their idols ;—' Satan

be bound, that the nations be deceived no more ; but the house of the Lord be established in the top of the Mountain, and exalted above the hills, and all nations flow unto it ; when the *Wolf* and the *LAMB* shall dwell together, and the *Leopard* shall lie down with the *Kid*. The *Watchmen* shall see eye to eye ; and the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters do the sea." When they shall not hurt nor destroy in all the holy mount ; the Nations learn war no more ; when 'the light of the *Moon* shall become as the light of the *Sun* ; and the light of the *Sun* shall become *seven-fold*, as the light of *seven days*. And then the *vice* of *superstition*, and the barbarity of *IGNORANCE* and *Tyranny* will hide their deformed faces, being swept with the besom of destruction from the human family.

'Natural Evil' is the effect or consequence of 'Moral Evil.' And ignorance, superstition and tyranny, with impositions and wicked laws, have been and still are the chains by which 'social privileges' are curtailed. They are the means also, which have brought what is called 'Natural Evil,' as the necessary consequence of 'Moral Evil,' upon society, in the different ages and nations of the world, which hath been and still is such a *curse* to the world of mankind !

General information, and the spread of '*Moral Virtue*' are a necessary *antidote* to such obnoxious *PRINCIPLES* ; that the '*moral faculty*' may be repaired, and *peace* and *righteousness* reign in every clime.*

While inventions are increasing, and the arts and sciences are improving, it may not be amiss for all the well-wishers of Zion, to watch the openings of Providence, for the furtherance of truth, and the spread of knowledge valuable to society among mankind. And provided some suitable point should some day be taken on the *Isthmus*, which connects the *NORTH* and *SOUTH* of the '*NEW WORLD*' now probably held in reversion, as a mercy to rising generations, to be a *Theatre*, for great things to be displayed, worthy of its *AUTHOR*, and there should be the proper arrangements made for the spread of the true knowledge through

* The "CONSTITUTION" of the United States was framed by a *delegated* "CONFEDERATION," who were chosen by the *people* for that purpose. The Constitution, when framed, was *recommended* by the Confederation to the different states—each of which voluntarily received it by their own proper legislative and sovereign authority, whose officers were chosen by the *people* for that purpose—all of which procedure is agreeable to *natural justice*, arising from the *CREATOR'S* "*law of nature* ! Which shews the *FEDERAL union* deduced from *DEMOCRATIC principles*—which exhibits the difference between six and half dozen, each state reserving to itself the power to govern its own policy—which shews that Congress cannot legislate on *slavery* in the South, or upon the *Yankee law religion* in the North, of course they are "STATE" instead of *national crimes*, existing before we became a nation, when under the k*** !

the whole world. How long a space could be required to circumnavigate, and circumfuse such knowledge of the *Causeless Causator*, as would inspire all nations with sensations of gratitude to the Redeemer of Mankind, whose command we have for our encouragement; 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel, and lo! I am with you!!!'

Buckingham County, Virginia,
August 21, 1812.

LORENZO'S
TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION,
FOR AN OFFENCE
AGAINST THE PEACE AND DIGNITY OF THE STATE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
UNDER THE OLD FEUDAL LAW.

The greater the Truth the greater the Libel:

A NEW CASE—ADMITTED SO TO BE BY THE LAWYERS—1821

FOURTH EDITION.

State of South Carolina.

Benjamin Hammet, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, that Lorenzo Dow now in this city, hath recently published and distributed in this city, a book printed at Philadelphia, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and called "History of Cosmopolite, or the four volumes of Lorenzo's Journal concentrated in one," and headed at the top of the title page as follows: "Quintessence of Lorenzo's Works," that in the said volume at page one hundred and seventy-five, are the following words and figures: "Monday, January 9th, 1804. I rode 52 miles, and arrived at Charleston late in the evening, and put up with W. Turpin, Esq, who received me when I first was in this place and procured me picked meetings at his house. I find Mr. Hammet has gone to a world of spirits, to answer for the deeds done in the body. As it respects his division, it appears his motives were impure, arising from a desire of popularity; in consequence of which there was a breach of confidence by him as respected the incorporation of the house; awful to relate, it appears he died drunk." And on the same page below are these words, "and Hammet's conduct done injury"—and in page one hundred and thirty three are the following words: "Mathews

invited me to supply an appointment for him in the great Meeting House, which was built for the Methodists, and about which Hammet made crooked work." And again on the same page below, are these words, "the Hammet Methodists were low." This deponent further swears that the person called Hammet in the above extracts is the Rev. William Hammet; on or about the fifteenth of May, one thousand eight hundred and three—that he was a Methodist Preacher in this city—and that the charges against him, and reflections upon his memory, contained in the above extracts, are FALSE, MALICIOUS, and LIBELLOUS; and that the said book from which they are taken, does by its distribution bring contempt on the family of the said deceased Rev. W. Hammet, and tend to stir up hatred and contempt for his memory in this community—and to excite his relations to a breach of the peace. This Deponent further swears, that he at first endeavored to satisfy said Lorenzo, that said allegations and statements were untrue, and did accordingly do so, but that the said Lorenzo refused to give any certificate of such his conviction.* This Deponent lastly saith that the said Lorenzo hath distributed already several of said books, and is continuing to distribute them, all which acting and doings of said Lorenzo are against the peace and dignity of said State.

B——H.

Sworn before me, this 22d Jan, 1821. }

J——H——M——, Q. U. }

*  The following was the only condition on which I could avoid the suit, which in conscience I CONFESS I could not sign:

"State of South Carolina }
Charleston District. }

Know all men by these presents, That I, Lorenzo Dow, Preacher of the Gospel being called upon by Benjamin Hammet, for an explanation of what is contained in a printed work, entitled, "Lorenzo's Works," of which I am the Author, and having found, that I herein asserted sentiments, not from my personal knowledge, but from hearsay, which I now believe to be incorrect, and without proper foundation. This is, therefore, to state to the world, that what is contained in the 133d and 175th pages of said work, relative to the Rev. Wm. Hammet, deceased, is totally erroneous, and are not entitled to that credit, which has been paid to them. I further certify, that I make this declaration, out of a due regard to truth, to the memory of the deceased to his surviving relatives and friends, and to the community in which he lived. And I earnestly request all such persons who are in possession of said work, to take notice accordingly.

Given under my hand, this twenty second day }
of January, Anno Domini, 1821. }

WITNESS,"

THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY J. H. MITCHELL, JUSTICE OF THE QUORUM, IN AND FOR
THE SAID STATE.

To any lawful Constable—

WHEREAS complaint upon oath has been made unto me by Benjamin Hammet, that Lorenzo Dow, now in this city, hath recently published and distributed in this city a certain work entitled "History of Cosmopolite," and another* work entitled "Quintessence of Lorenzo's Works," wherein the late William Hammet is most scandalously libelled and which tends to stir up hatred and contempt to his memory, and to excite his relations to a breach of the peace, and that said Lorenzo still continues to distribute said work against the peace and dignity of the State.

These are therefore to command you to apprehend the said Lorenzo Dow, to bring him before me to be dealt with according to law.

J. H. M. Q. U. [L. s.]

Given under my hand and seal at Charleston, this 22d day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty one.

The State vs. Lorenzo Dow.

LIBEL.

The Keeper of the Gaol will receive the prisoner for further examinations, he refusing to give bail, and him keep.

J. H. M. Q. U.

January 22d, 1821.

[This was sent by my friend, and not an officer, to the *tight house*.]

* Here was a BULL, the works were one.

State of South Carolina, } *Jan. 24, 1821.*
Charleston District.

Personally appeared before me, Samuel Richards, one of the Justices of the Quorum, in and for the said State, Lorenzo Dow, Duke Goodman and Henry T. Farmer. Who acknowledge themselves indebted to the State of South Carolina. Lorenzo Dow in the sum of five hundred dollars, Duke Goodman, and Henry T. Farmer in the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars each. The same to be paid out of their real or personal estate, should the said Lorenzo Dow not fulfil the condition of the following recognizance.

The conditions of this Recognizance is such, That if the said Lorenzo Dow be and appear before the Court of Sessions to meet in Charleston on the second Monday in May next, to answer to the said State for a Libel against the memory of the late Reverend William Hammet of which he stands charged, and that he the said Dow do submit to the sentence of the said Court, and do not depart the Court without license from said Court, then this Recognizance to be null and void, and of no effect—otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

LORENZO DOW,
 DUKE GOODMAN,
 HENRY T. FARMER.

Done in presence of }
Samuel Richards, Q. U.

[The foregoing signature is given at the earnest request of my friends, (who I conceive act from the purest of motives,) but with a great burthen on my mind, and was I to act my feelings, it would be otherwise, which I cannot communicate to others—but I have never acknowledged a "*Rev. William Hammet.*"]

L. DOW.

INDICTMENT.

The State of South Carolina vs. the Rev. Lorenzo Dow.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|------------------|
| ROBERT Y. HAYNE, Esq. } | { | SAMUEL PRIOLEAU, |
| Att'y General; : | { | Counsel for Dft. |

THIS was an indictment for a libel on the deceased WILLIAM HAMMET, tried before his Honor Judge JOHNSON, in Charleston, in the state Court of Sessions, the 17th May, 1821. The alleged libel was contained in a journal of the defendant's life, published by him originally in Europe, and reprinted in Philadelphia in the year 1815 by some other person. The first count of the indictment was in the following words :

The State of South Carolina, }
Charleston District. } *to wit :*

AT a Court of General Sessions, begun and holden in and for the District of Charleston in the State of South Carolina at Charleston, in the District and State aforesaid, on Monday, the fourteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one:—

The Jurors of and for the District of Charleston, aforesaid, that is to say, William Blamy, (foreman) William Sawyer, Sylvanus Keith, Nathaniel Hawson, Francis Eveleth, Welcome Obeds, Henry Knust, Francis Farmana, Michael Graham, John Kallner, John Dunn, Adolph Beekman, Peter Guard, and William A. Caldwell, upon their oaths present, That whereas William Hammet, now deceased, but formerly of Charleston, in the District and State aforesaid, was in his lifetime, and long before the publishing of the false, scandalous and malicious libels hereinafter mentioned, a preacher of the gospel, of the denomination of Christians called Methodists: and whereas a certain house of public worship was, during the lifetime of the said William Hammet, erected and built in the city of Charleston, in the District and State aforesaid, called and known by the name of Trinity Church; and whereas

a certain division had taken place long before the death of the said William Hammet, and also long before the printing and publishing of the false, malicious and scandalous libels hereinafter mentioned, among the persons calling themselves Methodists, and one party, or division, of the said sect, or denomination, called themselves, and were known by the name of the Primitive Methodists, to which said party, or division, the said William Hammet in his lifetime attached himself and belonged. And whereas, the said sect, or denomination, called Primitive Methodists, worshipped Almighty God in the house of public worship aforesaid, called Trinity Church, and the said William Hammet officiated in said Church, and was a preacher of the gospel to the persons called Primitive Methodists, associated together and worshipping in the said Trinity Church as aforesaid: And by an act of the General Assembly of the said State of South Carolina, passed on the twenty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, certain citizens of Charleston, being of the said denomination of Primitive Methodists, and worshipping in Trinity Church as aforesaid, were made a body politic and corporate, by the name of the Primitive Methodists or Trinity Church, Charleston. And the said William Hammet continued from the time of passing the said Act of Incorporation to the period of his death, to officiate and preach in the said Church to the persons who assembled therein for the public worship of Almighty God, and conducted and demeaned himself as a Preacher in the said Church, honestly, soberly, faithfully, and as a good, pious and faithful Preacher ought to have done. Now the Jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do present, that one Lorenzo Dow, not being ignorant of the premises, but well knowing the same, and intending to injure, defame, disgrace and vilify the memory, reputation and character of the said William Hammet, then deceased (but lately a Preacher of the gospel, as aforesaid, in the city of Charleston, and District and State aforesaid,) and to bring the family and descendants of the said William Hammet into great scandal, infamy and contempt, and to cause it to be believed that the said William Hammet in his lifetime was a person of vicious and depraved principles and habits, and that his actions were wicked, and his motives impure, and that he was guilty of a breach of confidence, and was so given to habits of intoxication that he died drunk. Did on the fifteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, with force of arms at Charleston, in the District and State aforesaid, maliciously and unlawfully publish, and cause to be published, a certain false, scandalous, and malicious Libel, of and concerning the said William Hammet, and of and concerning his motives, principles, and habits,

and also his conduct as a Preacher of the Gospel, and a member of the sect or denomination of Christians called Primitive Methodists, and also of and concerning his conduct in relation to the said division among the Methodists as aforesaid, and his conduct of and concerning the House of Public Worship, called Trinity Church, as aforesaid, and of and concerning the said Act of Incorporation aforesaid, which said Libel was and is contained in a certain printed book, which he the said Lorenzo Dow had before that time composed and caused to be printed, entitled "Quintessence of Lorenzo's Works—History of Cosmopolite, or the four Volumes of Lorenzo's Journal concentrated into one," in which said Libel are contained the false, scandalous, malicious, defamatory and libellous words and matter following of and concerning the said William Hammet, that is to say, "I (meaning the said Lorenzo Dow) find Mr. Hammet (meaning the said William Hammet) has gone to the world of spirits, to answer for the deeds done in the body," (meaning thereby that the said William Hammet was a wicked man, who had departed this life, and whose soul had gone to answer to God, and to be punished for the sins he had committed on earth.) "As respects his" meaning the said William Hammet's "division" (meaning a certain division or separation, which took place in Charleston among the sect or denomination of Christians called Methodists, to one of which sects or divisions called Primitive Methodists, the said William Hammet was attached and belonged, as aforesaid,) "his" (meaning the said William Hammet's) motives were impure, arising from a desire of popularity," (meaning that the said William Hammet was actuated by impure and unchristian motives, and by a desire of popularity, in uniting himself to the said persons, calling themselves Primitive Methodists as aforesaid) "in consequence of which there was a breach of confidence by him" (meaning the said William Hammet) "as respected the incorporation of the House" (meaning that the said William Hammet had been guilty of a breach of confidence and good faith, concerning the said act of the Legislature, passed on the twenty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, incorporating certain persons, worshipping in a house of public worship in the city of Charleston, called Trinity Church, by the name of "The Primitive Methodists of Trinity Church, Charleston," and that the said William Hammet had basely abused the confidence reposed in him, by the persons who worshipped in, or belonged to the said Church) "awful to relate, it appears he" (meaning the said William Hammet) "died drunk," (meaning thereby that the said William Hammet was so wicked and depraved, and so unmindful of his duty, and the awful situation he was placed in when about to die,

that at the solemn moment when he was about to pass from time to eternity, and from the earth to the presence of his God, he the said William Hammet, had voluntarily and wickedly deprived himself of reason by drink, and had departed this life in a state of brutal insensibility and intoxication.) And in another part of the same Libel are contained certain other false, scandalous and malicious words and matter following, of and concerning the said William Hammet, that is to say, "Matthews" (meaning a certain Phillip Matthews,) "invited me" (meaning the said Lorenzo Dow,) "to supply an appointment for him" (meaning the said Phillip Matthews,) "in the Great Meeting House" (meaning a certain house of public worship in Hasell street, in the city of Charleston, called and known by the name of Trinity Church) "built for the Methodists, and about which Hammet" (meaning the said William Hammet,) "made crooked work" (meaning thereby that the said house of public worship had been built for the sect or denomination of Christians called Methodists, and that the said William Hammet had unjustly, basely and impiously, divested them of the same, and converted it to purposes different from those for which it was originally designed, and that the conduct of the said William Hammet in relation to the said House of public worship, was base, unjust and unholy,) to the great disgrace and scandal of the memory, reputation and character of the said William Hammet, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace and dignity of the same State aforesaid.

The second count was similar to the first, except that it contained no averment that the publication was made to excite the family of the deceased to a breach of the peace but merely that it had such a *tendency*. Upon the defendant's being asked if he was ready for trial, he replied that he plead to the jurisdiction of the Court on the ground that he was a citizen of the State of Connecticut, and in a suit, civil or criminal, between a State and the citizen of another State, the Federal Court alone had jurisdiction. No remark was made by the Attorney General to this plea which was thus submitted to the Court. It was immediately overruled, and the defendant's counsel observed to the Court that his client had made the objection with a view that the Court should notice it, in order that he might pursue his right to appeal on this ground if he had any.* He then plead *Not Guilty*.

* The Constitution of the U. S. Article iii. Sec. 2--"The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity---"to controversies between two States---between a State and citizens of another State."

Laws of the U. S. Vol. 2. Chap. 20, Sec. 13---The Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction over all controversies of a civil nature, where a State is a party, except between a State and its citizens---and except also between a State and citizens of

The jury being sworn by the clerk,†

The Attorney General opened the case, and stated the law as it will be found in his speech delivered in reply, and reported in this trial; he then narrated the facts, and called his witnesses. The first witnesses sworn was

James C. Martindale. He testified that in January last he called on the defendant at Mr. Duke Goodman's where he resided—that he entered into conversation with him, and after some time asked defendant to let him have a set of his works. There are two or three other works besides the Journal. The defendant on this turned to Mr. Goodman and said: Friend Goodman will you get a set for Martindale? The works were accordingly taken down, and handed to witness, who borrowed the money, the price being two dollars, and paid for them that night. Upon being asked if the copy handed to him was the same he purchased, he replied that he could not say so, but 'twas one of the same kind. He was asked to turn to page 133 and then say if he remembered the words: he turned to it and said that he had never read the words before; that the book he bought had the same title page, and it was delivered by him to Mr. Benjamin Hammet. He said he remembered seeing the Rev. Mr. Hammet; but never heard that he preached in the meeting house in Hasell street.

Upon his being cross examined by defendant's counsel, he said that Mr. Hammet had left a son and daughter, but he did not know how old they were, either now or when their father died—that the son was the elder of the two, and he supposed him not over thirty years of age. He said, he, witness, had obtained the copy of the works of defendant at the request of Mr. Hammet, for him, and to promote the sale of the books. He wished to assist the good old man on his journey through life. He said the defendant was a preacher and that he, witness, liked to hear him very much. On being asked where the copy held in his hand was printed, he replied in Philadelphia. He was then questioned by the Attorney General and replied that he had no idea the book contained any thing against Mr. Hammet when he procured the copy for the son, nor did he believe that the son knew any thing of it either.

other States—in which latter case it shall have (i. e. the State) *original*, but NOT *EXCLUSIVE jurisdiction*.

The lawyers said I could not appeal to the U. S. Court, because my case was a *criminal* case, and not a civil one; a U. S. Judge said I could appeal to it, by or through the Constitutional Court. It is an important question. Where does the TRUTH lay? May the nation see to it!

† Before this I thought that Criminals were privileged to *challenge* the Jury---here I saw no opening, or I should have challenged the *foreman*, for reasons known to myself.

Mr. *Philip Hoff* was then sworn and testified that the defendant had deposited with him for sale, eight books with the same title page, with the one shown him about the 15th January last, but he did not know if they were copies of the same with that shown him—they had not the same binding, this being in boards and those in leather.

Mr. *Benjamin Hammet* was then sworn. Upon examining the book he said it was the same that Martindale had furnished him with, and which he had requested him to get—that at the time he made the request he did not know that it contained any thing disreputable to the memory of his father. He said at the time his father died, he, the witness, had entered his tenth year—that he was now twenty-seven years old—his father's name was William Hammet, and he was in his lifetime a preacher in Trinity Church.

Mr. *David Richer* testified that he knew Mr. Hammet, and he was a preacher in Trinity Church in Hasell street—that he was the founder of the Church and his sect was called “The Episcopal Primitive Methodists.” There had been a division between the Methodists—one party worshipped in Trinity Church, and Hammet belonged to it, and continued there till he died in May, 1803—that the meeting house was built by Hammet and his friends, by subscription—the sect professed to follow the doctrines of Wesley.

Upon his cross examination he said that he had been one of Hammet's congregation—the house was not built by Hammet himself but by collections from the members—did not know if Hammet had the power to dispose of it—it was sold by one *Brazier* to the Episcopalians, after the death of Hammet, to whose situation he had succeeded—the other division of Methodists he said was called *Asbury* and *Coke's* Methodists—he did not know what disease Mr. Hammet died of.

In the course of this cross examination the defendant's counsel inquired into the truth of the charges in the publication both respecting the alleged breach of confidence by Hammet, and his having been brought to his grave by intemperance. This course being objected to as contrary to the established rules of law, he contended that he had a right to give truth in evidence to show the defendant's intention, if not to justify, that the common law certainly intended that the falsehood of the writing should be regarded essential to constitute a libel, or the epithet false would not have been found in all the precedents as it is, even in the present indictment. Why, he asked, is this so universally done if it be unnecessary? Was the Court to be reminded at the present day that the immateriality of the truth or falsehood of a libel in an indictment was a *Star-Chamber* doctrine?—originating in a tribunal

having no jury ; composed of judges appointed by the king, calculated to rivet the chains of despotism on the people—ready to serve the favorites of the crown, and opposed in its very constitution to freedom ? A court which at length became so hateful to the nation as to be abolished as a nuisance ?—Was this Court to be reminded that the doctrine was never heartily received as sound even by the English judges themselves, for though Mansfield sometimes (not always) adopted it, Camden and others rejected it?—that it was a doctrine repugnant to truth, for it punished it—to justice, for it enabled the wicked to triumph—to policy, for it sanctioned crimes by protecting criminals—and to the constitution of these free States, for it destroyed the liberty of the press. He contended that it not only violated law but what was perhaps more important to mankind, it oppugned common sense—that it was clear there could be no crime without a criminal intention existing in the mind—that as the jury were called on to find the guilt or innocence of the defendant, they must judge of the intent with which the act was done from evidence, or it would entrap their consciences, for they were sworn to give a true verdict—that if the jury be confined to the meaning of the words used, and the fact of their being published without being allowed a further investigation as to the defendant's intention, then the prothonotary of the Court who had read the words to the jury and thus published them, would be guilty of a libel if the words were libellous—then the Attorney General himself could not escape from the same consequences, and if the same rule was adopted in a capital case he might become a *fe lo de se* ! He then reasoned from analogy to show what the law had established as a rule in other criminal cases—that a man might carry off the goods of another without his consent, which being found, the law would *presume* it was done feloniously, but it did not deprive the defendant of the right to prove, if he could, that he was not guilty of the theft : for he might have found the goods, or received them of another person innocently ; or they might have been clandestinely put into his pocket by another. So upon an indictment for murder, the killing being proved, the law correctly implies malice aforethought ; but the defendant may justify it as in obedience to the law, or *se defendendo*—Now, said he, if the rule contended for in a libel be applied to murder and proof be excluded of the intent of the party killing, then the soldiers of our country might be executed for fighting her battles, or the sheriff for executing the mandate of the law !—Why, he asked, should the crime of libel be put on a different footing from all other crimes ? Was it worse than murder ; yet the murderer was humanely permitted to urge every thing he could by proof and argument in his defence ;

but the lips of the supposed libeller were closed!—that the only true reason which could be given for so absurd a rule was that it would prevent the follies and crimes of the great from being brought before the public eye—it would tend to conceal from the people the misdemeanors of their servants; and this reason of itself showed that its corrupt origin was as he had asserted in the Star-Chamber—that there was but one solitary reason openly urged why the rule should now exist, which was *that whether true or false the tendency of libel is the same, it leads to a breach of the peace*. Now it is manifest that this reason would, if true, exclude every defence whatsoever in case of libel, yet the books say that there are many defences. Holt on libel, enumerates a great variety (in page 279) as that he was an innocent publisher; or that it was a report of a trial; or of a committee of Parliament; or matter of caution and without malice, or admonition, or christian reproof, or criticism; in short, says he, “*whatsoever in reason is a sufficient vindication is so in law*,”—yet this same writer is one of the most strenuous in other parts of his treatise in maintaining that the truth is no defence!—This the counsel contended was unreasonable, for who he asked could deny that the truth or falsehood of a publication concerning another, must form a most material consideration in weighing the intention of the defendant? He then showed that the subject always continued a *vexata questio* in Great Britain, the bench differing among themselves on the propriety of the rule, and the bar doing the same whenever the question arose—he showed that one party contended that the greater the truth the greater the libel; which to a certain extent was admitted by their opponents to be true; but the conclusions drawn from the trial were very different; for whilst the former would not admit it at all, the latter insisted that a jury might safely be permitted to listen to the proof of the truth of every charge, because if it aggravated the libel the defendant would no more bring it forward than plead guilty; but if it showed his intent to be innocent he ought to be allowed. That at length, in the year 1793, an attempt was made in Great Britain to put a stop at this indecent altercation, and a bill was introduced (generally called Mr. Fox's libel bill) which was discussed for some time by many of the first men in that kingdom, and after some pruning passed, and became the law there.—That bill not only enacted but purported to *declare* what the law was, namely, that a jury might in prosecutions for libel give a general verdict of guilty; or not guilty which the Court contended either meant that they should be allowed to consider the *intention* of the defendant in making the publication, or else it meant nothing; if it meant the former, then he said under that act, the truth, to manifest the motive (not to *justify*) might be proved—

that if it were declaratory of the common law, then the citizens of this State are clearly entitled to its provisions—but if it were not, then was Great Britain upon this matter more free than ourselves; a conclusion at which he should be sorry to arrive. He then quoted the case of the seven bishops in 4 State Trials; of the king against Fuller, in 5 State Trials; of the king against Horne, in Cowper 672, and the king against Woodfall in 4 W. Rp. 127, all which he contended clearly established the doctrine of the common law (as declared by Mr. Fox's bill) to be that the defendant was at liberty to prove any thing which showed his intention not to be malicious, and a *fortini* the truth.

He then quoted what had been said by Chief Justice Parsons of Massachusetts upon the point in 4 Mass. Tr. Rp. 169—that this great judge, whom the counsel said he regarded with as much veneration for his talents and knowledge of law, as he did Lord Mansfield himself, had expressly admitted in that case the propriety of the distinction between offering the truth in evidence as a complete justification, and merely to show the intent of defendant! admitting it for the latter purpose, but rejecting it for the former. That this doctrine had been most satisfactorily demonstrated (he could use no other term) by the celebrated Judge Kent of New-York, in his opinion delivered in the case of the People against Crosswell, reported in 3 Johnson's cases 377, which opinion was concurred in by Judge Thompson of the same Court; and, as far as was contended for in this case, expressly agreed to by Judge Lewis, who on the general question of truth being a justification had dissented from Judges Kent and Thompson—that with all this authority to support him he could not doubt of the law—he admitted that the case of the State vs. Lebre determined in this State, had settled the point that the truth could not here be given in evidence as a *justification*, but he contended it went no farther, and that what he required might be allowed without impugning that case. But he submitted it to the better judgment and learning of the Court.

The Attorney General in reply contended that the truth could not be admitted even to show the intent—his arguments will be found in the speech reported herewith.

His Honor decided that according to the common law adopted in this State the truth of a libel on a criminal prosecution could not be given in evidence either in justification, for it was no justification, or to show the intent, for the jury were precluded from judging of the intent by any other means than by the natural import of the words themselves; he therefore over ruled the question proposed by the defendant's counsel to the witness as inadmissible; and declared himself very averse to hear even the testimony permitted to be given by the consent of the prosecutor as he regarded

it as illegal, and should he said so tell the jury. He regarded it as the province of the Court to decide whether the publication was libel, or not. The jury were only charged with the fact of publication and the correctness of the inuendos.

The Attorney General then called Mr. Mackenfuss, who testified that he knew the Rev. Mr. Hammet—that there was a division, and his sect was called the “Primitive Methodists”—that he preached to them till he died. On his cross examination he said that he was with Hammet in his last illness—that he did not know if he was brought to his end by drink; nor could he say what his disease was. On being again questioned by the Attorney General, he said that when Hammet was about dying he said he was going to God and glory—that he seemed to die like a christian. Witness further testified that he was Hammet’s brother-in-law—he said he recollected Mr. Hammet’s dissolving the society on Tuesday night, telling them to depart, but saying those who wished to stay with him might; witness was one of those who remained.

The Attorney General then gave in evidence the Act of Incorporation of the sect (1 Faust’s acts 301) passed 21st Dec. 1793, and closed.

The defendant called Samuel Pilsbury, who being sworn testified that he had been one of Hammet’s congregation—was with him the evening before he died—that he never saw him intoxicated during his last illness which lasted about a week—that he had seen him before *disguised* in liquor, but to say he was *drunk* was a great thing.

John Darby was then sworn and proved that he knew Mr. Hammet well, but did not see him during his last sickness which lasted about a week—that if he were to judge from sight and situation he would think that Hammet’s last disease arose from intoxication; but not being present when he died, he could not tell if he died *drunk*.

The defendant’s counsel then offered in evidence the second vol. of Judge Dessausene’s Equity Reports containing the case of Coome et alii vs. Brazier and Mathews, and closed.

The Attorney General in reply called Benjamin Hammet, who testified that he could recollect his father’s calling him to his bed side at the time of his death, and kissing him—that witness was then about 10 years old.

Mr. Moore testified that he was with Hammet about an hour before he died—that there was no appearance of such a thing as his being drunk.

Here the testimony closed, and the defendant by the permission of the Court, at the request of the Attorney General, who had

told the defendant he should speak notwithstanding he had counsel, if it could be done; addressed the Court and Jury as follows:

My Friends—

It is now upwards of twenty-five years since I commenced my public itinerant career, but never have I been arraigned at the bar of justice as a *criminal* before *this* time!

I never saw Mr. Hammet, I never knew that he had a son until he was introduced to me in the street in January last, on my late visit. I never saw him but twice; the latter time was, when the high sheriff and Capt. Martindale and several others came to Duke Goodman's, to state his father's life and conduct.

According to their testimony, he was one of the *straightest* and *best* of men, both in *life* and *death*; for one had known him in *Ireland*, and another in the *West Indies*, and the residue *here*; and one of them was with him when he died—so that they made it “*APPEAR*” that he was temperate, sober and happy when he died!

The first time that ever I heard of Mr. Hammet was at the close of 1801, or the beginning of 1802,—when on my passage from New York to Georgia, a Doct. McCulloch, passenger, was relating to his fellow passengers concerning the talents of a Mr. Hammet in Charleston, captivating the minds of the people by his flowery gifts of oratory; and the confidence the people had reposed in him, to superintend the building of a Church, &c. by their liberal donations, &c. and that the drawing of the writings were made out in such a manner as he would have the complete control during his natural life, let him behave as he would, that they could not displace him, which was duping the people.

After landing in Savannah, I retired to a burying ground for retirement and devotion; after which I inquired for *Methodists*, and was directed to Mr. A. C. then one of Hammet's preachers, who cordially received me for several days; and opened his meeting house for me to preach. At length he gave me to understand that he did not belong to the regular Methodists; in order to prepare my mind for the *cool* looks and rebuts of the Methodists, when they should find I had been with him.

I desired to know what was the matter, for your neighbors tell me you are a Methodist preacher? He replied that he belonged not to the Episcopal Asbury Methodists, but to a society connected with a Mr. Hammet, called “*Primitive Methodists*.” This was the first time I had ever heard of this society.

After walking several hundred miles to the interior, on my return to the North, I came to Charleston to take shipping, and found my handbills with Mr. Mathews who opened the house for to preach or rather to fulfil an appointment for him.

In 1803 I was informed by one of Mr. H.'s preachers who received a letter from another, that Mr. Hammet was no more, and that he came to *his end* by DRINK—which deeply affected my mind.

In January 1804, when I came to Charleston, the circumstance on inquiring, how he was in the last days of his life, &c. whether he died drunk? the answer was "IF APPEARS SO"—but whether they meant that he died drunk, or that he came to his end by drinking, I will not say, but it was then my impression—both. But words and phrases are ambiguous; and it is very difficult to communicate and inject into the mind of another, so that they shall conceive just such an *idea* as exists in our own mind; and hence they communicate the idea in *their* own words and a still different idea is given, as the subject is circumfused from one to another. And may not this be one ground of mistake, misconception and misunderstanding: and so give rise to the disputes and jargons in the world? And this is one cause and origin of confusion!

The circumstance of Alexander the Great, is apropos to the point in hand:—

"The melancholy idea of approaching death had laid fast hold on his imagination; every accident struck him with terror, and carried an evil presage with it. He became a downright slave to superstition, and was perpetually offering up sacrifices to render *fate* propitious, and to obtain the knowledge of futurity. To divert the constant stings of apprehension, he employed his time in an uninterrupted course of *feasting* and DRINKING, particularly the latter, in which he indulged himself to such excess, that he thereby greatly accelerated his death. After having at one of these feasts already drank to excess, he resolved nevertheless to empty the cup of Hercules, which contained six bottles. But he had no sooner swallowed it than he fell to the ground, and was seized with a violent fever, which quickly reduced him to the point of death.

"Finding that there was no hope of recovery left, he delivered his ring to Perdicas, and permitted all his soldiers to kiss his hand! On being asked to whom he left his empire? "To the most worthy," answered he, adding at the same time that he foresaw with what strange rites they would celebrate his funeral."

Here it will be admitted that "*getting drunk*" or "*drinking too much*" or "*to excess*," was the *cause* of his death.

"Here I will admit, that it is a medical theory, that a man cannot die *drunk*, unless some other cause or circumstance intervene and take him off. Why? Because, drinking is a *stimulus*, but dying is a *cessation* of action. Therefore, the thing must come to a medium, when *reason* will return; consequently, strictly

speaking, a man cannot die drunk—yet he may die in consequence of drinking. The above we find was the case, according to accounts, with Alexander. He drank—reason returned—he died! And who will attempt to say that it does not “APPEAR THAT HE DIED DRUNK,” according to the *common acceptance* and usual mode of expression? To deny it would be a mere quibble about words.

And so with Mr. H. his reason might return, and he might repent like the thief upon the Roman cross, when he cried, “Lord when thou comest into thy kingdom remember me”—the answer was, “To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.”

Most people wish the public to believe that their friends, if they live like devils incarnate, very wicked and immoral, and even ashamed of religion, and become persecutors of it here, yet when they are dead, posthumous fame must declare they were very pious, and the best of Christians, and are gone straight to heaven, to the abode of the blessed! Is not this exemplified to our minds, if we walk into the church-yard and view those epitaphs on their tomb-stones, composed by their friends?

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, told of the *fare* of two in the other world—he told the name of one who was very happy, but had he told who the other was, it would in the view of some people, have been a libel.

The prejudice founded in the mode of education fixes the habit, and locates the views of most people in ordinary life. What they are accustomed to, seems right—because they are familiarized to it; but a difference seems ODD—hence their little reason will assume the liberty to condemn it, without proper ground.

The Egyptians had a different mode, adopted with some propriety to preserve and promote posthumous fame and moralize society!

“There was in Egypt one sort of trial altogether extraordinary, which nobody escaped. It is a consolation in dying, to leave one’s name in esteem among men, and of all human blessings, this is the only one of which death cannot rob us.

“But it was not allowed in Egypt indiscriminately to praise all the dead. This honor could only be conferred by a public decree. The moment a man died he was brought to *judgment*. The public accuser was heard. If he proved that the conduct of the deceased had been *bad*, his memory was *condemned*, and he was deprived of burial. The consequence was, that the people admired the power of the laws, which extended to men even after *death*; and every one, struck by *example* feared to disgrace his memory and his friends!” There has been a similar practice in some parts of Poland.

Let each have their due so far as it concerns us ! But if my parents or ancestors were vicious, why should any *reasonable* person condemn me for their misconduct ? And on the other hand if they were righteous, what am I the better for their virtues if I am wicked ? Every tub must stand on its own bottom, whether it be oak, ash or chesnut.

I had an ancestor by the name of *Adam* and he took forbidden fruit : Moses in writing communicated it ; my contemporaries in society and brethren curse the old man ; this disturbs the public peace ; the Bible Societies circumscribe it—shall I not apply to the attorney general for a state warrant and have them indicted for a "*libel*" and also obtain a decree to suppress them in the land !

The same book tells about Noah, that he got *drunk*—and of the misconduct of king David and Solomon : Is not the Bible a **LIBEL** upon them ? Also on Peter, Judas and those **PRIESTS** that were **HIGH** and **CHIEF** ? Is the New Testament a libel upon them ? Or rather, is not the Bible a history, not of God Almighty—but of some of his most prominent dispensations in the affairs of mortals, that they may be able to discriminate betwixt vice and virtue, and be stimulated to order their line of conduct accordingly.

There has been many quotations and reference in law here this day, most if not all of them *foreign* ! But few, if any, *American* laws have been mentioned here at all ! Common law, foreign and ancient. Permit me to observe once more, common, foreign and the most ancient. I mean yonder **BIBLE** laying by the judge upon the counter.

Without it you cannot have a president, or juryman, or make a judge, or open a court.—It is a common rule, a rule of common practice—a rule of life to square our conduct by, as we stand in relation to God and man !

That blessed book is faithful to tell the truth, both good and bad—and we should inform our minds and behave ourselves accordingly—as ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets. Or the law of Moses, the spirit of the prophets, and the example of Jesus Christ ; and that which ye measure to others shall be measured to you again !

This book then is the basis and foundation of our government, and the bulwark and safeguard of our land. Hence, each one must act *his* part aright, that he may come out safe, and make a happy landing.

This involves the desires and motives of the heart. And if a person truly desires to act right, and turn his attention within, there is some test of *truth* in his mind that will preponder

one way or the other, which is right. And a clear *conscience* is like a clear sky without a cloud when the sun is shining in his strength—so you may clear your own mind—by this upright attention; for man never feels guilty for acting and doing right. Thus he meets the approbation of his own judgment, and also may feel the witness of the Divine influence testifying the approbation of his God; which is righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Were it possible for me to recall the last twenty-five years of my life, with an idea to amend and lead them over again, I should not wish it; for it is uncertain, considering what chequered scenes I have passed through, how intricate and trying has been the road, it is uncertain whether I should clear my conscience so well a second time!

And although the morning of life is gone! yea! the meridian is passed over! and the evening shades are coming on apace—yet I feel by the grace of God to travel on to meet the approbation of my God and close the journey of life in peace, to gain the happy land!

When I entered Charleston in January last, my appointments were given out—my arrangements were to be back to my father's in April—but here I was stopped in my career!

A *certificate* was presented by Capt. Martindale, from Mr. Benjamin Hammet, for me to sign as the only condition, or alternative to prevent this persecution,* and bind myself to circulate it as far as my journal had gone, which was into the four quarters of the globe.

I read, and looked, and thought the matter over—to be stopped will be painful! To disappoint the people, and also frustrated from returning to my aged father at the appointed time; which the circumstance imperiously demands! Capt. M. said, as the friend of old Hammet and young Hammet, and my friend, he should think, if I would not sign it, it would be the duty of the young man to seek and take that step in law as his proper remedy.

I told Capt. M. as an honest man, I could not sign it, and should not, for my conscience would for ever harrow me, until I repented of it, and made acknowledgment to God and man! Therefore he might inform Mr. Hammet accordingly—and if he intended to take any steps with me, he had no time to lose, and I was to be found at Duke Goodman's—Martindale left me with tears full of cry†—remarking that he had been the innocent cause, by purchasing the book and putting it into his hands; that he would do my errand, and then wash his hands of the whole of it—I staid till

* See Note page 584.

† Jer. xli, 6.

toward evening, when my companion wished to go to Mr. Galushaw's and we went accordingly ; and just before night the public's humble servant came, and the rest of the history you know.

Considering Mr. Hammet's exalted and responsible station in a ministerial point of view, which is more important than that of the President of the United States, which sphere is located for the time being ; but the other involves the eternity of man ; his everlasting welfare.

Hence, viewing the danger to which we are all exposed, it made deep impressions on my mind, and excited that exclamation as a lamentation from my heart and pen ; and intended as a cautionary warning for others !

Such things are not confined to one society in their biographical works, but are to be found among various. Look into Hume's England, Gibbon's Rome, Rollin's Greece, and Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews. Look into Church History, ancient and modern : see the writings of the innocent and peaceable Quakers ; we find instances of apostacy mentioned, and some awful deaths of persecutors, like retributive justice, as a warning to others.—So the history of the Baptists and others might be cited, as well as the journals of many—Fox, Wesley, and many others. But of the various works that might be brought forward, I will mention but one ; and that is the “ Methodist's Memorial,” by Charles Atmore, who relates the death of many preachers ; in page 102, he mentions one Peter Dean who died in despair and great horror of mind, saying he had commenced the itinerant preacher only to obtain a rich wife—adding God has given me my desire and His curse with it, and now I am ruined forever—Why did the author relate this circumstance ? out of “ malice ” to *libel* the dead ? common sense says no. And his own testimony assigns the reason, viz. “ That it may prove an everlasting warning to others.”

I say the same thing ! And I think whoever will read the book impartially, and view it in the aggregate in its different bearings ; and then candidly speak their own judgment, cannot and will not say that they think and believe it was done with malicious intent.

An historian is not supposed to know the facts himself, but communicates them according to the evidence he has, as given to him. And in this case, as above stated, I never saw Mr. Hammet. He, as an individual, never did me any harm ; and of course I could have no ground for malicious feelings toward him. But I received the impression through such a channel as I conceived to be credible, that of his preachers, and might be relied on. Man cannot believe without evidence, neither can he believe contrary to evidence, if he gives reason fair play. Man may admit a thing and yet not believe it. He may subscribe to it from necessity,

which he would never have done, had he been unfettered, and not trammelled, but his mind left free ! For the evidence in his mind preponderates the other way ! Had I subscribed to young Hammet's paper, I might have escaped much trouble in a qualified sense. But what must have been my after feelings, if I was not hardened and calloused to all important things ? My conscience is tender ! And had I subscribed my name to that paper, I should have felt as unhappy as if I had committed "perjury" in a moral point of view ; for I view the turpitude to be of the same complexion ; whether I call God to witness to an untruth by kissing a book or knowingly putting my hand to an instrument of writing that I believe to be false ! The latter would be a record to future generations whilst the other would expire with the people now existing, being only a sound of words !

Consequently, though I might have escaped some present inconvenience by being dragooned into their arbitrary measures from their imperious demands ; yet rather than to suffer in my feelings the sting I know that would follow, I had rather suffer any infliction which this court might or possibly could direct, rather than to wound and destroy my peace of mind ! Sweet peace is heaven ! But a privation is hell ! And an awful presage to futurity—for I believe in a FUTURE JUDGMENT.

Hence I observed that what I did, I generally wished time for reflection, to act judiciously and to act aright—and when I made up my mind it was generally decisive, and I acted accordingly.

A few thoughts more and I have done.

To the jury ! An oath is a solemn and awful appeal to God Almighty.

In all the Mosaic economy I do not recollect of an oath's being administered but in one case ; and that was where a dispute arose betwixt two, and no earthly power was adequate to judge for the want of evidence—then the oath of the Lord was between them, and by virtue of this oath, the matter was referred to God as the arbiter, justifier and avenger !

But in modern times oaths are so common that they have become, as it were, a mere form, and are considered only a mere ceremony—apparently without viewing and taking into account the great responsibility. Therefore, weigh the subject well and take the thing into consideration ; and make up your minds and bring in your verdict with an eye to the great day of accounts, to which your oath extends.

S. PRIOLEAU, counsel for the defendant, then addressed the Court as follows :—

May it please your Honour,

Gentlemen of the Jury,

After the simple and affecting appeal you have just heard from the defendant himself, it may be thought unnecessary, if not presuming in me to attempt to say any thing further in his justification. He has placed his cause upon its true, and consequently only strong, basis, *the intention* which actuated him ; and from the facts he has set forth you cannot, if you believe him, doubt of his innocence. But, Gentlemen, the cause is only begun and the law not yet developed. You are still to be addressed on the part of the State by a gentleman eminent for his legal learning and persuasive eloquence : and I shall be very fortunate if I can but anticipate the prominent points he may take, and prepare you for their consideration. It is at any rate my duty to attempt it, and this must be my apology. Happy shall I feel, if I can succeed in transfusing into your minds the opinions which I entertain on this most interesting subject—a subject not only interesting to the Reverend defendant, now arraigned before you as a criminal, but interesting to us all as lovers of truth, of morality and of wisdom.

Gentlemen—There is no part of the science of the law which is so replete with difficulties to the advocate as the doctrine of slander. So various and contradictory have been the decision of Judges, and the opinions of learned writers on this subject, that every lawyer must be at a loss how to advise his client to shape his defence. That ground which by one Judge would be regarded as conclusive of the defendant's innocence, by another would be rejected as inadmissible—that defence which to the common understanding of mankind is unanswerable, to the astute mind of some lawyers is an aggravation of the crime. The *motive*, which alone can stamp an act with guilt, is said to be a legal inference that cannot be disproved, or explained.—Truth herself is banished from the cause, or, if admitted, changes her nature and becomes hostile to her votary. These doctrines form part of a system generated in the dark ages of English despotism, by a Court of most singular nature and extraordinary powers. It was a kind of criminal Court of Equity—destitute of a Jury ; composed of Judges appointed by the king, and holding their offices during his pleasure. If not expressly constituted for the purpose, the Court of Star Chamber, as it was called, was well calculated to rivet the chains of slavery on the people—it was subservient to the tyrant on the throne—his ministers or favorites and their flatterers—it lent its aid to exclude from public investigation the evil conduct of its adherents ; until at length, when the light of freedom began to dawn, it was abolished for its intolerable abuses—its prostration of justice, and its want of wisdom. That we should, in this enlightened age and happy country, have adopted rules constructed in such a Court, in such an age and for such a purpose, is truly astonishing. But, Gentlemen, this is not the only absurdity attending this branch of law. The crime

for which the defendant is indicted, when analysed, will be found to consist solely in the *mechanical* operation of writing down the words, and the act of communicating the writing. The ideas conveyed by the words are not criminal, when communicated by the organs of speech, as the Attorney General will admit—no indictment would lie for them, because no crime would be committed by uttering them—no civil action could be brought, because no damage *per se*, in the language of the law, can be presumed from uttering them! These words, or *worse*—words which might charge the rankest villany to the prosecutor or his deceased father and all his ancestry, might have been spoken by the defendant to 10,000 hearers for 10,000 successive days, yet in legal contemplation he would have been perfectly innocent! But if the same words were reduced into *writing* and shown to only *one* person, no matter who, then, says the law, you have committed a crime of so dark a hue that you cannot be permitted even to explain the motive that induced the act. Your pretended or real innocence is no defence. If any man on reading the words can discern that they imply censure or ridicule, your crime is complete. You are told you cannot explain or extenuate them, because the *gist* of the prosecution is, that whether your motive be good or bad, your publication tends to excite others to a breach of the peace, and therefore must be punished by the law—that wise law forgetting or overlooking that words spoken have as great if not a greater tendency to excite to this dreaded breach of the peace, as when written. This distinction has been well remarked upon by a late writer of much talent in the following manner:—"The same injustice and inconsistency prevades the other branches of the libel law. A distinction of the most absurd kind is taken between written and spoken slander, as if the same publicity might not be given to the latter, and the same injury done to character by its dissemination; as if indeed written slander did not operate against character chiefly by its becoming in its course, spoken slander. What can be more absurd than to say that no offence is committed by the most false and calumnious charges that malignity can devise, provided they are not reduced to writing? There is one thing if it be possible, yet more absurd, and it is the other distinction of the law, that the same charges, which if spoken, are not even actionable may change their nature, and become so by being written down upon paper. We shall not go through any of the old learning upon these subtleties, because much of it is now exploded and many nice differences are overlooked in spite of ancient and venerable names. But it is still undoubted law, that a man's character may be falsely attacked in the tenderest point upon thousands of hearers every day for a year: he may be called a coward, with all the details; a liar; a swindler; a knave; and there is no remedy by action. But if he is called a libeller, or if the slightest indictable offence is imputed to him, he has his action. So if the least charge of any sort is written against him and shown to a single person, he has his action. To proclaim in a public theatre every night for a month that a female of pure fame and high rank, has been criminally connected with: twenty men, and to give all the details of these fabricated amours, gives no right of action by our law; nor is it an offence in any way cognizable.—But to *write* in a private letter that she behaved ridiculously upon any

occasion, is both punishable as a crime and entitles her to damages in civil action. No argument can reconcile the mind to such monstrous deviations from common sense; no reference to general principles of classification can make us overlook such prodigious inconsistencies." *Ed. Rev. Vol. 27.* So, Gentlemen, Sir James Mansfield, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who delivered the Judgment of the Court of Exchequer in the case of *Harley v. Kelly*, in 1812, is said to have stated explicitly "that had the distinction not been handed down through a series of adjudged cases, the Court never should have thought of saking it!" Tell me not, Gentlemen, that this only proves that spoken slander should be punished as well as written. The criminal code is already sufficiently extensive—The peace of mankind is already sufficiently preserved by the law as it has heretofore stood, and as it now stands. It calls for no amendment on this point except that which shall make it consistent with itself—consistent with common sense. If it be no crime verbally to proclaim the words to the assembled world, let it be none to write and publish them. But why, Gentlemen, do I mention this distinction to you? What, it may be asked, have you to do with it in this cause? It is done solely to show you the absurd nature of that part of the system you are called on to administer. It is done to show you that unless you cannot possibly avoid it, you ought as rational beings to refuse your sanction to the unmeaning proposition that what is innocent, if spoken to millions, becomes criminal when written to one. It is done to inform you of what no man can deny, that the mechanical operation of writing a few words, (not the intention with which they are composed,) is the only crime of the defendant, which, I implore you, Gentlemen, to recollect, you are now called on to lend your aid in punishing!

Having thus stated to you what is the true nature of the offence with which this Reverend defendant is charged, I now beg leave to call your attention to the legal definition of a Libel. A late writer, drawing his inference from Wood, Coke, Hawkins and others, uses the following terms:—"A libel is a malicious defamation, expressed either in printing or writing, or by signs, pictures, &c. tending either to blacken the memory of one who is dead, with an intent to provoke the living, or the reputation of one who is alive, and thereby exposing him to public hatred, contempt, or ridicule." *Holt on Libels*, 73. This definition is sufficiently accurate for my purpose, but one which in my opinion is more precise, comprehensive and elegant, is that given by the illustrious General Hamilton, though as he said with much diffidence after the embarrassment the great Lord Camden discovered on the subject. "A libel (says he, 3 John. Cas. 354.) is a censorious or ridiculing writing, picture or sign, made with a mischievous and malicious intent towards government, magistrates or individuals." From these definitions it follows that a libel on the dead must be shown to possess two essential qualities. First—it must be malicious as well as censorious. And secondly, it must be published with an intent to provoke the living. If either of these should be wanting, the crime according to the legal definition is not complete.--Now I do and ever shall contend that in reason and law the Jury and the Jury *alone* are the proper judges of these constituents. It is their province to declare on their oaths whether the publication be censori-

ous and malicious, and intended to excite the family of the deceased to acts of revenge. I would trust no Court with this power. In all criminal matters, I regard the right of every citizen of this country to be judged by his peers as sacred. As long as he retains this privilege his liberty is safe; deprive him of it and the consequences are easily foreseen. But Gentlemen, can you call that *judgment* which is only exercised on the fact of publication and the import of the words which cannot consider the motive?—which cannot investigate whether the charge was fabricated by the defendant with malice and falsehood, or innocently published? which cannot inquire into facts and circumstances that with all mankind would be conclusive of innocence!—Can you call that the exercise of judgment in a Jury when their verdict must be formed without knowing either the defendant's situation or intentions, although he offers in Court to prove both? All that I contend for is that the law should be consistent with itself. Let the act, if it must be so, as in other crimes and misdemeanors be regarded as false, as malicious, as tending to provoke, till the contrary be proved—to that I do not so much object, but in God's name, suffer the proof to be adduced which the defendant has to show the legal inference of guilt to be erroneous. This seems so reasonable and consistent with the usual course of the law that in some cases the Judges have allowed it even in libel. In Holt on Libels, 243, it is extracted as a principle established in four different cases there quoted, “that the defendant ought to show at the trial that he did not intend to scandalize, and that the Jury are judges *quo accimo*, this was done.” One would suppose this had opened the door to every thing the defendant could urge in reason to satisfy the Jury of his *motive* in issuing the publication. But no: the Jury are confined to the natural meaning of the words themselves, and the Court will not permit the defendant to prove his intention! The law which in other cases presumes innocence till guilt be proved, in this presumes guilt, and shuts its ear to the contrary! So in another case in the same book, page 307, it is said to have been decided in Coleman and Hatfield's case in New York, that “if on an indictment for a libel it appear to the Jury that the publication was not made with a malicious intent, it will be their duty to acquit the defendant.” That these decisions are founded on a correct knowledge of the Common Law I have no doubt. I am aware at the same time that Lord Mansfield and others have recognized the opposite doctrine, and I cannot but lament the difficulty and embarrassment in which this departure from principle has involved subsequent Judges, and late writers on the British Constitution. One of the most celebrated of the latter was Delome, a Frenchman, whose work is deservedly held in high estimation, and is found in the library of every lawyer. He expresses himself on this point in the following language: “It is the sole office of the Judges (in prosecutions for libels) to declare the punishment established by the law: it is to the Jury alone that it belongs to determine on the matter of law, as well as on the matter of fact; that is, to determine not only whether the writing which is the subject of the charge has really been composed by the person charged with having done it, &c. But also whether its contents are criminal. And though the law of England does not allow a man prosecuted for having published a libel, to offer to support

by evidence the truth of the facts contained in it (a mode of proceeding that would be attended with very mischievous consequences, and is every where prohibited) yet as the indictment is to express that the facts are *false, malicious, &c.* and the jury at the same time, are sole masters of their verdict, that is, may ground it upon what considerations they please, it is very probable that they would acquit the accused party, if the fact asserted in the writing before them, were matter of undoubted truth, and of a general evil tendency. *They at least would certainly have it in their power.*" Now 'tis clear that the Jury cannot be said to have it in their power unless they have it of *right*. They have no power, or even existence, but what the Law, which creates them, bestows: and as soon as it is admitted that they have the power, as Delome says, (and as such trials often show,) they *certainly* have, the admission includes the *right*. The Jury can have no power to act contrary to law. Permit me, gentlemen, to strengthen and adorn this part of my argument by the opinion of Judge Kent, whose fame as a great lawyer is not confined to the limits of his native State, or of these United States, but is as extensive as the Common Law itself, and will, I trust, be as imperishable. The reasoning of this celebrated Judge on this, as on all legal points to which he directs his thoughts, is drawn as well from an elaborate investigation of the Ancient Common Law, as handed down to us by our ancestors, as from a deep insight into the nature of the human mind. He was assisted in forming his opinion by a profound discussion of the question on both sides, by the most eminent Counsellors of New York, among whom we find General Hamilton. *Clarum et venerabile nomen gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi!* The result of this investigation is worthy the deep perusal of every lawyer. I can only read to you a very small part, but it will be enough for my purpose. I read from 3 Johnson's Cases, 364, the case of the people *v.* Croswell.— "The criminalty of the charge in the indictment consisted in a malicious and seditious *intention*." (Hawk tit. Libel, s. 1. 2. Wils. 403. 1 Esp. Cas. 228.) There can be no crime without an evil mind.— *Actus non facit reum, nisi mens sit rea.* The simple act of publication which was all that was left to the Jury in the present case, was not in itself criminal. It is the application to times, persons and circumstances; it is the *particular* intent and tendency that constitute the Libel. Opinions and acts may be innocent under one set of circumstances, and criminal under another—this application to circumstances, and this particular intent, are as much matters of fact as the printing and publishing. (Wines Eunomus. dial. 3, s. 53.) When an act, innocent in itself, becomes criminal, when done with a particular intent, that intent is the material *fact* to constitute the crime. (Lord Mansfield, 3 Tr. Rp 429, note.) And I think there cannot be a doubt that the mere publication of a paper is not *per se* criminal; for otherwise the copying of the indictment by the clerk, or writing a friendly and admonitory letter to a father on the vices of his son would be criminal. The intention of the publisher, and every circumstance attending the act must therefore be cognizable by the jury as questions of fact. And if they are satisfied that the publication is innocent; that it has no mischievous or evil tendency; *that the mind of the writer was not in fault*; that the publication was inadvertent,

or from any other cause was no libel, how can they conscientiously pronounce the defendant guilty, from the mere fact of publication?—A verdict of *guilty* embraces the whole charge upon the record, and are the jury not permitted to take into consideration the only thing that constitutes the crime, which is the malicious intent? To deny the jury the right of judging of the intent and tendency of the act, is to take away the substance, and with it the value and security of this mode of trial. It is to transfer the exclusive cognizance of crimes from the jury to the court, and to give the judges the absolute control of the press—there is nothing peculiar in the law of libels to withdraw it from the jurisdiction of the jury. The twelve judges, in their opinion to the house of lords, (April 1792) admitted that the general criminal law of England was the law of libel. And by the general criminal law of England the office of the jury is judicial—"They are the only judges," as lord Somers observes (Essay on the Power and Duty of Grand Juries, p. 7.) "from whose sentence the indicted are to expect life or death—upon their integrity and understanding, the lives of all that are brought into judgment do ultimately depend. From their verdict there lies no appeal. They resolve both law and fact, and this has always been their custom and practice." So in page 377 he continues, "There can be no doubt that it is competent for the defendant to rebut the presumption of malice drawn from the fact of publication; and it is consonant to the general theory of evidence and the dictates of justice, that the defendant should be allowed to avail himself of *every fact and circumstance* that may serve to repel that presumption. And what can be a more important circumstance than the truth of the charge to determine the goodness of the motive in making it, if it be a charge against the competency or purity of a character in public trust, or of a candidate for public favor, or a charge of actions in which the community have an interest and are deeply concerned? To shut out wholly the inquiry into the truth of the accusation, is to abridge essentially the means of defence," &c. &c.

Having thus, I hope, from the highest sources of the law, satisfied your minds, Gentlemen, of your power and duty, I shall proceed to the indictment itself, and explain to you its nature, and how much of it you are to consider. It consists of two counts or specifications of the crime laid to the defendant's charge. The second count, after setting forth the words published against the deceased, with the inuendoes or explanations of those words, according to the view taken of them by the attorney general, does not aver or charge that they were published and intended to provoke the living to a breach of the peace, &c. but merely that they had a *tendency* to irritate the feelings of the family.—Now that this is not sufficient is manifest, for a biography of an eminent person deceased may be so meanly and poorly written by a scribbler, as to have a tendency to irritate the feelings of his family and yet contain nothing libellous. It is expressly laid down by Lord Mansfield (in Cowp. 679) that the *gist* of every libel, being that it is of and concerning *a person*, this must be *averred* in the indictment, and in the case of the King v. Toptiff, 4 Tr. Rp. 126, an indictment for a libel on the memory of George Nassau Clavering, Earl Cowper, then deceased, was, after verdict set aside, because it did not aver that it was published with *a design to bring contempt on*

the family of the deceased and to excite his relations to a breach of the peace. If this case be authority, and I presume it is, it is directly in point, and destroys this second count.

The first count therefore is the one which alone is to be considered, because the intent to *provoke*, &c. is there expressly averred, and the words of the alledged libel, and the inuendoes are the same as in the other count. This consideration involves the *truth* of the inuendoes and the innocence or guilt of the defendant. And here I cannot but express my surprise at the construction which my friend the attorney general has put upon the simple words, "I find that he has gone to the world of spirits, to answer for the deeds done in the body." This, says the inuendo, means that "the said William Hammet was a *wicked* man, who had departed this life, and whose soul had gone to answer to God and to be *punished* for the sins he had committed on earth!" Now this expression of the defendant's was but a scriptural mode of communicating that the Rev. Mr. Hammet was no more. It was a quotation from the second epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in which the apostle announces to mankind the awful trial to which we shall all be summoned. "For," says he, "we must *all* appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that *every one* may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, *whether it be good or bad*." This then must be the lot of *all*! No one is so good as not to fear this judgment, or so presumptuous as to hope that he may escape it! How then can the application of this inspired text to the decease of Mr. Hammet be tortured into a charge of damning depravity? No, gentlemen, whatever may be innocently asserted of all mankind may as innocently be averred of an individual.

The next charge is that his motives were *impure* from too great a desire of popularity. Here the impurity of the motive is explained to mean *the desire of popularity*; and surely it is not a malicious libel to write of a citizen of a free country like ours that he is desirous of popularity. For myself I know not a much more glorious possession than popularity gained by virtuous actions. To obtain the love of your fellow citizens for your usefulness, your intelligence, your firmness, your honorable principles, your high minded deportment, must be a source of the purest delight. To desire it—to covet it—to aspire ardently after it; is in itself neither detrimental to goodness or greatness, provided the means are worthy of the end. This simple charge then unaccompanied by any thing else, is innocent *at least*; but here it is said to be *malicious* because 'tis followed by a charge of breach of confidence respecting the meeting-house and its incorporation with which 'twas said the deceased made *crooked work*. Yet it is not remembered that the very persons whose favor is said to have been courted with so much *impurity* and by such means, are the individuals whose confidence was abused by the *crooked work*! Strange method indeed to gain popularity, by treachery to the people! But, Gentlemen, there has been quite sufficient evidence before you, brought by the permission of the prosecutor himself, to excuse, if not completely justify, the defendant in making these remarks. In the second volume of Judge Desaussune's reports, is the case of Coomb and others v. Brazier and Matthews, in which the *crooked work* alluded to was by the Chancellors made straight. It appears from

that case, partly from the indictment itself, and from some of the witnesses examined to day, that a division of the Methodists took place and Mr. Hammet became the leader of one of the parties. That his followers determined to subscribe and purchase a lot of ground on which to build a meeting-house. That Mr. Hammet collected the subscriptions; the lot was bought and the house built. It appears that the title deeds of this house and lot were drawn in trust to permit Mr. Hammet to preach there for life, and a Mr. Brazier after his decease, and to authorize Hammet or Brazier, whichever might survive, to nominate the future preacher for the Church, provided such preacher would preach certain sermons of John Wesley. That Brazier, after the death of Hammet, took possession of the meeting-house and *sold it*, not to a follower of Wesley, but to an Episcopalian Clergyman, by which the Methodists were actually expelled and locked out of their own church, and were compelled to bring their bill in equity to set aside the sale, which they succeeded in after considerable difficulty and expense. Now all this is undisputed, but it is triumphantly asked, how does it affect Hammet? Did he make the deed? Was he party thereto? Did he sell the church? We answer no, he did not himself sell the church, Brazier did it. But we say, though he did not grant the land, yet he was a party to the deed; and that the defendant from the circumstances, had most convincing reasons to believe that Brazier was only enabled to sell the church thus by the terms of the deed, which no other than Hammet could have prescribed. He was, you will recollect, the head of the division. He had the chief agency in the whole matter. He possessed the entire confidence of his party; but instead of securing to them the property they had purchased for so holy a purpose, the deed was so worded, as to have it at law in his own power, and in Brazier's should he survive, to sell the church for his own benefit even to a different sect. So susceptible Gentlemen, was the deed of this interpretation, that the learned counsel for Brazier and Matthews (one of whom was the present Chancellor Gailard) contended that by its terms the building might be sold even to a Roman Catholic, if the owner, Brazier, pleased. Could such terms have been prescribed by the seller of the lot? ask yourselves, and answer for yourselves that question. Place yourself in my client's place; a Methodist preacher of the gospel thus witnessing a large body of his friends dispossessed of the temple of their devotions, and say whether you would not probably have exclaimed with him, that it was a breach of confidence not to prevent a deed's being so drawn as to destroy the interests of the true parties? Surely, he who so loosely or criminally transacted this business, may be spoken of as cognizant of it—as promoting it: though simple ignorance of the terms of that deed would in itself have justified the charge. Tell me not that the sale was set aside by the court—this was not till after the paragraph was written by the defendant in his journal in 1804, and when it was yet uncertain whether it would be set aside. But why was it set aside, and how? because the court thought it never could have been the intention of the congregation to authorise any man to transfer them and their building to another sect: and it was set aside by the exercise of the equitable and extraordinary powers of that court which always strives to do justice tempered with equity; and

is regardless of forms when it can penetrate the substance. But, Gentlemen, the very act of *causing* or even *neglecting* to prevent a deed to be drawn which put the congregation to the pain and scandal of having these things publicly canvassed in a court of justice was *crooked work* and a *breach of confidence*. You will weigh the grounds of our presumption or inference that Hammet *regulated*, or at any rate was *cognizant* of, the terms of that deed; for he was the head of the division, and ruled over all. If, Gentlemen, the truth had been permitted to be adduced by the defendant, this part might have been rendered as manifest as the oaths of witnesses could make it—but our lips are sealed most cunningly, refuge is taken under the rule that truth is an aggravation of guilt in libel! and all you can do is to *infer* from the little light that is permitted to shine on you from this Equity Report. 'Tis however to my mind's eye light enough for our purpose: blindness only can prevent your exclaiming, with the defendant, he did make *crooked work*! there was a breach of confidence!

These charges being thus disposed of, and the defendant being shown not to have fabricated them, the last and most important in the view of the prosecutor is the following, "*awful to relate it appears he died drunk.*" And here, Gentlemen, you will observe that it is stated not as a *fact* which came within the defendant's knowledge, but as a report; *it appears* he says, that is, *it seems or it is said, or it is reported* he died drunk. This I only mention to remove from your minds the impression that the defendant had asserted, as the libel charges, that he died drunk. Now the prosecutor has said if this charge can be proved he is desirous that it should be: but he confines the defendant to testimony of what passed when the hand of death bore on the deceased, when he was surrounded only by his family and a lady who is now dead. In this permission there is great safety, for the defendant was not there, nor did he ever see Hammet in his life. When however we ask whether his illness was not *caused* by intemperance, we are stopped! when we demand if Hammet was not *addicted* to strong drink, we are stopped! when we inquire if it was not generally *believed* that he was brought to his end by it, we are stopped! when we question the witness who saw him frequently just before his last confinement, did you not *conceive* and do you not from what you saw, *believe* that intemperance was his last disease, we are again stopped. This great permission does not extend so far as to enable us to prove any thing else but that Hammet literally *died drunk*, which the defendant *never* asserted. He has a list of witnesses to prove enough to satisfy any reasonable man of his complete innocence in fabricating the report, and also of its *probable* though not *absolute* correctness; but their mouths are closed! The defendant is denied the privilege of proving himself guiltless! He is led like a lamb to the slaughter, and must be dumb before his shearers! Helpless and defenceless he must yield himself up, bound hand and foot to the sacrifice.—The law, 'tis said, demands it! Bear in mind, then, Gentlemen, the disadvantage at which he is taken, and extend to him, for you alone can, that protection which the law should offer.

But, Gentlemen, let us now take higher ground. Give to the charges all the bitterness the prosecutor wishes—make them, if you please,

still more rancorous; yet as you cannot find the defendant guilty, unless he had malice against both dead and living, you must acquit, for you cannot, I think, find such malice here. The book which is called a libel is but the simple and pious memoir of a religious traveller, written to benefit his flock. It is the history of his life. It details in consecutive order the occurrences that happened to him in his painful pilgrimage—his joys and sorrows; his fears and hopes; his despair and confidence, are recorded as they arose; the language is indeed simple, but it is unaffected—and the style is not adorned by any other flowrets than piety and truth. Gentlemen, let me endeavor to show you the value of compositions of this species. There is perhaps no branch of human inquiry so important as the knowledge of ourselves and of each other. We are all travelling, to use a trite figure, on the same perilous road of life—we have all embarked, as it is often termed, on the same ocean—we have all the same destination—the difficulties and dangers which encompass us are not only great but innumerable—happy, thrice happy is he who is aware of and knows how to escape them; but the blessings of Heaven light on him who points them out to others. He who has passed over this sea of human life, best knows the dangers he has encountered—if he will but instruct us by his experience, he deserves our heart felt gratitude. Let him but disclose to our view what the melancholy Young terms “that horrid sight the naked human heart,” and familiarise us with its innocence and self-deceptions—its virtues and its vices—its weakness and its power, and we must esteem him our benefactor. In this view alone, as the depository of man’s knowledge of himself, is history useful. It is apparently but the disgusting record of human depravity and wretchedness—it is a bloody catalogue of battles—a scene where there is no practical justice, for villany is generally successful and innocence suffers. But Gentlemen, history is “philosophy teaching by example.” She points out to nations and individuals the miseries which fill the world, and which spring from ourselves—she lays bare the very nerves and sinews of human action. Her object is to bestow happiness with knowledge, and in this view her services are invaluable—but her gifts are too often deceptive—her records too often false—you can place but slender dependence on her veracity—a vein of truth runs through her pages, but so adulterated by falsehood, that there is no one who can point his finger to one part and say this is true, to another this is false! They who have experience in the occurrences of human life, in all its varieties, can alone tell how impossible it is to arrive with certainty at truth! How common it is for the most incorruptible witnesses to differ in their relation of a fact! How then can the evil of this be corrected? By one, and one only method. By understanding the human heart you will acquire all that history, even if nothing but truth could find a place in her records, could impart. This knowledge would point out to you with comparative certainty the probable errors inserted in the historic page as truths.—Experience—individual experience alone can impart this knowledge; and the works in which that is treasured in its greatest purity are biographical.—Biography is more authentic than history, for the writer (particularly when he gives his own life) has the best sources of information.—In this point of view, and ’tis perhaps the only one in

which he can be so regarded, I have always esteemed Rousseau a benefactor to mankind. He has as you well recollect, Gentlemen, published a memoir of his life which he calls his "Confessions." He there exhibits himself as a wretch, guilty of crimes against the helpless and innocent so enormous as to plant thorns in his dying pillow—he details the motives which led him on, at their origin scarcely perceptible, but in their termination tremendous.—He thus warns us against the first, apparently innoxious, deviations from truth;—and increases our acquaintance with mankind, or rather with ourselves.—Now had he concealed this fact or perverted it, his testimony would have been untrue and deceptive—would you have desired this?—Would you have wished him to have fabricated such a biography as this prosecution and the law of libel would seem to require, and which alone according to that law would be compatible with social duty? Gentlemen, if you exclude truth from biography or history you take away all its value.—If you garble a life you deprive it of its correctness.—It is then what it purports not to be—Why should you do this? Why suppress the truth? Because it sometimes must inflict pain and censure? Why, that is not the fault of history but of man.

Show me the book which relates nothing but good of the person whose life it pretends to give and of his associates, and I pronounce it worthless. It is astonishing to me that on this account this book of the defendant should be termed a libel? Where is the biography that is so free from such a charge? Tax your memory and say whether all you have seen are not replete with censure of the dead and living? Take the works of the learned and pious Johnson, the great moralist of his age—the man of virtue and of wisdom—he whose mind was one of the most perfect ever bestowed on the sons of men, and whose piety was so profound that it bordered on superstition.—Who dare charge him as a libeller? Who dare arraign him at your bar as a criminal? Yet look at his life of Savage, his early friend; a man who but for a mother's horrid hatred, might have been the first poet and gentleman of his age. He was, says Johnson, the adulterous offspring of the countess of Macclesfield, who abhorred him in his infancy and blighted his youthful prospects; who was so dead to the feelings of nature as to persecute him in manhood, and when tried for his life in consequence of being involved accidentally in an affray in which a man was killed, exerted her noble influence to effect his destruction! Oh! barbarous, inhuman mother! Who, but for so well authenticated a fact, could have credited thy monstrous existence?—Now, Gentlemen, let me ask if this narrative and the eloquent and profound reflections it elicits from the biographer, would not have been at this day in this place, regarded as libellous? You feel that they have drawn down upon that woman the contempt and abhorrence of the world. Yet at that day they were published fearlessly, she being alive, and that too by a writer who had not yet emerged from obscurity. And who was she? A woman of fortune, rank and power! Surely the writer would have been prosecuted by the law if the doctrine which now prevails had been settled by Lord Mansfield or suspected by his predecessors to extend to biography. Fortunately for Dr. Johnson and virtue, Mansfield was not then oracular. But, Gentlemen, let us come down to a later period. Take the life of

Johnson himself, by Boswell, which has been so eulogized by the world. It is in a legal sense a libel on a thousand persons, if to censure them for vice or ridicule them for folly be libellous. Yet what a literary treasure is it? Let me point your attention however to one or two instances in point. You recollect probably the dispute on the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, which divided the literary world at one period. 'Tis noticed by Boswell, who says Johnson always regarded the work as a literary forgery of M'Pherson, and did not scruple to say so. 'Tis led to a dispute between them and almost to a personal contest. It was terminated however by a letter from Johnson to M'Pherson, which Boswell takes great glory to himself for having obtained, and which is perhaps as severe a philippic or castigation as ever was inflicted in that form upon any on the face of the earth. Nothing could be more libellous according to the modern acceptance of the term—nothing in fact could have had a greater tendency to a breach of the peace: and what is quite certain, nothing would have gratified M'Pherson so much as to have arraigned the writer at the bar as a criminal, had he or any of his friends dreamed that such a thing was practicable. Then the great English moralist would have suffered imprisonment, fine and loss of reputation, for exposing imposture and defying the impostor! Happily this doctrine was not then sufficiently matured by practice to be familiar; neither was it so when Boswell published the letter in his book, or the work might have been strangled immediately on its birth. If it be said M'Pherson was comparatively obscure, what will be said of the exposure of Lord Chesterfield in the same work? He either promised or was expected to patronise the Dictionary, but he left the author to pine in want for that patronage which would have cost him nothing: but when the great book was about to appear in the world, my lord, to enjoy the reputation he deserved not, puffed it off in a periodical publication. Instead, however of a dedication, he met with his just reward in a letter from the indignant lexicographer, which has always met with admiration as well for its independent tone as its caustic severity. Heavens! what pages of malicious inuendoes would that letter have furnished to the drawer of an indictment! But severe as it was it escaped prosecution, nor was Boswell ever called to an account for handing it to the world. Gentlemen, I should never cease were I to detail to you half the *libels* for which the moral and literary worlds are so grateful, and which are found incorporated in every biographical work of the least interest. You must perceive the immense benefit resulting to society from their promulgation. They not only introduce us to each other and ourselves, but they operate as a wholesome restraint upon the vain and wicked, and a reward to virtue and innocence. Public opinion, Gentlemen, is a censor that few can oppose—it furnishes the most powerful incentive to virtue, and the most efficacious preventive of vice. Its approbation warms the heart with delight—its censure sears it to the quick. It keeps the different orders of men in society within their proper orbits—it regulates in this country the lowest as well as the highest. The accused and the Judge who tries him are equally under its influence. He who disregards it at length falls a victim to its power, and is made to submit to its decrees. Gentlemen, the most remarkable instance of its

vengeance on the person of a Judge is taken from the quaint, but entertaining life of Lord Guilford, by his brother Roger North. Lord Guilford was contemporary of the detestable Jeffries, who from the dregs of society had been elevated by his vices, in a vicious age, first to the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench, and then to the Wool-sack as Lord Chancellor of England! North says he was guilty of every species of meanness and vice. A fair reputation had no charms for him. What men thought of him he disregarded, provided he retained his post and rendered it lucrative. To do this he took bribes in the causes he decided—and he committed frequent murders under the sanction of the law. In a word he was a monster; and his death was worthy of him. His indifference to public opinion led him to the indulgence of his brutal temper on the bench towards those whose misfortunes brought them before him for trial. One poor man in this situation was so terrified by his power that upon being carried from Court he exclaimed that the law had no punishment equal to the terror inspired by that Judge's image; which he should never forget whilst life lasted! It happened many years after, that Jeffries was obliged from certain political commotions, to conceal himself. He entered into a porter cellar in London in the garb of a sailor and hid himself among some butts. The man whom his ferocious scowl had so terrified many years before, accidentally entered. As soon as he cast his eyes on the skulking wretch, he started as if he had seen a basilisk.—He rushed from the cellar—called in the mob who seized upon the Lord Chancellor, and tore him to pieces! Awful catastrophe! yet worthy to be known as a lesson to others! Happy however was it for poor Roger North that he lived and wrote before this doctrine of the Common Law, as it is now termed, was known or practised. He was a good lawyer and would not have run the risk of his personal safety, had he known the consequences which might result from the vengeance of Jeffries' posterity. But, Gentlemen, I can trespass on your patience no longer. You must have come by this time to the conclusion that as every biography contains censures on the dead, and sometimes on the living; and as this must be so till men cease to be censurable, the only questions left for your determination are these: Is the publication in question *bona fide*? Is it sufficiently well authenticated to excuse the writer in recording the fact complained of; or has the censure arisen from his own heated and censorious imagination, and been *maliciously* embodied in his work? These, Gentlemen, are fortunately easily answered in the present case by a reference to the object of the book itself and its execution. What then is it? The history of the defendant's life, in the form of a journal, published many years ago, and but lately brought here. This idea of keeping a journal is not novel. It seems to be in some sort a practice among the travelling preachers of the Methodists. It was introduced by their founder Wesley—adopted by his brother Charles Wesley—followed by Whitfield, (who travelled through part of this State, as well as defendant, and part of whose journal I have seen) and by many others whose labours in that ministry have been great. These journals, Gentlemen are as well calculated to do good as their sermons—perhaps they sometimes do more good. They penetrate where the voice of the preacher never sounded—they excite the curiosity as well of the idle and frivolous as of the pious; and who

can tell what benefit may not often result from precept illustrated by example, unobtrusively offered? One word or sentiment at a seasonable moment may kindle reflection in a mind previously vacant, and lead to the happiest consequences—one ray of consolation from above, gilding the gloomy prospect of the journalist, and recorded with pious gratitude, may render lustrous the path of a desponding reader! One argument or even remark may strike a holy conviction on the heart of innocent faith staggering under a load of doubt. I cannot, Gentlemen, but regard these journals as most useful to those for whom they are designed. They are indeed but one mean, but I must think a most powerful one, adopted for the propagation of Christianity, which has undoubtedly been greatly extended by the labours of the Methodists. That sect is not satisfied with disseminating its faith in its immediate neighborhood, but it has a restless activity which leads it to the extremities of the world at every hazard and privation. The people of the most populous cities and the inhabitants of the borders are equally objects of its care. Even the savage Hottentot is not neglected. There are tens of thousands who never hear the word of God except from itinerant Methodist preachers. There are tens of thousands destitute of churches and of pastors, like sheep without a fold and without a shepherd, ready to be devoured. The profoundness of this religious ignorance will perhaps be better perceived when I mention to you an anecdote related by Southey in his life of Wesley. He says that a preacher in travelling through the State of Delaware met a man on the road with whom he entered into conversation. In the course of it he inquired in a manner sometimes adopted by religious persons “if he knew Jesus Christ?” The man hesitated and then replied “he did not know where he lived! The preacher supposing that he had been misunderstood, repeated the question, when the man readily replied, “He knew no such person in those parts!” It can with difficulty be credited that an adult in a country where the rudiments of education are so universally taught; where there is scarcely a man, woman, or child of 12 years, who cannot and does not read, should be so ignorant as never to have heard the name of the Saviour of mankind! But, Gentlemen, ’tis to these the Methodists go—to these they preach; and thus they convert the moral wilderness into a garden. The blessings they confer on mankind in America are known to us all: and their beneficial labors in England have lately been so candidly acknowledged by a writer in the Quarterly Review, which is a high church publication, that I think it my duty to read it to you.—“But it is not as we have already observed by the numbers of the professed Methodists alone that we must estimate the moral effect which they have produced, and are producing among Christians—The religious ferment first excited by their preaching has extended far beyond the visible bounds of their society. It has stimulated the clergy to greater seriousness and activity in the discharge of their functions; it has set the laity on thinking for themselves; it has as an incidental consequence of the rivalry of hostile sects (roused by the new phenomenon to the practice of new means of popularity) forwarded to a degree never previously contemplated, the education and religious instruction of the lower classes; it has opposed among those classes a mighty and countervailing principle to the poisonous flood of

modern philosophy. It is obvious, even to a careless observer, that religion is more in the minds and mouths of men than formerly; that a greater curiosity is excited by its discussion—and amid all the vices which a long war and a luxurious capital, and a renewed intercourse with foreign nations have produced in the two extremes of society, the majority are, on the whole, less ashamed of, and more attentive to the outward appearances of piety than they seem to have been during the preceding century," &c. (47 number, page 3.)

But it may be said, we acknowledge all this, but it is little to the purpose. Why did not the defendant omit this censure on his journal? What good can it secure to record this fact? The answer, Gentlemen, is obvious. It was an occurrence that met him in his way through life. It was a part of his history. He sought it not—it ran against him—He heard it—he believed it—he was hurt at it, for it reflected on the ministry to which he belonged; and he therefore recorded it—He had good reason to believe it true as I have shown you, and as I could convince you, if doubt remained, had I the privilege of examining the witnesses now in court. Take it then for granted to be true and let me in turn ask if it was not indeed incumbent on him to notice the conduct of one of his own persuasion as a warning to the rest? If he had mentioned Hammet and concealed the facts he himself might have shared the public censure, and he was obliged to mention him, or his journal would not have contained the truth. It is a sort of history of Methodism in those places which he visited. He came to Charleston, and let me now ask how could he with veracity have omitted to notice the divisions among the Methodists—the breach of confidence in the title deeds of the meeting-house—the unworthy life and awful reports of the death of its ruler? I look on this act to be nothing more than a matter of admonition to other Methodists; as a part of the discipline of their sect. Now whatever is so cannot be regarded as a libel, for in it there is no malice. This has been ruled to be law in the case of Mary Jerom, a quaker, who was publicly read out of meeting for non-conformity.—She prosecuted the clerk of the meeting for a libel and he was found guilty (for under the proof allowed that of course must follow) but the Judges set aside the verdict as it was no libel. (Holt on libel 230, note—King v. Hart, 2 Burn's Eccles. Law 779)—It is indeed surprising that there should be any doubt on a subject which the light of the law (as its analogies are termed) renders so manifest. If you think that the publication of what the defendant regarded as the truth, connected with his life, be a matter of *conscience*, you cannot term it a libel. The law respects the scruples of conscience, it punishes not the truth; nor can it ever regard the exposure of vice and immorality as censurable. Why, Gentlemen, a much less motive will justify the publisher of such a charge or one much heavier. In the very law book I have been permitted to read to you as a part of my client's defence, (2 Des. Rep. 483,) it is stated that the Rev. Matthews a defendant in that case in his answer swore that the Rev. Mr. Hammet in a fit of intoxication drove him and Munds out of church. Here there was a charge of drunkenness against Hammet (then deceased) made an oath, reduced to writing, published in a book which is daily used; but no prosecution was ever thought of for it—Why was the Chancellor who published this book permitted

to escape the fangs of the law? why are the lawyers who now own, read, quote and lend this book not prosecuted? Because, Gentlemen, it is not *malicious*—because it is useful to mankind that trials should be recorded. Now, let me demand, is biography less useful? Is the religious observation and censure of the vicious not as beneficial as the musty report of a law suit? Why “there are cases,” says old Barrington, the legal antiquary, “when good service may be rendered even by libelling:” and I may say there are cases when good service may be rendered to mankind by a true publication and proper censure of the vices of public men; particularly those who should be eminent for their virtues. They of all men deserve most the execration of the public for their wickedness; and he who brings them to justice is a benefactor. What was the situation of the Rev. Mr. Hammet? a public teacher of religion. His congregation, indeed the whole sect of Methodists had a deep interest in his conduct and character. He was placed at the head of his division as a burning light, and should have illuminated the path of his followers—His example if bad might have been deadly, and his people should have been informed of it—If his life had been good, the untrue slander would have soon fallen to the ground, powerless and contemptible.

Gentlemen, This is the first instance of a prosecution for a libel on the dead that has occurred in this country as far as I can discover; I hope it will be the last. Its very novelty forms an argument against it—It is unsuitable to our state of society in these United States—We here regard the character of the dead as a matter of history—It is a legacy left by them to mankind as an example or a warning—It has been, and ought always, and every where, to be so regarded. If you deprive historians of their privilege and duty of recording unpleasant facts and confine them to flattering representations of human character, you render their productions worthless. Vices as well as virtues must be portrayed.—What historian ever scrupled to do this, however exalted his own or the character of the subject he delineates? Even writers of less dignity than historians—those who furnish facts for history scruple not on this matter. Look at the last work of the celebrated Doctor King, of Oxford, who in the 76th year of his age, when waiting for that moment, so near at hand, that was to carry him before the Judgment seat of his Creator, passed his leisure moments in recording memorials of his friends and contemporaries, who were then no more—See what he says of Sir Robert Walpole, the premier of England. “He wanted (says Dr. King in his *Anecdotes*, page 31) to carry a question in the House of Commons, to which he knew there would be great opposition, and which was disliked by some of his own dependants. As he was passing through the Court of Requests he met a member of the contrary party, whose avarice he imagined would not reject a large bribe. He took him aside and said, “Such a question comes on this day; give me your vote and here is a bank bill of £2000,” which he put into his hands. The member made this answer: “Sir Robert, you have lately served some of my particular friends; and when my wife was last at Court, the king was very gracious to her, which must have happened at your instance. I should therefore think myself very ungrateful (*putting the bank bill into his pocket*) if I were to refuse the favor you are now

pleased to ask me." Now it may be replied to this, that Sir Robert was a Minister of State and fair game. This could easily be answered—but see what the same writer says of *his friend* Pope, whom he accuses of the same practice which the defendant published, was reported of the prosecutor's father as leading to his death. "A man, says he, "(page 20) who has contracted the pernicious habit of drinking drams, is conscious that he is taking in a slow poison, and therefore he will never own it either to his friend or his physician, though it is visible to all his acquaintance. Pope and I, with my Lord Orrery and Sir Harry Bedingfield dined with the late Earl of Burlington. After the first course Pope grew sick, and went out of the room. When dinner was ended and the cloth removed, my Lord Burlington said he would go out and see what was become of Pope. And soon after they returned together. But Pope, who had been casting up his dinner looked very pale, and complained much. My Lord asked him if he would have some mulled wine, or a glass of old sack, which Pope refused. I told my Lord Burlington that he wanted a dram. Upon which the little man expressed some resentment against me, and said he would not taste any spirits, and that he abhorred drams as much as I did. However, I persisted and assured my Lord Burlington that he could not oblige our friend more at that instant, than by ordering a large glass of cherry-brandy to be set before him. This was done, and in less than half an hour, while my Lord was acquainting us with an affair which engaged our attention, Pope had sipped up all the brandy. Pope's frame of body did not promise long life; *but he certainly hastened his death by feeding much on high seasoned dishes and drinking spirits.*"—You thus see that this charge was quite as heavy, and coming from the quarter it did, from an intimate friend, much heavier, than that made against the deceased by the present defendant. One more instance of the same kind from the same book (page 23) and I have done, though there are others there as strong. "The last time I dined with dean Swift, which was almost three years before he fell into this distemper, which totally deprived him of his understanding, I observed that he was affected by the wine he drank, about a pint of claret. The next morning, as we were walking together in his garden, he complained much of his head, when I took the liberty to tell him (*for I most sincerely loved him*) that I was afraid he drank too much wine. He was a little startled, and answered, "that as to his drinking he had always looked on himself as a very temperate man; for he never exceeded the quantity which his physician had allowed and prescribed him." Now his physician never drank less than two bottles of claret after his dinner!" Pray, Gentlemen, observe that Dr. King avers he sincerely loved him; but his publication shews he loved truth more. This however is favorable in comparison with the exhibition of Swift's character by one of the late reviews. He is there accused, and as far as I can judge, most justly, of being the murderer of two extraordinary women, whose only offence was loving too much so selfish a wretch! Little did these writers imagine that their details were criminal by the law! and that they were subjecting themselves and their printers to condign punishment, should information be lodged against them for their works! Little did they suppose, tho'

most enlightened men, that the law was so far behind the human race in wisdom as to harrow up their feelings by a public prosecution, coupled with the epithets of false and malicious, for acts of kindness ;—for attempts to instruct and inform! oh miserable reward for well intentioned labor!—wretched recompence for benefits conferred:—

But, Gentlemen, this book of the defendant cannot be regarded as a libel by you for another and most decisive reason. It was not published by the defendant to bring contempt on the family of the deceased, or to excite them to a breach of the peace. This point I have touched on before, in order to show you that it is what lawyers term the *gist* of this prosecution, or in other terms the *soul* of the action. If this be not proved to exist the action dies. You will recollect that I have proved to you from the case of the deceased Earl Cowper (4 Tr. Rp. 125) that it is necessary to aver in the Indictment that the publication was intended to provoke the living, and it is a general rule in pleading that whatever *must* be averred must be *proved*. To this conclusion Chitty comes in his Comments on Cowper's case, (see 3 Chitty Crim. law, 868) and indeed every legal mind must arrive at the same result; for if the averment be *material* it cannot be regarded as *immaterial* or surplusage, nor can it be rejected. It must therefore be *proved*, for you cannot *presume* a material fact against a defendant, or take that as admitted which would be tantamount to presuming *guilt* at once, and would save the necessity of any proof on the part of the prosecution. Now you will observe that no proof of this fact is even pretended to be in existence. But the Attorney General leaves it to inference drawn from the language of the alleged libel, whether it was not thus intended by the defendant? Even however tested by that criterion the proof is insufficient, for the family of the deceased is never once mentioned, or in the remotest manner alluded to in the publication. Indeed if any thing could render this plainer, it would be what is proved to you by the prosecutor himself, who is one of that family. At the time of his father's death he was the eldest of his two children, and was in his tenth year. The first part of the charge appears by the journal to have been written 22d March, 1803, when Hammet was alive, and the latter just after his death, in Jan. 1804.—Now could this defendant have felt any malice against these children whom he never saw and never heard of? Who can credit it? Could he wish to excite two helpless infants to a breach of the peace, or to bring them into contempt and hatred? Is he alone of all the sons of men to be presumed to act without a motive? And if not, point out, I pray, an adequate motive for such a proceeding? Gentlemen, it is no where to be found, for it never existed. These infants were unknown to him, when he wrote his journal and when his book was printed. He did not publish it here till he sold a copy from necessity last January. It was printed first in Europe, and then in 1815 in Philadelphia by others, not himself. Have these children then any right to complain of any injury to them? And if they do, ought they not to prove it to your satisfaction, before you find the defendant guilty. He has a character to support as well as others. His is very sacred, for he is a Minister of the Gospel of Christ, and reputation is as dear, at least, to him as to any man. Stain it not, I beseech you, by an inconsiderate or unjust verdict. Reflect well before you act,

and judge of the question submitted to you upon the only principles which law and common sense unite in furnishing. They exclaim—take out this book with you—examine its contents—mark the course of life it delineates—criticise its principles and tendency. If you should then discern that the writer with a malignant spirit has converted a pretended journal of his life into a vehicle of falsehood and calumny to debase the innocent posterity of the deceased, inflict on him without scruple the heaviest penalties of the law. He should not be spared, Gentlemen, who can without remorse expose the ashes of the innocent dead, either to insult the living, or to gratify his hateful instincts. But if you should see recorded in that book the pious labors of one who appears to have devoted himself to the service of his God, according to the dictates of his own conscience, as regardless of the allurements as of the contempt of the world; if you shall observe him often whilst in affliction and sore distress: whilst steeped to the very lips in poverty, and suffering under excruciating disease of body, piously and resignedly looking up to Heaven for that comfort, which in affliction Heaven only can bestow; if you shall observe that his whole life has been one of suffering—of self-denial—of disinterestedness—of piety and of charity—if in short, you shall see, what others undoubtedly see, sincerity, truth and holy confidence, however alloyed by peculiar but not wicked opinions, pervade that work, you will not, then, Gentlemen, call him a libeller. Should you, notwithstanding, do so, his whole life and character will falsify your verdict. But, Gentlemen, such a verdict can never be found—if you think of this book as I do, from the parts I have perused, you will then esteem it a faithful narrative of the defendant's life and feelings—his trials and opinions—his habits and sentiments. You will then see much to approve, and be, I trust, satisfied both of its innocence and usefulness, in the sphere for which it was intended and in which it circulates.—Perhaps, Gentlemen, my expressions may be too bold, but I think upon attentively considering its object and the life-paints you will agree that so far from his being ashamed of this work—so far from his deserving punishment for it—at the great day of judgment, when the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised, and man shall be summoned before the awful tribunal of his Creator to account for the deeds done in the body, the defendant may walk erect from his prison-house, and bearing this record of his life and faith in his hand, offer it with a holy but trembling confidence at the footstool of his God, saying, Judge thou thy servant, oh Father, in mercy, according to these his works!

As the defendant's counsel concluded, the audience, which was very crowded, burst out into applause. After the tumult had subsided, the Judge addressed the people, and observed to them that he felt himself constrained to notice the gross impropriety of their conduct. That however richly the counsel might have deserved their plaudits for his eloquent defence of the defendant, the manner in which they had testified it was highly censurable. It in the first place disturbed the regularity and order and decency of a Court of Justice, and was a contempt. But it did more, for it had a tendency to influence the verdict of the Jury by the manifestation of public sentiment, and

therefore could not be endured. He therefore cautioned them against ever trespassing in like manner again or they should be more severely noticed.

ROBERT Y. HAYNE, the Attorney General, rose and addressed the Court as follows :

May it please your Honour,

IT is with unfeigned reluctance, Gentlemen of the Jury, that I find myself compelled by official duty to bring forward this prosecution against Lorenzo Dow.—To know that he has spent his days in the service of religion, is of itself sufficient to command our respect and excite our sympathy—whilst his total disregard of wealth and his present circumstances and situation in life seem to place his character above the imputation of interested motives—against a man so lowly and humble in his garb and appearance, so mild and inoffensive in his manners, can it be possible that any liberal mind could cherish prejudices, or harbor animosity ?—It is not to be apprehended then, that any bitter and hostile feeling will be permitted to mingle with this investigation. May we not rather fear that you may feel disposed, Gentlemen, on account of his poverty—age, and *pecaliar character*, to exempt him from the operation of those sacred principles and maxims of our law, which next to our holy religion ought to be preserved pure and inviolate.—But let me tell you, Gentlemen, that the law is no respecter of persons—no individual is so exalted as to be beyond the reach of its power—none so humble as to be below its notice—it extends its protection and applies its sanction alike to the rich and the poor—the humble and the powerful—the meanest beggar in our streets, and the Judge upon the bench are equally subject to its authority, and it is impossible for any one to emancipate himself from its controul. The peculiar habits and opinions of Lorenzo Dow cannot therefore be suffered to exonerate him from those wise and wholesome rules of law which were established by our ancestors, and have been sanctified by the experience of ages.—I call upon you, Gentlemen, in the name of the state, I invoke you as you regard the eternal principles of justice, to discard from your bosoms any feelings *for or against* the accused which may be calculated to mislead your judgment in this important inquiry.—Justice requires *this*, and I know “you will do justice for truth’s sake and your conscience.”

I shall now proceed, Gentlemen, without further preface, briefly to explain to you the law applicable to the case before you. In doing this permit me to request that you will not hastily and prematurely apply those principles to the case of the defendant ; I wish only at this stage of the argument to fix in your minds the rules of law applicable to cases of libel in general, and it will be time enough to apply those rules to Mr. Dow, when we come to examine the facts of the case, nor let it ever for a moment be forgotten, that by the humane pro-

visions of our law, every man is presumed to be innocent until his guilt is made manifest.

One of the best definitions of a libel to be found in the books, is given by Hawkins, and is adopted by Chitty, the most approved modern writer on Criminal Law. He defines a libel to be (see 3d Chitty's Criminal Law, p. 867.) "A malicious defamation tending to blacken the memory of one who is dead, or the reputation of one who is alive, and to expose him to public hatred, contempt or ridicule."—Let us here consider, 1st, What is understood by "*a defamation*?"—2nd, What is the *legal import* of the word "*malicious*?" 3d, Whether *the truth* can be set up in *justification* of a libel in case of a criminal prosecution? 1st, What is "*a defamation*?" As the very term itself imports, it is that which tends to defame or take away a man's fame or reputation. It is not necessary, to make a writing *defamatory*, that it should impute a *crime* which might subject a man to punishment, or an infectious disease, which might exclude him from society, nor indeed any specific fault or defect. That writing is defamatory which tends in any degree to hold a man up to ridicule, contempt or hatred. The author above quoted, lays down the rule as follows:—"In order to constitute a libel it is not necessary that any thing criminal should be imputed to the party injured, it is sufficient if the writer has exhibited him in a ludicrous point of view, has pointed him out as the object of ridicule or disgust, has in short done that which has a natural tendency to excite him to revenge; words become criminal if put in writing *so that they tend in any degree to a man's discredit*." This doctrine is fully supported by the following authorities:—2 Wilson, 403. Bac. abr. Libel art. 2. 4 Taunton, 355.—3 Campbell, 214 — 2d, What is the *legal import* of the word *malicious*? It is certainly one of the greatest excellencies of the law, as a science, that many technical terms have been adopted, which are so clearly defined in the books and their precise meaning so well settled that they could not be misunderstood. Language is in many respects so vague that learned men are often led into controversies which when sifted to the bottom are found to arise from a difference in terms merely; and there cannot be a doubt that many unsettled questions in morals and general science would soon be put to rest if greater accuracy was observed in the use of well defined words. The term *malice* affords a strong illustration of the truth of these remarks. In the common parlance this term imports *animosity towards individuals*, but in law it rather refers to the *general temper and disposition as manifested by acts*, the malice of the law is the *evil mind*, which is either fatally bent on mischief, or does not *duly regard our social duty*. Human laws can never inquire into the *secret motives* by which men may be actuated in the commission of those acts by which society is injured. Peculiar opinions or feelings may induce an individual to commit acts (possibly with good intentions) which acts may be the ordinary indications of a depraved heart or may be highly injurious to society. God alone, the Searcher of all hearts can see and know, and properly appreciate the *real motives* by which men are governed; there is no window in the bosom, which opens to mortal view the secret workings of the soul. Human tribunals therefore do not pretend to inquire into the hidden motives of men's

actions ; these *motives* are in almost every instance *inferred from the act*, and the moment any act is declared to be criminal, every rational man who commits it is presumed to be influenced by the criminal motives which the law considers as an ingredient in the crime. Thus in murder, malice is declared to be its principal ingredient and an indictment for murder is bad unless it charge the offence as having been committed with "malice aforethought," yet a man may be guilty of murder who unknowingly kills his best friend, nay, even the wife of his bosom ; or the child of his affections if it appear that he was at the time in the prosecution of a *criminal act*. Thus a man attempting to murder A. kills B. this is murder. Lord Dacres and others went together into a park to steal deer, one of the company, without the knowledge or consent of the rest killed the game keeper, who resisted him, it was held to be murder in all, and Lord Dacres was found guilty of having killed the game keeper with *malice aforethought*, and died for it. Whenever certain acts are prohibited, the law infers bad motives against all such as commit them. If such acts be the *usual indications* of such *motives*, it follows of necessity that we cannot look beyond the act itself for the discovery of the motive. If this rule leads us occasionally into error, it is still the only wise and practicable rule on which society can act, with a due regard to its own protection. The forbidden act and the forbidden motive are in law inseparable. The malicious motives therefore imputed by the law to certain offences mean only that those offences being forbidden it must always be inferred, that the party offending is actuated by improper motives. Thus he who publishes a *defamatory libel* against his neighbor, calculated to hold him up to public ridicule, contempt or hatred, is *presumed to be induced so to act* from an evil mind or temper, or from a disregard to social duty. If the public good require that such charges should not be made public, it must be a violation of duty to publish them, and this manifests the disregard of our duties to society which is the true "*militia*" of the law. It is true that cases may sometimes occur in which, by the unbending application of a general rule, a good man may be punished whose motives may be perfectly pure. But every reflecting man must know and feel that criminal laws can only be administered by *general rules*. It is in vain to attempt to look into the heart to discover the secret springs of human actions. As we do not possess omniscience we must always fail in the attempt. According to the rules here laid down it seems to follow that when a libel is defined to be a malicious defamation, it is not intended that the publisher is in truth actuated by malice in its ordinary acceptation towards the person libelled—nor is it intended that any evil motive should be *proved*. If the words be defamatory the evil intention is a necessary inference of law. There are some cases however in which this legal inference may be rebutted, and to this class of cases I shall hereafter refer. In support of the principles which I have here laid down, I will refer to the author already quoted, (3 Chitty 869.) "It is true (says he) that the term *malicious* is introduced into the definition by Hawkins, but in this case, *as in murder* and many others, the quality is rather a *legal inference* from the crime, than one of its constituent parts—indeed *there is never any occasion to prove it*. Whether or not the party acted maliciously

makes therefore no difference in practice—the doctrine of libels is founded solely on a regard to public tranquility, and it puts the merits and the feelings of individuals out of the question.”

I come now to consider in the 31 place, whether *the truth* can or ought to be set up in justification of a libel in a criminal prosecution. If a person has been injured in his feelings or his fortune by a libel, the law affords him redress by enabling him to recover damages in a civil action. If the charge however be true, having sustained no damage, he can recover none, and even if the charge be false, experience has fully proved that men will rather resort to personal revenge than to an action for damages for the redress of such an injury.—Libels therefore whether *true or false, equally tend* to a breach of the public peace, and they equally disturb the repose of society, and lead to hostility and bloodshed. No man can bear to have those vices, foibles or misfortunes *which the laws do not punish*, held up to public view so as to bring upon their possessor contempt, disgrace or ridicule. Human laws punish those offences only which directly affect the public tranquility. The performance of our moral obligations, for instance, can only in general be enforced by the sanctions of religion. A man may be ungrateful or avaricious—he may be an unkind husband or father, or an undutiful child, and yet violate no municipal law. The opinion of the world and the precepts of religion can alone reach cases of this character. Now if the laws themselves do not punish this class of offenders, can it be tolerated that every individual should exercise the right to inflict punishment at his own discretion, or by his own measures? A bad man cannot effectually conceal his character or conduct from the world. It will in general be known *sufficiently* to protect society against him. But if individuals are permitted at their pleasure to hold up to public hatred those who they believe, or fancy, or choose to *represent* as bad men, must it not inevitably follow from the nature of man that perpetual animosities tumult and bloodshed will be the result? Why attempt to invest in unauthorised individuals a power too great to be wielded by the law?—If *one man* could be found wiser than the law—and capable of exercising a salutary jurisdiction, a *judicious censorship* over the moral offences, faults and defects of mankind, (a jurisdiction however which all wise legislators have thought cannot be entrusted even to governments,) still it is obvious that men in general are incapable of exercising so delicate and difficult an office. Now if the truth of a *defamation* could *justify* its publication, then all men would be at liberty to publish what they pleased, provided it be true. This would operate as a temptation to slander. It would call into action the worst passions of the human heart. Envy, hatred, malice and revenge would then find full scope in bringing to light the weakness and vanity, the vices and infirmities of individuals. Let it be recollected likewise that it is the easiest thing imaginable to create and spread a slanderous report—it is the most difficult to refute the calumny. It is easy to administer poison—it is difficult to provide an antidote. The poet has most truly said,

“ On eagle’s wings immortal slanders fly,
While virtuous actions are but born and die.”

Besides is it not extremely difficult if not impossible to draw the line between truth and falsehood in matters of this kind. Every man has his fault—we are all subject to weaknesses and foibles, and may be betrayed into vices at which our better nature revolts. Who has ever passed through a long life without affording some ground of being charged with a departure from the straight line of duty. And shall it be permitted to every one to publish to the world these aberrations from the paths of rectitude, and to plead the truth in justification? How easy is it also to give a colour to transactions so as to deceive the world as to their true character. Should the laws permit the *unrestrained publication of all truths* however scandalous, and however injurious to reputation, in a short time truth and falsehood would be so mingled that the law would *in practice* sanction the basest and most malignant slanders. Reputation exposed to attack from every quarter would cease to be of much value, and the great incentive to virtue would lose much of its influence. And here let me ask whether it will be possible to allow the liberty contended for without opening a wide door for violence and bloodshed. Men will be found in every community who will not tamely sit down and see their reputation destroyed by the publications of their enemies. To the authority of Courts of Justice they may submit, but depend upon it, Gentlemen, men of high spirit and a nice sense of honor cannot in this enlightened age be brought to submit quietly to the censorship of individuals. They will rise in their native might and crush the assailant. Nor will the truth of the libel ever be found in practice to diminish the resentment felt by the party assailed. The law has therefore wisely said, from a just regard to the public peace and repose, that except when a man has committed a crime punishable by the laws, he shall not be held up to public hatred, contempt, or ridicule. Individuals may give information when the laws are violated, and it is not a libel! but if the laws are not violated, the private character and conduct of every man and his peculiar opinions and habits—must, like *his castle*, be free from the invasion of impertinent curiosity, of hostile intrusion, and (except by his own consent,) even of friendly remonstrance. These principles are fully recognised and established by all the authorities on this subject. In 3d Chitty's Criminal Law, page 867, it is stated "that nothing can be clearer, than that *truth* is no justification of defamatory writings as far as respect criminal prosecutions, for this reason, that the criminal law subjects libellers to punishment, not as a mode of redress to the parties libelled, but on account of such libel having a tendency to occasion a breach of the peace." Buller's N. P. 9. Selwyn's N. P. 1047, note p. 5. Coke 125. See also Holt on Libels. The following emphatic expressions from that excellent writer, Hawkins, are entitled to great weight.—1st. Haw. 354. "A Grand Jury should not find an indictment unless the offence may be construed to have a tendency to disturb the peace and harmony of the community. In such a case the public are justly placed in the character of an offended prosecutor, to vindicate the common right of all; for the malicious publication of *even truth* itself cannot in true policy, be suffered to interrupt the tranquility of any well ordered society. This is a principle so rational and pure that it cannot be tainted by the vulgar odium of its being derived from the

Star Chamber; the adoption of it by the worst of Courts can never weaken its authority, and without it, all the comforts of society might with impunity be hourly endangered or destroyed.

This question, however, is not only settled by the concurrence of all the English and several of the American authorities, but it has been *solemnly adjudged in our own State*, after able argument and by our ablest Judges. I beg leave here to read a part of the *unanimous opinion* of the whole bench of law judges of South Carolina, delivered by Mr. Justice Waites in January, 1811, in the case of the State vs. Lebre. The eloquence, and sound practical wisdom which pervades this decision will excuse the length of my quotation. "It has been insisted on for the defendant, that in a criminal proceeding as well as in a civil action, a party charged with a libel, may give the truth of it in evidence. His counsel have contended that this was the general rule of the common law, which may be inferred from the statutes of Westminster, 2 Richard 2d, and 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, all of which provide for the punishment of false tales only." "These statutes, it appears, have prescribed new and more grievous punishments; it is most probable, therefore, that they only intended to punish in a greater degree, the publication of tales which were aggravated by falsehood, and to leave the lesser offence to the common law remedy, this presumption is strengthened by the consideration that all these statutes were made for special purposes. But it is not necessary to explain the dark recesses of the ancient Law, to ascertain this point. It has been ascertained for us by those more eminently qualified than we are for this great labor, by those who are our best guides in all our legal researches, and to whose steady and unerring light we may more safely trust than to any new light of the present day. All the great expounders of the law, from Lord Coke down to Mr. Justice Blackstone, have uniformly laid it down as a rule of the Common Law that the truth of a libel cannot be given in evidence in a criminal proceeding, and this rule has never been departed from in a single instance. It is true, that a difference of opinion did for some time subsist among the English Judges, awr onslehet pecting libels; but this was only on the question, whether the Court or the Jury should decide n the criminal intent of the publication. A jury has the unquestionable right to decide on the *criminality* of a libel, as far as the libel itself is the evidence of it. For this purpose a defendant may read and rely on any part of it, to show an innocent motive and purpose in the publication. But the law at no time, and under no construction, has ever authorised a defendant in a criminal proceeding to justify a libel by giving the truth of it in evidence, this has been invariably refused. It has been asserted that the *first* case in which this was solemnly ruled, was decided in the Star

Chamber ; but as no case can be found prior to that, in which it was otherwise ruled, it is reasonable to conclude that this was not the creation of a new rule but the observance only of an old one. And even if it did originate in this odious and tyrannical Court, yet it does not follow that the rule itself is odious and tyrannical. The adherence to it by the common Law Courts, ever since, proves the contrary. They have given legitimacy to it as a common law rule ; and its authority is further sanctioned by the justice and morality of its object. How many other rules are there of modern origin, and of less importance to the quiet and happiness of society, which are acknowledged to form a part of the Common Law, and from which we are not at liberty to depart ? It is a great error to look to the first sources of the Common Law, for the purity of its principles. The best and purest of these, are of later accession. The sources of the Common Law, (except such parts as were derived from the laws of Rome) were shallow and muddy. In its downward course it has become continually filtered and enlarged, by passing through Courts of increased wisdom and science ; and it is owing to these continued filterings and accessions that we see it *as it now is*, a clear, wholesome, deep, and majestic stream. The most ancient decisions rest chiefly upon feudal principles, or upon reasons altogether barbarous and preposterous ; these have been gradually disregarded, and we see more modern abjudications supported by such solid and rational grounds, that we may now say of the Common Law, with a very few exceptions, that nothing is law which is not reason. But there is good cause to believe that this rule did not originate in the Star Chamber, and was not the creature of that Court. The rule was not peculiar to England. It existed long before : it made a part of the Roman law. We read in the Pandects of Justinian that “ a defamer is not to be exempt from the punishment due to the injury, although the libel contain *nothing but what is true*. It is not permitted to make proof of facts, which are *secret* and which have been the foundation of the Libel.” The same rule was adopted by a special edict of France in 1561. And it is also to be found in the Constitution of the Emperor Charles the 5th, in these words : “ Though the defamation were grounded on *truth*, yet the defamer ought to be punished according to the power of the Judge.” (See Just. Justin. lib. 4, tit. 4, 2. Domat. B. 3, tit. 12. And also Bayle’s Dissertation on Defamatory Libels.) It is most probable then, that this rule was derived from the civil law. We know that for many centuries this was the law of all Europe ; and England was governed by it for near four hundred years. Although the Barbarians who successively invaded and possessed that country, introduced into it many of their own laws and customs, yet the maxims and principles of the Roman law

were too deeply founded in reason and justice, to have been ever disused ; and there is no doubt that they compose now a large part of the common law of England. The celebrated Sir William Jones has said "the Pandects of Justinian are a most valuable mine of judicial knowledge. They give law at this hour to the greatest part of Europe ; and though few English lawyers dare make such an acknowledgment, the civil law is the true source of nearly all our English laws that are not founded on a feudal origin." (Letter to the Governor General of India in 1788.) "I have so far considered the case, on the ground of authority, and it would be sufficient for us to decide it on that ground only ; for we are bound to declare the law, and to give it operation, whether it be founded on good or bad reasons. But as there does not exist in the whole system of our laws a rule *better supported by reasons* than the one under consideration, and as the counsel for the defendant have contended that those reasons are not applicable to the state of our society—it is proper that I should take some notice of the objections made on this ground. I think indeed that the multiplied instances of the general adoption of the rule in every state of society and under every form of government, afford a sufficient proof of its being a rule both of general policy and morality. A libel is an offence, not because it is false, but because it tends to provoke quarrels and bloodshed, and because it is an act of private revenge, which is an usurpation of public authority ; that the objects therefore of punishing a libel are to preserve the public peace and to enforce a due obedience of the laws. Can it be seriously contended that these objects are not applicable to our state of society ? It appears to me that every reflecting mind must allow that they are *peculiarly* necessary to a free government.—The preservation of the public peace, and the prevention of private vengeance, in any form, are the very foundation of civil liberty, which could not be said to be fully enjoyed, unless these great ends were fully secured. It is for this reason that the sending a challenge is a high offence ; this too is punishable only because it is provocation to a breach of the public peace. It is also a public offence, to seize by force on one's own property, because it is not lawful for any man to redress his own wrongs. If therefore a man forcibly takes possession of his own land, he is punishable for a forcible entry. However manifest his right may be, yet he is not allowed to regain it by force, but must apply to the law for its aid and sanction. It would be in vain for him to urge the hardship of being punished for taking his own property.—The law would reply that he had done an act which affected the public peace ; that it was his duty to refer his claim to an authorized tribunal, and to seek redress from the law. This reply may be fairly made to the reasoning of the counsel for the defendant

in the present case. It was zealously contended that the publication of truth could not be a crime. But the truth makes no part of the essence of a libel : though the defendant had proved his charges against the prosecutor, yet this proof could not have availed him ; he would notwithstanding be guilty of having provoked a breach of the public peace, and of having usurped the public right, by redressing his grievance in his own way, and inflicting punishment by his own measure. These reasons for not allowing the truth of a libel to be given in evidence, in a criminal proceeding, are fully sufficient to justify the rule. But there is another reason for it, which will be thought by many to give more value to it than any other. It serves to protect from public exposure secret infirmities of mind and body, and even crimes which have been repented of and forgiven. Who will say that the truth of these should be given in evidence, to satisfy or excuse the exposure of them ? A man may have been overcome by some strong temptation, and been induced to commit a crime which he has since abhorred ; for which by a long perseverance in virtue and honesty, he made his peace with all who could be injured by it, and has thus a well grounded hope of being pardoned by his God. A woman too, who may have yielded to some seducer, or even have been the willing servant of vice, may have since become the faithful partner of some worthy man, and the mother of a virtuous offspring ; her frailties have been long forgiven, and she is in the enjoyment of the esteem and respect of all her neighbors. Will any one say that these expiated sins may be dragged from the privacy in which they have been sheltered, that they may be presented to the view of an unfeeling world ; be punished afresh by disgrace and odium, in which innocent connexions must participate, and that the author of all this misery must justify the act by shewing *the truth* of the charges ? Shall he be allowed to disturb the sacred work of reformation, and rob the poor penitent of the blessed fruits of her repentance ? Justice, charity and morality all forbid it, and, thank God ! *the law forbids it also*”

Having now, I trust, clearly shown the rules of law which apply to libels in general, I proceed next to consider the rules particularly applicable to *libels on the dead*.—On the first blush of this question it would appear that the same principles ought to govern in both cases. But some of our writers, adhering too closely to the *letter* of the law, have forgotten its *spirit*. They argue, that as *the object* of punishing for a libel is to *prevent a breach of the peace*, a libel on the dead can only be punished on account of its tendency to *excite the family* of the deceased to *revenge*, and one writer has gone so far as to say that it is necessary “to aver *and prove*” that the libel was “published with this intention.”—But if we look into the reason of the law, we find that

in the libels on the living, the tendency to a breach of the peace, is principally relied on, because the private injury can be redressed by a civil action.—But in cases of libels on the dead no civil action can be sustained by any one, and if their tendency to a breach of the peace is to be regarded exclusively, it would seem that the law does not regard the preservation of reputation for its own sake, and that a man dying without a family, it would be no offence to libel his memory in the grossest and most unwarrantable terms. When such a case shall occur, I am inclined to think it will be held that a virtuous fame, acquired by a well spent life, is within the protection of the law. The love of posthumous fame is certainly strongly felt by every virtuous man; it is a great incentive to noble deeds, and such fame would be valueless if the fruits of a life of good conduct could be blasted by the corrupted breath of the slanderer of the dead. It is unnecessary for the occasion, however, to enter into this controversy, and I shall content myself with proving that in a libel on the dead, if the words be defamatory, the malicious motive is a legal inference—and that if it be necessary to charge in the indictment the tendency to excite the family of the deceased, and to bring them into contempt, or even to allege such an intention on the part of the publisher, that still the law does not require that such intention should in any case be proved.—Chitty in his *Criminal Law*, 1st Vol. p. 868, says, that it is necessary to “aver and prove at the trial,” that the publication was intended to excite the family to a breach of the peace. But in this assertion I shall demonstrate that he is unsupported by any writer who has gone before him, and is contradicted by the very case from which he deduces the rule. If the intention be not a legal inference from the act, how is it possible, let me ask, to prove that which from its very nature, is secret, unknown and perhaps carefully concealed from human view?

All the reasoning applicable to the inference of motives from acts in cases of murder, and in libels on the living, apply in full force to libels on the dead. The rule is in general laid down precisely in the same terms as to both species of libel.—Thus in Shaw's *Practical Justice*, p. 639 and 642, we find the following words—“A libel (in this place) signifies a scandalous report raised and spread abroad of another, or otherwise unlawfully published, and this may be either in writing or without it; if in writing, the making a copy thereof, and delivering that copy to another, is a publication.” “And it is not material whether the libel be true or false, the party scandalised living or dead, of good or ill name.”

In 3d Burn's *Justice*, 99, 100, he lays down the rule thus: “A libel is a malicious defamation of any person, expressed either in

printing or writing, signs or pictures, to asperse the reputation of one that is alive, or the memory of one that is dead, for the offence is the same, whether the person libelled be alive or dead."

In 1st Hawkins' Pleas of the Crown, p. 352, this excellent and approved writer says: "A libel in a strict sense, is taken for a malicious defamation—tending either to blacken the memory of one who is dead, or the reputation of one who is alive."

In 5th Coke, 125, the rule is laid down in a similar manner, and indeed almost all the approved writers on criminal law use on this subject the same language.

Now is it possible for any rational man to infer from these authorities that the law is different in cases of libels on the living and the dead—and that what is a legal inference (to act the *quo animo* or intention) in the former case, must in the latter be "*averred and proved*?" It may indeed be necessary to *aver* in the indictment the motive or perhaps the *intention* or tendency, but it cannot be necessary to furnish any other *proof* of that intention than what the law *must infer* from the words themselves. Chitty however deduces the rule as laid down by him, from the case in 4 Term Rep. 125. A superficial examination of this case may lead us to the conclusion adopted by Chitty, and it is so loosely reported, that detached sentences may be found in support of the doctrine. But a careful examination of the whole case must lead us to a different conclusion. And here let it be observed, that the point now in contest is, whether it be necessary to offer at the trial any positive proof of the intention—or whether in a libel on the dead, the intention be not inferred in like manner as in cases of libel on the living. As to the necessity of making an *avermment* of the tendency or intention, I shall say nothing, because in the Indictment now before you, I have prepared two counts—the 1st *charging the intention*, in the manner recommended by Chitty, and 2d, stating the *tendency* of the libel, which latter I am inclined to think is the most proper form. As far as the decision goes, therefore, to the necessity of averring any thing—my Indictment is beyond exception, but should the law require *actual proof* of the *intention*, I admit this proof has not been given in the present case, and perhaps can seldom or ever be furnished in any case.

But to return to the decision in 4 T. Rep. The question before the Court then, was not as to *the proof* to be given at the trial, but it related to the *form of the Indictment* only. It was no where *charged* that the libel was published with an intention to bring the family of the deceased into contempt, and to excite them to revenge, nor was it stated that the words had such a tendency. The exception was, that *something of this kind* ought to have been *stated*. It seems to have been conceded, by the Bar and the

Bench, that if it had been *stated*, the case was made out, and the defendant must have been found guilty. Now no legal decision is binding as an *authority* except on the very point on which that decision rests, and the only point here decided was the necessity of giving a certain form to the Indictment. In page 126, it is objected to the Indictment, that it did not *aver* the *tendency*, and from the last page it might be inferred that it is necessary to *aver* the *intention*. But not a word is said in the whole case of *proving* either the tendency or the intention. Like the cases of murder, therefore, and libels on the living, it is necessary to charge certain motives, but no proof is to be furnished except the legal inference. There is another part of this decision which demonstrates that this is the true construction to be put upon it. The Judge in that case had charged the Jury that *no proof of the motive* was necessary, and that they were only to judge of the fact of publication and the truth of the inuendoes. And on the motion for a new trial, the Court expressly recognise and maintain the rule that *the intention must always be inferred from the act*. Now how are these apparently contradictory rules to be reconciled?—I answer, by putting this construction on the decision:—that it decided, 1st, the necessity of alleging the motive in the Indictment, and, 2d, that the intention being alleged, the general rule of law applies, of inferring the motive from the act itself. This is the construction put on the decision by the only two writers except Chitty who have commented upon it. Holt on Libels, 236, 7, 8, states the rule as laid down in 4th T. R. to be that you must charge or aver the design or intention; but he nowhere insists on the necessity of proving it specially. So M^r-George, in a treatise on the law of libel, published in 1812, p. 93, to 97, reasons, I think conclusively, in support of the views I have taken on this subject. He sums up his argument by declaring *in substance* that whenever the question shall arise as to the *true construction* of the decision, in 4 Term. Rep. 125, it will be held to declare that though it be necessary to charge the motive or intent in the Indictment, yet that it is not necessary to prove it, as the law always infers the intent from the act.

Having thus, Gentlemen of the Jury, stated all the general rules of law applicable to this case, I shall proceed to consider *the case itself*, and to enquire whether the defendant, Lorenzo Dow, is guilty of *publishing a libel on the dead* according to the principles of our law. The offence charged in the Indictment consists, in the sale of a book by the defendant in this city, on or about the day of last, in which is contained the two following sentences:—"Matthews invited me to supply an appointment for him in the great meeting-house, which was built for the Methodists, and about which Hammet made crooked work," &c.

And again, "*I find Mr. Hammet has gone to a world of spirits, to answer for the deeds done in the body: As it respects his division it appears his motives were impure, arising from a desire of popularity; in consequence of which, there was a breach of confidence by him as respected the incorporation of the house; awful to relate, it appears he died drunk.*" The book is a journal of the defendant's life, and the present edition appears to have been published in Philadelphia on

The disseminating that book here on the last, constitutes the offence of *publishing* a libel, or which in law does not imply *printing* it, but making it public. Thus in Chitty's Criminal Law, 3d Vol. p. 870, it is said, "the party who writes a libel dictated by another, he who composes it, he who prints or procures it to be printed, he who *publishes* or causes it to be published, all in short, who assist in framing or *diffusing* it, are implicated in the *guilt of the offence.*" And so in 2d M'Nally, 643, it is laid down, that if a book is passed *only from one hand to another, with the intention of making the contents known, (and it be libellous) this is a publication.* See also 1 Salk 417, 2 Camp. 512. Hawkins, b. 1, c. 73. s. 10. It has been clearly proved in this case, (and indeed is not denied by the defendant) that he caused to be sold in this city, at the time stated, several copies of the book containing the libel in question. The offence therefore as far as the *publication* is concerned is *certainly complete.* Let us then next inquire *whether these words are libellous?* And 1st, are they *defamatory?* do they tend to blacken the memory of the deceased, and to rouse the feelings of his family, and excite them to a breach of the peace. If they do this, "in any degree," it clearly follows from the authorities above quoted, that they are defamatory and libellous. And here I must observe, that I can scarcely imagine any accusation, either against the living or the dead, better calculated to disturb the peace and harmony of the community, than that here made against the Rev. William Hammet. It appears from the proof given in this case, and indeed is notorious to us all, that Mr. Hammet was a preacher of the Methodist persuasion, that he was a leader of one of the *divisions* of that sect in Charleston, calling themselves "Primitive Methodists," that these Methodists had caused a house of public worship to be built, called Trinity Church, of which Mr. Hammet was the pastor, and in which he constantly preached for many years, and up to the period of his death. The members of this congregation, it appears, were by an act of the Legislature, made a body politic and corporate in 1793. And Mr. Hammet died, leaving two children, a son and daughter, the former of whom (a merchant of this city, now about 27 years of age,) has instituted this pros-

ecution. In forming a judgment of the defamatory nature of the libel, these facts must be always kept in mind. The first part of the libel to which I call your attention, is the following :—"I find that Mr. Hammet has gone to the world of spirits, to answer for the deeds done in the body." These words considered by themselves contain a simple truth, which might with equal justice, be applied to every human being who has ever existed. Yet when we take them in connection with what follows, no man who reads them can doubt that they are intended to convey the impression that Mr. Hammet was not a pious man, that he perished in his sins, unregenerate, and had gone to answer for his offences, and to meet merited punishment for his crimes. This is the construction put on the words in the Indictment. You will determine, Gentlemen, the correctness of the innuendo, but if correct, who can doubt their libellous character?—I proceed however to the next charge—"As respects his division it appears his motives were impure, arising from a desire of popularity," and in another place we find these words, "Mr. Hammet made crooked work." These sentences contain in substance, the same charge, and my imagination cannot conceive a charge of a more serious nature. Mr. Hammet was a preacher of the Gospel—he professed to be a humble follower of the "meek and lowly Jesus," his employment imperiously required him to renounce all the vain pomp and glory of this world—he professed to be "a Teacher sent from God," and he took on himself the office of guiding and directing others in the road to heaven. To say of such a man that "his motives were impure," is to accuse him of the basest hypocrisy, and when it is added, that he was influenced "by the desire of popularity," what is it but to say that he was destitute of all Christian graces and virtues, and that, forgetting his duty to God, and regardless of his obligations to his flock, he had set himself up as the idol of his own worship, and had departed from the service of the Master whom he professed to follow. The next charge is contained in these words: "*There was a breach of confidence by him as respected the incorporation of the House.*" To commit a breach of confidence under any circumstances, is one of the basest acts of which a man can be guilty, and to commit such an act in relation to those who are your inferiors and dependants must aggravate the crime. But can language paint the depravity of which he must be guilty, who defrauds his spiritual children, and at the very time they are looking up to him for guidance and protection?—If such a crime can be aggravated, it must be by committing a breach of confidence in relation to the house of God itself, to cover the crime with the cloak of religion, and to pro-

fess to do the act in the name, and as the servant of the Most High. Comment on such a charge is unnecessary. "*Awful to relate it appears he died drunk.*" Death, it has been well said, puts the seals of our character. At that solemn moment, when the earth is beginning to disappear, and Heaven is opening before us, few men have been ever found so steeled against all virtuous emotions, and so hardened in iniquity, as not to feel a deep sense of their awful situation. The coldest heart has been warmed, the most flinty bosom has been often softened by the approach of death. But for any man in such a situation, to fly from the contemplation of his awful condition, to rush covered with voluntary crime into the presence of God, and to close his eyes in drunkenness when he knows they must next be opened in the presence of his God, is a degree of depravity which I am happy in believing has seldom been witnessed in any age or in any country. That a preacher of the word of life should do such an act, is I believe without example in the history of the world, and I thank God, it has been clearly proved in this case, that in relation to Mr. Hammet, there is not the shadow of a foundation for the charge. It appears from the evidence that he died calmly and triumphantly, in peace with all men, and in hope of a blessed immortality. Such is the *defamatory nature* of the libel before us, and surely it would be a waste of argument to prove that it tends to bring the memory of Mr. Hammet into public hatred and contempt, or to show that it has a tendency to excite the family of the deceased, and disturb the peace and harmony of society. Having thus shewn that the words used are defamatory, it follows, *as a legal inference* that they were published "*maliciously,*" or to use terms according to their proper meaning, that they were published with *illegal and improper motives*, and contrary to the duty which every man owes to society, and against the peace and dignity of the state. Even if the charges were true, the motive would not thereby be purified. But happily for the reputation of Mr. Hammet, as far as the truth of the charges have been investigated at this trial, it appears they have no foundation. It is true the defendant was not permitted to go *generally* into the truth of his charges in justification of the libel. But at the earnest request of the prosecutor, the defendant was permitted by the State to prove, if he could, the truth of the allegation that Mr. Hammet *had died drunk*, and as to the incorporation of the Church and the division of the Methodists, the Report of the trial in the Court of Equity of this State, involving the merits of those proceedings, was suffered to be read, and has been fully submitted to you. The privilege sought for by defendant of

going into a full history of the whole of Mr. Hammet's life, and of all the proceedings touching the division of the Church, was denied to him, because it could avail him nothing—was calculated to involve us in an interminable inquiry, and was certainly irrelevant to the issue before us. Indeed if every part of the libel could have been shewn to be true, neither in law nor reason would Mr. Dow have been justified. And here permit me, Gentlemen of the Jury, to call your attention for a moment to *the evidence* in this case, and I do so merely for the purpose of vindicating the memory of Mr. Hammet from the charges contained in the libel. I never saw the man, yet I feel that I am treading upon holy ground, and am engaged in a pious office, when I approach the monument which covers his remains, to erase the record of crimes he never committed. It is said that he was guilty of a breach of confidence concerning the incorporation of the Church. Look into the decision of the Court of Appeals in Equity; you there find that the incorporation was granted to the congregation and not to Mr. Hammet—you find the property was vested in Trustees, and Mr. Hammet was only Pastor of the Church—you find that the pretended sale of the church, so much and so justly complained of did not take place till *after* Mr. Hammet's death, and that up to that period he continued to officiate as Pastor of the Church without complaint and without reproach. Again—you are told that he died drunk!!

What say the witnesses? Can you ever forget, Gentlemen, the touching scene described with so much simplicity and feeling by young Mr. Hammet? He tells you that at the death of his father he was about ten years of age, that it is still fresh in his memory, that a few minutes before his father breathed his last, he was called to his bedside with his sister and mother to receive his last adieu and his parting benediction. The dying man was calm and serene, and having bestowed on these objects of his dearest affections the Christian's blessing and the burning kiss, "he gave his honors to the world again, his blessed part to Heaven, and slept in peace." But this you are told is the tale of a child who was too young to remember, what, it appears he can *never* forget. All the witnesses however, now alive, who were present at the death, or during the last illness of Mr. Hammet, have been examined before you. And what is the result? They tell you he was calm and composed, and when he felt the immediate approach of the King of Terrors—he joined in prayer—and calling for his wife and children—kissed them affectionately, and expressing a Christian confidence "that he was going to God and to glory"—closed his eyes forever."

Every good man must rejoice that such was the end of Mr. Hammet, and I greatly mistake the feelings of the defendant if it has not afforded him a real satisfaction to discover that he was mistaken in alleging that Mr. Hammet died drunk. Here, however, I am met by the observation that the remarks of Mr. Dow are qualified by the expression of "it appears," and that it is evident throughout that he is speaking on the authority of others. This is in law no excuse for libel. The publisher of a libel is as guilty as the printer or the composer, and he who assists to circulate a libellous report must abide by the consequences. It is further to be observed, that the expression "it appears," seems to imply that the thing had appeared or become manifest, and that the narrator having satisfied himself of the truth of the charge, undertook to assert the fact so to be. Yet it now appears that the defendant never made an inquiry of any person who was present when Mr. Hammet died. The eloquent counsel for the defendant has very ingeniously attempted to shield his client, by alleging that though malice may be, *prima facie*, a legal inference from the defamatory words, yet that this is a legal presumption merely, which may be rebutted, and he argues that this presumption may be rebutted by shewing that the libel was innocently published, or that *the charge was true*, or that the defendant was unacquainted with the contents—or published as an historian, or had no intention to libel the dead, or injure the living. I freely admit that the legal inference of malice is capable of being rebutted—but *the truth* cannot be received *for that purpose*, as it could not prove the publication to be innocent, the law forbids the publication even of truth which is libellous, nor can the defendant be permitted to shew that he had no animosity against the deceased or his family—for any particular malice towards them is no part of the legal offence. He may show however that he is an innocent publisher, as that he sold the book without knowing or having any means of becoming acquainted with the contents, or he may shew that he has published an impartial history. This last ground is the only one which can possibly avail the defendant in this case, and I will proceed briefly to examine it. The interests of mankind require that a faithful record should be kept and published of those important events which tend to elucidate truth. History indeed gives to posterity the experience of the ages which are past, and by means of the press, the wise and good of all ages and countries are brought together, and men are enlightened by their wisdom and improved by their virtues. Biography is a species of history which gives us a closer view of human nature than we could obtain from any other source. This also is worthy of protection. But some limitation must certainly be put on the liberty of mankind with regard to this last species of history.

Surely the peace and harmony of society would be destroyed if every man possessed the right of publishing the biography of any citizen the moment his body was deposited in the tomb. It may be difficult to draw the exact line which separates legitimate biography from a libel on the dead; but some rules can be laid down that cannot mislead us—and 1stly, greater latitude would be allowed in treating of the character of a political or military chief, than of a private citizen; 2ndly, public acts ought to be more freely commented on than private character or conduct; 3dly, the comment ought to be confined to such matters only as concern the public to know, and it ought not to be used merely to expose frailties, with which the public can have no concern; 4thly, before the private character or conduct of any man is made the subject of free and injurious reflections, he ought to have reposed long enough in his grave to cause unfounded slanders to be forgotten, and the feelings of his family and friends to have subsided. To apply these rules, I should say that it would be a libel to publish *within a year* after any man's death, any thing reflecting on his private character; and I should also say, that after the lapse of one hundred years, the same publication might be innocent. I do not pretend to lay down these as rules of law, but of reason; I suggest them merely as helps to the mind in drawing the distinction between a history and a libel. The law merely says that a work published in the *genuine spirit of history* is not a libel, but it declares at the same time, that a book reflecting on an individual is a libel, whether it be true or false. In order to judge of the historical character of any passage charged as libellous, we have a right to look into the whole book. Now let us take up the journal of Mr. Dow, and candidly inquire whether the remarks on Mr. Hammet are made in the genuine spirit of candid and impartial history? Mr. Hammet was no statesman or warrior—he was a humble preacher, of a very small and humble sect of Christians—the comments do not relate to the religious opinions, and doctrines he espoused, but they treat of the *secret motives* of his actions; they do not charge him with spiritual errors, but with a breach of confidence—the attack is not made on his head, but his heart—and he is followed into his domestic retirement; his private habits are held up to reproach, and the trying scene of his death-bed is painted in the most glowing colors that could be used to discredit and disgrace him. Now as to the time when these charges were made, six months had not elapsed as appears from the date of the journal, and the sod which covered his body was scarcely green when this libel was composed, and was, I believe shortly afterwards

published to the world.* If Mr. Hammet had friends, surely their feelings could not have been yet prepared for such an attack. If then we consider the time of publication, the character of Mr. Hammet, or the nature of the charges—I think we must arrive at the conclusion that this libel cannot be sheltered under the protection afforded to history. You will take the book out with you, Gentlemen, and judging from the words and the context, will say whether you deem this a fair and impartial history, or a libel on the memory of Mr. Hammet, and with your decision I shall be well content. One remark only will I here add on this point; if the charge that Mr. Hammet “*died drunk*” had been strictly true, I am entirely at a loss to conceive how the publication of that fact could possibly promote the cause of religion or morality, or indeed to promote any other end than to bring contempt and disgrace upon his memory and inflict an incurable wound in the feelings of his friends.

There is but one other argument urged by my friend, which now occurs to my mind as necessary to be answered. He says that the defendant is a *Methodist*, and he has painted in colors as true as they are glowing, the great services rendered to mankind by the zealous and devoted sect to which his client belongs. He tells you further, this circumstance, connected with Mr. Dow’s peculiar habits and mode of life, entitle him “to find favor in your eyes.” I most cordially and sincerely unite with my friend in the encomiums he has bestowed on the Methodists as a sect, and though I cannot bring myself to approve of all their opinions and modes of worship, I do believe they render more service to the people at large than any sect of Christians with which I am acquainted, and I am inclined to think, than all of them put together. The strict *economy* which pervades all of their establishments—their practice of providing at a very small expense preachers who constantly *traverse the country* in all directions, carrying “the glad tidings of the Gospel” to every door—and their plain and earnest appeals to the hearts and consciences of their hearers, have certainly produced a wonderful effect in every part of our country. There are portions of this state in which vice formerly abounded, and in which, since the Methodists went among them, virtue “still more abounds”—the profligate has been reclaimed—the daring infidel converted, and the souls of multitudes have been saved. Whatever may be the opinion of any man as to their errors, while we apply the Christian rule “by *their fruits ye shall know them*,” the character and services of

* In this it has since appeared the Attorney General was mistaken. Though the entry concerning Mr. H. was made in the journal six months after his death, it was not published till the year —, and — years after his death, and it was then published in Europe, and was not issued from the American press till —.

the Methodists must be entitled to the highest praise. My official duty calls me occasionally to a district in this State where there exists no regular established Church, and no established clergyman of any denomination. The Methodists took up the work which all others had abandoned, and are daily producing "the fruits of good living and a holy conversation." That Mr. Dow belongs to such a sect can excite no feelings *against him* in my bosom, and certainly none in this community, where the services of the Methodists are so universally prized. His mode of life too has excited popular feeling in his behalf in a very high degree, and in the progress of this trial we have received plain indications of the public sympathy being with him. But are we prepared to say that the member of any religious sect shall have law and justice measured out to him by a different rule from others? Shall Mr. Dow be suffered to violate our laws with impunity? I do not ask you to find him guilty, unless you are fully satisfied of his legal guilt. But if you are satisfied, you cannot hesitate how to act. You must support the authority of the laws, and teach all men by this example, that the laws are supreme.—The measure of punishment will be for the Court, and that it will be mild and humane, is not only my sincere wish, but from the high character of the Judge, may be confidently expected.

The counsel for the defendant has argued that there is no distinction, *in reason*, between *spoken* and *written slander*, and he has stated that charges of the *most atrocious nature* may be made *verbally without being actionable*, and he therefore concludes that the *same words ought not to be actionable* if written or printed. I dissent from both branches of this proposition. There is a wide difference between verbal and printed slander, and the cases put where the former would not be actionable, so far from proving that they *ought not* to be actionable when printed, demonstrate that they *ought* to be actionable even when spoken. In support of this opinion I shall urge but one or two plain and obvious arguments. Verbal slander is often the result of excited passions, and from this cause loses much of its influence on the opinions of the hearer—it is confined to the small circle who may chance to surround the speaker—it is soon forgotten by those to whom it is addressed, and in general produces no permanent injury to the person whose reputation is assailed. Printed slander on the contrary is the result of cool deliberation, and the solemnity of the charge gives it greater weight—it is not confined to a small circle, but is disseminated through the community (and in the language of the defendant in relation to his book) "it traverses every part of our own country, visits all the countries of Europe, penetrates into Asia, and finds its way even into Africa." Its form is permanent, it may not only outlive the present generation, but may live to the end of

the world, and not only destroys the reputation of the person attacked, but may entail disgrace on his posterity to the remotest generations. If slander in any form has been supposed to imply malice, surely *printed slander* more strongly admits of that implication. The libel is composed deliberately in the retirement of the closet;—it is corrected at leisure—a contract is made with the printer—the proof sheets are examined, and not till then is the work issued from the press. It would seem to follow from these considerations that there *is some reason* in holding *printed slander* to be more reprehensible than *verbal slander*. Now let us advert to the case put by my friend. He says that by the English law, an amiable female may in the presence of a multitude be accused of the want of virtue, and may be branded with the most odious epithets, and this is not actionable. But will he or any man of feeling say that such an offence *ought not* to be punished. The objection then it appears is not that such slanders *ought not* to be punished when printed, but on the contrary that they *ought to be* severely punished even when spoken. I am satisfied that all intelligent men, whether lawyers or citizens, at this day concur, that it is *reproach to the law* that it affords no redress for words spoken derogatory to character. Shall we magnify the evil by taking away the remedy wisely provided for a still greater offence, to wit: *printed defamation*.

Having now, Gentlemen of the Jury, gone through the law and the facts of this case, I must request you to bear with me for a few moments longer, while I attempt to impress on your minds and hearts the *inestimable value of reputation*; and the absolute necessity of *maintaining the law of libel*, in order to render reputation secure. If we consider the intrinsic value of “a good name,” or its utility as an incentive to virtue, we cannot fail to acknowledge its immense importance. Man is a social being: he can never make himself independent of the world, and the good opinion of mankind must therefore be of greater importance to his welfare than either wealth or power. “A good name (says the inspired writer) is better than riches.” If it be true as Lord Bacon has declared, “that *knowledge is power*,” surely reputation is entitled to the same praise. Without it no man can maintain a commanding influence over the minds and opinions of others. Without it knowledge is comparatively useless—courage is nerveless—wealth despicable, and even virtue itself loses half its excellence. To be useful is the highest praise, and ought to be the chief object of every good man. But what can so enlarge the sphere of influence and add such vast powers to human exertion as a spotless fame? *This* not only makes us eminently useful, but it secures our happiness. If wealth enables us to promote the arts and sciences, to build churches and establish schools; if ambition points out the road to power, and thus enables its votary to

confer important benefits on mankind, it is reputation only that crowns the efforts of the one and sanctifies the triumphs of the other. In all ages men have acknowledged the value of a virtuous fame. The great father of the drama, the immortal Shakespeare, has caused one of his heroes to exclaim,

“ Set *honor* in one eye and *death* in t’other
 “ And I will look on death indifferently.”

To this sentiment every bosom of refined sensibility must respond. We have all witnessed, Gentlemen, melancholy wrecks of noble minds. I have seen a man rich in earthly goods, surrounded by an amiable family, and a brilliant circle of devoted friends. I have seen *such a man*, the pride of the state, “observed of all observers,” admired for his talents, and beloved for his virtues. To him could with truth be applied the beautiful language of the book of Job. “The candle of the Lord shined upon his head—the Almighty was yet with him and his children were about him. He washed his steps with butter and the rock poured him out rivers of oil. The young men saw him and hid themselves, and the aged arose and stood up. When the ear heard him it blessed him, and when the eye saw him it gave witness to him.” “Then he said “I shall die in my nest and shall multiply my days as the sand.” *His reputation was unspotted*—But I have seen the same man *without his fame*—calumny had blasted or misconduct had destroyed it. You have seen the stately edifice towering in the pride of majesty and beauty, struck by the bolt of heaven, and in an instant levelled with the earth and reduced to a heap of black and smoking ruins. Such was the change produced on the character of him who had been despoiled of his reputation. He moved along like a pale and melancholy ghost—a *stranger among his friends*, without a smile to greet him, or a hand to bid him welcome. Then it was that I felt the full force of the declaration that “the spirit of a man may bear his infirmities but a wounded spirit who can bear.”

It has been urged by the defendant that *in this country* a greater latitude ought to be allowed in relation to publications affecting reputation, and we are told that “the freedom of the press,” which is secured by the constitution requires this liberty. But it seems to me that in this free and happy country, *peculiar guards* are required for the preservation of reputation. Among what people is the sense of honor so delicate and refined? In what country is the spirit of the people so likely to overleap the bounds of the law, and to expiate by blood every attack on private character? In other countries wealth and rank *give character*, influence and power, even to the vicious and corrupt. In America we have no

nobility but that of wisdom and of virtue. It seems to follow, therefore, that as character with us creates the only distinction between men, that it has peculiar value, and ought to be protected by peculiar sanctions; and assuredly the peace and harmony of society must be in an extraordinary degree disturbed by every attack on reputation. In America it is "the very jewel of our souls," of which we cannot be rifled with impunity. If such be the value of reputation to the living, ought it to perish with us, and be buried with our bodies in the grave? Who is there that would wish to die and be forgotten? to have no tear of affection shed upon his tomb? to leave no record of his virtues? to have his very name forgotten, and "to pass away as the beasts that perish and are no more seen forever?" No, Gentlemen, we all wish to live beyond the grave, in our children who inherit our fortunes and our names, and in the memory of our friends. But if it be desirable *not to be forgotten*, what shall we say of having our names remembered only to be despised—and our history told only to bring our memory into public hatred and contempt—that our very names should bring disgrace on our innocent offspring, and never be mentioned in their presence without mantling the youthful cheek with the burning blush of shame? Who can contemplate such a fate as his own without being tempted to curse the hour that gave him birth—and to wish that a mill-stone had rather been put about his neck and he had been cast into the sea. Shall it be said that the reputation of the dead ought not to be protected by the laws? If men were not punished for libels on the dead, whose fame would be secure beyond the period of his life? And here permit me to remark that the dead are *defenceless*, and if posthumous fame be an incentive to virtue, society only can afford it protection. The sentiment of reverence for the dead is deeply imprinted on the human heart. It is a delightful incident in history, that when a certain nation was subdued and driven out from their country, the only request they made of their conquerors was to be permitted to carry with them *the bones of their fathers*. "De mortuis nil nisi bonum," is a proverb in every country. I will illustrate the feeling of abhorrence with which men regard all attacks on the dead, by but one other remark. There is an animal odious in its character and form, and of so ferocious a disposition that though taken young, no assiduity or kindness (however long continued) can subdue its fierceness, or calm its fury—It is called "the hyena—fellest of the fell." And it is to this animal that poetry and fable have assigned the *appropriate employment* of prowling about the grave and feasting on the dead. But the hyena feeds only on the mortal part of man; he but destroys the loathsome and corrupted body. Surely to assail the immortal fame of man and to strip the tomb of the flowers with

which the hand of affection has decked it, is a more odious office. Never, Gentlemen, no, never can *our laws* permit any violation of the sanctity of the grave. God forbid, Gentlemen, that I should impute to the defendant such feelings or such motives; I know *he is incapable of them*. But he has not *duly regarded* the sacred character of the dead—he has published a libel on the memory of Mr. Hammet, contrary to the spirit of our wise and wholesome laws, whose authority you must this day maintain by your verdict, or consent to see them violated hereafter with impunity.

✍ The foregoing contains a very imperfect sketch of the Speech of the Attorney General in this case. In consequence of Mr. Dow's suddenly leaving Charleston, and desiring to carry with him the materials for the publication of the trial, this speech was hastily prepared, and is published without any correction by the author.

JUDGE JOHNSON'S CHARGE.

Gentlemen of the Jury,

The Indictment in this case charges in the first count that the defendant published a libel on the memory of the deceased Mr. Hammet, with a view to provoke his relations to a breach of the peace; and in the second, that his publication had a tendency to the same effect. The distinction between these two counts is purely technical, and I will give no opinion on it till we have discovered whether the words published by the defendant are a libel or not. The definition of libel, which is found in Chitty, is, that it is a malicious defamation in writing, and tending either to blacken the memory of one who is dead, or the reputation of one who is alive. Now it is only necessary to read the words against the defendant, and to ask yourselves whether their obvious intent and meaning be not to blacken the memory of the deceased?—For my own part, I have no hesitation in saying, I think they do. This being so, the law, Gentlemen, implies the publication to have been malicious, and intended by the defendant to blacken the memory and bring into disrepute the family of the deceased. If either count be bad, it is the first, and not the last, as has been

argued, for the last expressly shows the *tendency* of the act which means the intent. The publication, therefore, being admitted by the defendant himself, is sufficient; for the law, as I have said, *implies* the malice and the intent to provoke. The question of libel or no libel, is one purely of law—and for the Court, not the Jury, to decide. All the Jury have generally to do with the case is with the fact of publication and the truth of the inuendoes or meanings, attached to the words. They may indeed take on themselves to judge of the motives with which the publication was made. If a Jury, Gentlemen, could satisfy themselves that a virtuous motive or intent existed, I do not pretend to say, that there are not cases in which it might operate to excuse the act. But it would be a most dangerous thing to give the writer of a book a general license to print whatever he learns, true or false, of different persons, notwithstanding they may be dead, upon the pretence of subserving the cause of morality; for if he can publish this of the dead he can do the same of the living, by taking care to give his book a religious cast. Gentlemen, this habit of libelling should be suppressed—the peace and happiness of society demand it—there is no pretext, in my opinion, which can justify it; and I have seen and heard nothing, whatsoever, that in my view, can afford any justification for this act of the defendant. It is your province, however, Gentlemen, to judge of his defence, and I leave it with you.

The Jury retired, and some time afterwards brought in a verdict of *Guilty*.

On a subsequent day, 24th May, the defendant was brought up to be sentenced; when on his being asked if he had any observations to make previous to the passing of the sentence of the law, replied that he had, and by the permission of the Court would read them from a paper, which he did, as follows:—

[The Reader will notice in the digest of S. C. the *title authority*, &c. &c. of the KING, is still retained, (1814) and I was tried by British law.]

☞ Before sentence is passed, criminals are commonly allowed to speak in BRITISH courts when condemned by BRITISH LAW; therefore I conceive myself at liberty to make a few remarks, as a dying man to dying men!

The Judge seemed to suspect malice arising from a mistake of the gentlemen of the bar, from the observation and the words—“The preachers were shy—the meeting-house was shut against me,” &c.

Here I would remark, that there were two societies of Methodists at that time. One was distinguished by the name of "Asbury Methodists, the other by the name of "Hammet Methodists"—but I was not in connection with either. The Asbury Methodists were shy, as intimated in the book, but Hammet's preachers were not shy, but opened their meeting-houses to me on that occasion.

Hence I could feel no party spirit or personal malice in my breast at Mr. Hammet's leaving them and setting up for himself—for I am not bound by any specific human creed, to any society, but endeavor to follow the openings of Divine Providence, to gain access to the people, to preach Christ, and him crucified; and recommend to all, to flee from the wrath to come; as they will be judged according to the deeds done in the body.

The Attorney General seemed to say, if it appeared that the relation in the Journal was *historical*, there would be an end of the investigation; and brought up no particular instance of a *historian* being punished for history, but seemed to lay much stress on the idea of *six months* being too short a time to speak freely of the dead.

A material fact seemed to have escaped the notice of the Court. The publication of the Journal was not for a lapse of years, and the first American edition was about ten years after the death of Mr. Hammet, which the copy right to T. C. Totten, back of the title page of the history, (I think) will show. How long a time is sufficient for one to be dead before you may write the truth about them? And what is the book but a History of Cosmopolite, with its concomitants? And if you may not speak the truth of public men who are set up as moral teachers, when their example may be injurious to society, is not this protecting vice by law? and moreover be a preventive of impartial history; and also for men of infamous habit, to fly to S. Carolina as an asylum, under the protection of law, that the truth of their evil deeds may not be spoken. If I were allowed to pass an opinion on the Attorney General's eloquent observation, on the great importance of posthumous fame, I would say, that it was best preserved by leading a virtuous life, and not by gagging the condemnation of VICE. It has been suggested that my having counsel, witnesses, &c. was indicative of malice! but a word will set this in a proper light—as the Attorney General and all my friends know, it was my intention to have no such provision, but the Attorney General recommended the necessity of the thing, to answer certain points in law; and a friend of mine had engaged Mr. Prioleau before I knew it; and Mr. Hayne had put the indictment also in his hand before I knew it; and Mr. Prioleau advised to have some witnesses—which since I have been pained at, as being the innocent

cause of something like *perjury*, when they swore to tell the truth and the whole truth, and yet they were *restricted* in their disclosures!—I have been informed that MALICE constituted the *gist* of a libel. And although malice may be implied from the use of words calculated to bring a man into contempt, still, if it can be shown from circumstances, that there was no malice, can that be a libel? Here let it be remembered, first, that I never saw Mr. Hammet; second, that I never knew he had a son or daughter till January last; and thirdly, so far was I from malice, that I never caused intentionally any of those books to come to Charleston, or strove to prevent it, and those few copies (which were brought here by a Thomas Pitts, with other books) have been here for years—and he gave me his order to obtain them as I came along. I am no lawyer, and have chiefly confined my study to the law of nature and the law of God. But it seems strange to me, that an American citizen, after forty-five years of Independence, should be tried by FOREIGN law; and that merely the OPINIONS of men CALLED *law*! and these opinions are so various, as to appear almost OMNIFARIOUS; and are so contradictory and clashing, that the Judge is free to take WHICH opinion he pleases.—So true is this, that it is not *uncommon* to see the Judges equally divided on the bench. Would it not seem strange, if I should request to bring in or introduce an Egyptian or Turkish law? and yet in reason, why the law of one foreign country, and not that of another?

Circumstances, analogous are exemplified in the Spanish History of S. America—trying the people of one country by the laws of another. The natives were brought to trial before the ecclesiastical court, found guilty of heresy, and executed!—May such things be a lesson to us, and open the eyes of the American People, to see and make a proper distinction between *those* principles and laws deduced from the “INHERENT” and UNALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MAN,” and those of the old world, founded on ASSUMPTION only, and then improperly called DIVINE RIGHTS.—And even those laws of England called “*Common Law*,” which may well be styled, “UNCOMMON,” when found in S. Carolina,* to convict a citizen of the United States, repugnant to the express declaration of the Constitution of the U. S. which is express against abridging the freedom of speech and of the press, and also is acknowledged to be the supreme law of the land! and also in violation of the Constitution of the State of S. Carolina, which, article 9, section 6, expressly declares, that “THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, SHALL BE FOREVER

* John Adams’ “Gag Law” may be as it were, considered *divine*, when contrasted with this British principle in the unwritten law or tradition for the former admitted *evidence*, the latter does not.

INVIOLABLY PRESERVED.”* I read in Johnson’s Dictionary, *inviolably* means—1. Not to be profaned, not to be injured.—2. Not to be broken.—3. Insusceptible of hurt or wound, and 4. without breach, without failure.—Here then arises an important question—viz. Which is to be considered the most sacred and important in S. Carolina, HER own CONSTITUTION which is the FOUNTAIN of her laws, and in which it is expressed, that “the liberty of the press shall be forever inviolably preserved, or the introduction of BRITISH LAWS, which cost the treasure and blood of our fathers to repel, and to extricate and preserve us from *their* baleful influence? Again, what assurance of protection can one state give to the citizens of another, as it relates to their persons and property, if they give preference to a foreign law, contrary to the express declaration of their own constitution? And may not the *rulers*, as the *delegates* of the people be asked, how can these things be answered to the people with candor and fidelity? If it be true that the legislature of this State upwards of an hundred years ago, when young, as a British province, and having few laws of their own, from the exigency of the times, adopted certain English laws—can it still be true that the OPINIONS of *Englishmen* since then, can be admitted to be LAWS in THIS land? Is not the wisdom of this nation, when brought to a focus, clear on the subject of the *liberty of the press*? And can the opinion of an Englishman, when opposed both to the constitution of the U. S. and also of the State of S. Carolina, be admitted as a *good* and *wholesome* law in THIS land? If so, where is the hand of safety and protection to the defenceless stranger; who has his enemies, and is prevented by foreign law from pursuing his journey, when passing peaceably along? Can these things stand the test of investigation, and be sanctioned by the people in this State? May God forbid! Is it not time for American citizens to be tried by American laws?

Again, if you say I cannot appeal to the U. S. court, I can, as a *citizen*, appeal to the *good sense* of the *American* people, for that justice which the nature of the case admits of, and their true interests require! And as a *Christian*, I appeal to the GREAT JEHOVAH, who rules the people, and who looketh at the heart, and judgeth according to intentions! And the day will come when all secrets will be disclosed, and TRUTH and EVIDENCE will be brought to light, and it

* Common Law, State Law, 1712. See Constitution, and Judges oath, Article IV. Constitution of South Carolina.

“I do swear, or affirm, that I am duly qualified according to the Constitution of this State, to execute the office to which I have been appointed, and will to the best of my abilities discharge the duties thereof, and PRESERVE, PROTECT and DEFEND the CONSTITUTION of THIS STATE, and of the UNITED STATES.”

will then be made manifest to angels and men, whether *malice* was in my heart, or the hearts of those my PERSECUTORS!

God save the state!

God save the people!

AMEN, AMEN.

Here it would be proper to remark—first, I have already been in prison—secondly, I have had one thousand miles extra travel on this account—thirdly, my *companion* had to travel several hundred miles by herself, as a lonely woman, to return to our friends in the North—fourthly, my congregations were disappointed—fifthly, it has involved domestic concerns too painful to be mentioned—and sixthly, there has been more than one hundred dollars expense already, which is considerable for one in my situation of life, exposed to the vicissitudes of time, floating at the mercy of a wide world! And as I cannot suppose your Honor would wish to give a double punishment, you will please in the sentence to take these things into account.*

JUDGE JOHNSON'S SENTENCE.

LORENZO Dow—

YOU have been tried and convicted after a patient, and I hope an impartial trial, for the publication of a libel tending to reflect on the memory of a deceased person. The novelty of the charge has excited a considerable sensation, and called forth the talents of eminent counsel. After the most patient investigation of the case, I can only say that I am satisfied you have been convicted in strict conformity with the rules of law. For those rules, you are aware, I am not responsible, nor is it my duty to do more than faithfully to expound them. You have

* When I had finished, keeping my standing position, to hear what the Judge would say, my thoughts were arrested with an awful sense of the General Judgment, when all secrets would be disclosed, and mankind rewarded according to the deeds done in the body; though they might attempt to hide them from mortals for a little season here!

The Judge and present company appeared as GRASSHOPPERS when contrasted with that day! and my MIND was kept in PEACE!

said in your address, that the liberty of the press, so guarded by the Constitution, has been violated in your conviction. From this remark I fear that you have not distinguished between the liberty of the press and its abuses. The framers of that Constitution never intended to license the slander of private character, or sanctify acts inconsistent with the harmony of society. It is objected by you also, that you have been tried by the rules of English law : this is true—but it is equally true that they are declared by an act of the Legislature to be the laws of the land.—They are founded on the experience of ages, and I know not why they should be regarded as baneful only because they are also the laws of another country. You are a stranger here, and complain that an appeal to the Court of the United States has been denied you. I must remark in this you have not followed the example of your Great Master :—He directed that you should render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's. Your voluntary presence here subjected you to the government of our laws, and you must pay the tribute of obedience they exact. It is the prerogative of all laws to punish those who violate them within their territorial limits.—You cannot but know that man is the creature of passion, and prompt to revenge every injury. Nothing can have a greater tendency to inflame the passions of the living than the libelling of the dead, particularly when aggravated, as in your case, by the abuse being pointed to the very moment of dissolution—a moment which, in this instance, some of the witnesses testified, was as to the deceased, a moment of blissful hope. You yourself have shown the dangerous tendency of your own acts—your book circulates over the world beyond your control, and beyond the correcting influence of truth itself ; it inflicts lasting insults on the family of the deceased—wherever they may go, and however innocent, they may become the objects at which “scorn may point her slow and moving finger.” Let me caution you in your future journey through life to spare the character of the living, and the memory of the dead. To the living, reputation is that which is most dear—life without it is scarce worth preservation—and the hope of posthumous fame excites men to noble and worthy pursuits ; seek not then to “drag the frailties of the departed from their dread abode.” No beneficial purpose can be answered by it ; for it promotes not the cause of virtue or religion. In the sentence now about to be passed on you, I am actuated by motives which perhaps in its strictness the law might not wholly justify. You are however a man who has devoted himself, it is said, with great self-denial to a religious life. The motives which have actuated you have been ascertained rather by a legal *implication* from the words as published, than *positive proof*. Your circumstances are not prosperous, and you may have already suf-

ferred much from this prosecution. The sentence of the law is, that you be confined in the common gaol for twenty-four hours, be fined one dollar, and pay the cost of this prosecution.

The defendant paid the fine, but the costs were all relinquished by the officers of the Court. He then went to gaol, from which the pardon of his Excellency the Governor, Thomas Bennett, released him in the afternoon of the same day.

| | | |
|---------------------|---|--|
| <i>The State</i> | } | Guilty of Libel—sentenced to pay a fine of one dollar, and to be imprisoned for twenty four hours. |
| vs. | | |
| <i>Lorenzo Dow.</i> | | |

RECEIVED 24th of May, 1821, of the defendant one dollar in full of the fine imposed—costs of prosecution being remitted.

W. S. SMITH, *Clerk General Sessions.*
Charleston, S. C.

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>The State</i> | } | (Copy.)
Libel. Imprisonment for 24 hours from half-past 10 o'clock, to be discharged to-morrow morning at half-past 10 o'clock. Mr. Hyam's will receive Mr. Dow as a prisoner. |
| vs. | | |
| <i>The Rev. Lorenzo Dow.</i> | | |

J. G. DELUSSELIM, *Sheriff.*

May 24th, 1821.

WENT with the above in hand, without an officer to the tight house !

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| <i>The State</i> | } | Indictment Libel. The defendant in this case having complied with the sentence, and his Bond being cancelled, he is hereby discharged from further attendance at Court. |
| vs. | | |
| <i>Lorenzo Dow.</i> | | |

W. S. SMITH, *Clerk General Sessions.*
Charleston, S. C. 26th of May, 1821.

APPENDIX.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

Here, I have learned two things. The judge constitutes the Court, and the clergy constitutes the church.

The "common law" is *unwritten*—of course is only taken from precedents, founded on tradition, transmitted from the dark ages of the world—and is considered and quoted as being in force, like statute law, as an expression of the will of the people, by their delegate and representative. And the tradition of the church is put on equal footing with the Scriptures in point of validity.

A precedent from tradition may be brought to prove any thing—even contraries—and so establish nothing.

But as *common sense*, since the time of Martin Luther, called the authenticity of the unwritten tradition of the church in question, so may the GOOD SENSE of the AMERICAN PEOPLE call in question the "unwritten" law of feudal principles—for those traditions, whether civil or ecclesiastical, may be considered twins when applied in a social point of view.

To detach a man's actions or words from their relative connections, and concomitant parts, and then to give the same your own twist and turning—you might make him say any thing, and mean nothing.

A young lady administered arsenic to a sick person, through the servant's misplacing the phial—here detach the act from the connection—admit of nothing but the *fact* to infer the motive from—you might say she poisoned the person—she is a murderer! Those principles are congenial with the systems of the old world, who think they have arrived to the summit of perfection in their political economy. But Americans require laws, congenial with our first and fundamental principles, as established and recognized in this land—and I hope to see the day, when we AMERICANS shall be so improved as to be governed by American laws only.

The doctrine of the "BENEFIT OF CLERGY" is not admissible in the United States, whatever it may be in Spain or Portugal.—Hence, why not expunge that antiquated, thread-bare, twisted *ism* of expression—unless we find it necessary to retain a great swelled word—perverted from its primary meaning, to dupe the ignorant—for letters screen no man now, whatever might have been the custom once.


Also the doctrine of "CORRUPTION OF BLOOD," as mentioned in the digest, cannot exist here, and attach and retain the same meaning as in Europe. For there are thirteen grades of distinction in the theory of the old world betwixt the slave and the despot—most of whom are designated by some NICK-NAME, under the title of nobility—or rather NO ABILITY—as if they were a superior order of beings—but if their conduct displeased the sovereign—away went their title, property and all. So they would be on a level with other poor people, and

hence their degradation was supposed to corrupt their blood. What corruption of blood then do we find in America? LORENZO, be cautious that you do not compose a LIBEL! "The greater the truth the greater the lie"—truth sure can be no lie!

A certain lady whom I shall call Miss Issippi—remarked at a dining party, that she thought that "GENERAL CONGRESS" must be a great man—every body was talking about him—for her part she wished that he would pass that way, that she might see the *Gentleman*.—Another, whom I shall call *lady Caroline*, very soberly inquired, Who Miss Ouri was, and where she lived, that *General Congress* should pay such attention to her?

A third replied, that Miss Ouri is supposed to be a colored woman—and his attention has been so much upon Miss Ouri, that the general seemed to have little time to think about any thing else, except his eight dollars a day!

Indians suppose themselves as much superior to white master, as the colored servant is below—hence, said the chief—The great Spirit first made the black man, out of black earth, then the white man, out of the tree,—afterward the red man, from the red earth.

Here it may be asked, From whence came the FOURTH CLASS, or kind of people?  Is this the American corruption of blood?


It has been argued that this doctrine of libels is necessary to protect the character of REFORMED LADIES. But were they to speak through me, perhaps they would ask, Is it not rather to protect the character of UN-REFORMED GENTLEMEN, so called?

A few hints more, and I've done.

Query 1. Would it not be well for all persons, who think of becoming candidates for public office, to examine first, their motive, and second, their talents? whether it be sinister or to serve the public good, and whether they have talents for it? Otherwise your principle is mean, and you stand in the way of a better.

2. Clear heads, sound judgment, a virtuous heart, and an independent mind, to act as JURORS—and save the judge the trouble—and similar materials for the different places in society. And if you say timber is scarce! the greater is the pity.

Fellow citizens, be guarded against those office hunters who court your friendship merely for the loaves and fishes! The welfare of the nation is connected with, and in a measure, is dependent on your CHOICE. The exercise of your judgment—look for evidence of the best of materials—and never give your vote for a drink of grog,—but conduct yourself as a member of the community ought to do; as you expect to answer to the Great Jehovah for the deeds done in the body; and as a friend to society, and to the RIGHTS OF MANKIND!

 If the opinion of an European is the law, and none but lawyers have it—How can a citizen know when he is safe? Does not this show the need of simple and plain acts of LEGISLATION, and afforded cheap to people, that they may know the laws of their own country?

A certain man was indicted for assault and battery, the Jury, not knowing the meaning of the words, brought in a verdict of man slaughter, were reprimanded and sent out again, concluding, if it was not man slaughter, it must be something worse, so returned a verdict

of wilful murder—but the Judge had to turn Juryman virtually, and explain what man slaughter was, and what they must bring in.

Another set of Jurymen, as the birds say, would unanimously have acquitted a prisoner in their conscience, but thought that by their oaths they were bound to bring in such a verdict as the Judge dictated!

✍ A man is what God made him—and why should any Judge remark on the looks or appearance of a prisoner, to prejudice a Jury, and so harden their feelings against him.

A few thoughts after sentence, penned in Jail, just before the release from the Governor.

THE STRANGER'S FAREWELL.

HE CAME a stranger among you, not for your money, but to seek your Good. The time is at hand when *He* expects to leave you never to return; at least that is the present prospect. Therefore a few friendly hints, as a caution, are left behind.

There is a *Cloud* arising, though remote—the *Quakers* have seen it and are gone; retired beyond the river, and their *worship* houses are monuments of *mourning* in the land! Then let the people turn to God—and every man turn from his evil way and leave the road of sinning, before the cup of their iniquity be full—that God may *pardon* your crimes and give you a lot with His people among the blessed!

And let what is amiss in this land, by tradition, as it relates to "*Feudal Law*," and "*Common Law*," and "*Lynch's Law*," be so regulated by "*Statute Law*," that PROTECTION and JUSTICE and HUMANITY may be extended to both PEOPLE and CATTLE!!!!*

Charleston Jail, May 24, 1821.

* ✍ Genesis xv. 16. Daniel iv. 22 and 27.

POSTSCRIPT.—From all circumstances, one may believe that the police of the city, having a presage of my coming, had designed a trap for the occasion—or to block up my way, or both. For first, all the streets and market-houses, with other places, were interdicted me, as far as their power extended—perhaps on account of a book called the “*YANKEE SPY*.”

Secondly the man who bought the book for ****, and on which the prosecution was predicated, appears to be my warmest friend, by having a stand erected outside of the corporation, taking me by the hand, and pretending to keep the peace. &c. But the two leading persons were challenged to fight duels by some who saw their procedure!!

Major General Gaines sent word to the Sheriff, that he would bail me out to the amount of 10,000 dollars; after which a number offered to become my security for my appearance at court; and it was thought by some of my opponents, that I would forfeit my bonds—but being disappointed here, there was a move to leave it to citizens—but the reply was, that they had done all they could to scandalize me, I would therefore, rather it would come to an open fair trial—which is related officially in the preceding pages. After my return to New England about one thousand copies of the report, with the “*CAUTION WRIT IN JAIL*” annexed, were sent back to Charleston, (S. C.) and arrived about the time that the *Negro Plot* broke out, and was discovered. Hence a criticism that L. D. must have been knowing to the same—and if they *now* had him in tow, would know what to do with, and how to dispose of him, &c.

After my condemnation the growth of the seed planted by *William Penn*, as it relates to his economy in fostering and establishing equal rights of conscience—140 years after was extended to me in the piazza of the custom-house at Charleston, by the hands of the officers of the Federal Government—over which the Corporation had no control—there I was permitted to address thousands—under my own vine and fig tree, and there was none to make me afraid!

However, the LAW which condemned L. D. was brought to TRIAL itself, before a Constitutional Court of seven Judges, and there argued, and Judgment passed upon its obnoxious principle in such a mode of practice—and sent it down the hill!

In Connecticut, the principle was put down before and in the state of New York, since—may the day arrive when it shall be banished from the Union!

Should the once supposed to be *cattle* in Hayti, be *recognised* as independent *folks* by our Supreme, what would Brother Jonathan's sisters to the Yankees say? especially in some of their edicts of economy?—Georgia and South Carolina have adopted some things in practice by incorporation, as *twin-sisters*, constituting the circumfusion of information HIGH TREASON!!!

But what will be said and done in the day that *cattle* are found to be *folks*!—and *Bolivar*-ism should spread to the adjacent Islands—and what was only begun in North America, PERFECTED in the South Continent; but *re-acting* on the North? Judge by analogy, the effects of causes—from the New World to the old continent! He that hath an ear, let him hear!—and depart, where his posterity may be in safety!

The death of Alexander may be considered as the end of the Unholy League, and that Congress, of course, virtually at an end—whilst in the order of Providence the balance is cast in the opposite scale, for a Congress upon different principles, and for a different end! O my countrymen, my fellow citizens! what hath God wrought, in the period of *fifty years*, or since the memory of man!

Nearly all North America belonged to France in 1755—except a strip of country east of the Back bone—and in a few years she lost the whole of her *claim*!—In 1763 a large luxurious dinner, with collected silver plate, in New York, gave rise to the impression of luxury in the colonies, by the report of the officers, after their return to the fast-anchored isle—hence, in 1764, the ground work of Taxation without our consent—and hence the dispute that ushered in a new nation, July 4th, 1776. Lorenzo Dow came upon the stage, Oct. 16th, 1777—and in those days, priestcraft and kingism, produced the “*Illuminati*” who brought forth the *Encyclopaedia*!—to extend and circumfuse information on correct principles to the understanding of man!

In true *light* there is, or may be, a correct judgment, and man's conduct, if actuated by proper principles, will be exemplified accordingly.

This year, 1826, being the *fiftieth* year of our Independence, may be viewed as our *Jubilee*, in a national point of view. The year of *release* was to be every

seventh year. New York passed a law to that effect to be seen 1827, when the oppressed are to go free!

I think the Hebrew antiquities mention thirty-six Jubilees in the succession of their political existence. Judging from the past, with the aspect of the present times—what will a few years develope, and another Jubilee from this produce?

Most of the present race of people will be then gone; children yet unborn will occupy our place—but under such circumstances in the world far different from ours!

Then let all those into whose hands these hints may fall, take timely warning and be actuated by proper motives and principles of heart; and prepare to meet God your Judge, that you may be acquitted in that day when all secrets shall be brought to light, and mankind rewarded according to their deeds done in the body!

Thirty years of my Life have been spent mostly in the itinerant Ministry—and many have been the trying scenes and vicissitudes, in different climes, that I have passed through in that period of time, in the twenty-four states of America, the Canadas, and some parts of the Old World, in my different visits there.

The sun of life is declining fast, and the evening shades are coming on apace!

Those of you who have heard my *name*, but have never seen my *face*, and those who have seen my face in the flesh, but will ere long hear the sound of my voice no more in this world—remember the day of DEATH draws near, and soon I must meet you in judgment, at the bar of our God. Suffer me then, as a friend, and as a dying man, to warn you, and to entreat you, to solemn reflection and close investigation, how it is with you, and how it stands betwixt GOD and your SOUL!

Remember that by *nature* you are a fallen, *degenerate* creature; therefore, *ye* must be *regenerated* and “BORN of the SPIRIT”—for without holiness no man shall see the Lord!

Never lay down to rest without committing yourself into the protection of kind Providence—and when you awake, give thanks. Thus begin, spend, and close every day with an inward devotion to that Being, on whom we are dependent, and unto whom we are accountable for our conduct in time—that you may *feel* and *enjoy* the *virtue* and *spirit* of *redemption* in thy *soul*, called, “Christ within, the hope of Glory”—for what Moses *saw* and *heard*, and which taught him to worship on holy ground, you may hear, and feel, and enjoy in the heart; as an inward and spiritual worshipper of that great JEHOVAH, whose name and spirit should ever be as a covering to our minds!

As in many branches of *science*, as far as we *advance*, so far we do know and are taught; the same will apply to religious experience in the things of God!

Hence the doctrine of *Repentance*, and the exercise of FAITH, as taught in the New Testament, to bring the *mind* to that MASTERLY enjoyment of true *Charity*, which is DIVINE LOVE felt in the SOUL! preparatory for another world, and as an *earnest* of future life, and a presage of joys to come!

Adieu!

LORENZO DOW.

Wheeling, Virginia, }
Feb. 22d, 1826. }

WISDOM DISPLAYED,

AND

LORENZO'S VILLANY DETECTED.

OR THE SECOND TRIAL, CONFESSION AND CONDEMNATION
OF LORENZO DOW.

*Before the Superior Court, held at Norwich, Conn. January
Term, 1829.*

Eccl. iv. 1.—So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and, behold, the *tears* of such as were *oppressed*, and they had no *Comforter*; and on the side of their OPPRESSORS there was POWER; but THEY had NO COMFORTER.

THIRD EDITION.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF CONNECTICUT AND THE UNITED STATES.

Fellow Citizens:

From a sense of duty to myself and to the *Public* at large, involving the interests and welfare of generations yet unborn, I am constrained to address you on a very interesting but painful subject—arising from circumstances beyond the power of my control—as the POWER of redress for relief, is only to be found *there* by the voice of *your* Representatives, in their LEGISLATIVE CAPACITY!

The principles of *Law* on the subject of *water* as it now *stands*, involves awful consequences, when considered as a *precedent*, introduced and adopted, to become the governing principle of the country—as the *Supreme LAW OF THE LAND*.

Supposing for instance, the intended dam on the Shetucket River, about Chelsea Landing, should go into operation—what must be the *consequence*, as the *principle* called *Law*, now *stands*?

It would give a favored FEW, complete control over one eighth part of the water in this state, by computation involving the tributary streams.

For if a man has a water privilege on his premises, he has *no right* to improve it by building a *dam* on it for machinery—if there be any mill or factory below; although the dam should be no injury to any one; but rather, a very great advantage to all; but still it would be actionable, for it is considered a crime, in point of Law, to do a man a *favor*, without his consent, equally as to do him an *injury*.

To *build* a dam, to *lower* a dam, to *tighten* a dam, or to make a *leak* in a dam, or to *raise* a dam if there be machinery below—is actionable; you must let it remain as it was—STATIONARY.

One has *all* the right. The other has *no right*. One is privileged the other depressed. One is Master the other a Servant. One is “My Lord” the other “Obedient and very humble Servant”—“Cap in hand.” One has all the privilege, the other is deprived of all—not allowed to improve the water equally on his own land; although nobody in the least degree is injured—still it is a *crime*—unless you obtain the consent of the *Big Man below*—whose works may be ten miles off—and a dozen dams intervene; and should all above and below *him* acknowledge it to be a real benefit to *them*—still *he* could prosecute and obtain *damage* and cost: by this—*something—called Law*—as exemplified in the *late* decision at Norwich.

If a citizen has a spring branch on his farm, he is liable to be prosecuted even for stopping water, by damming the stream for a hog wallow or goose pond; or by the same rule, for detaining it falling from the eaves of his house.

Therefore, it is plain to a discerning mind that a few capitalists might sieze on the out-lets of streams between the rivers Seban and St Croix, and control all the waters of the United States!

Hence the doctrine of EQUAL RIGHTS, &c. Privilege is done away—seeing a man is NOT allowed to improve his own water power and privilege equal to his neighbor—when his neighbor suffers no injury or possible harm by it.

This doctrine being admitted—and the *principle* of it *adopted* for Law—farewell forever to the PRIVILEGES which our fathers *fought* and BLED to obtain, and then transmitted to us their children. If the fence of a farm be down for a season, my neighbor interdicts my repairing it because *he* claims the privilege for his hogs, &c. by the same mode of reasoning.

The darkness of the Feudal System seems to threaten our borders—an “*embargo*” being in the land.

Thus the *one* who is privileged to have the ascendancy *over* his neighbor, is like a "LORD," and should he sell his possessions *he* would sell the privileges with it—and the other is only as *vassals* or kind of "TENANT AT WILL," without any way for redress—the *Statute Law* being LAME on the subject.

Here then I would suggest the propriety of getting a *petition* from a considerate public, to present to the General Assembly, for a redress of grievance, to obtain some *special acts of Legislation*, to protect us in the peaceable possession and enjoyment of our freehold estates in fee simple—with all the privileges thereto belonging—that we may be protected from the *imposition* and tyrannical hand of oppressors—and thereby *prevent* the introduction of *darkness*—the darkness of the Feudal System—a favored few, to be suffered to *monopolize* two elements in this land!—by "*ex post facto ism.*"

LORENZO DOW.

April 25, 1829.

COPY OF A WRIT

LEFT FOR LORENZO DOW.

No. 1. ¶ "To the Sheriff of the county of New London, his Deputy, or to either of the Constables of the Town of Montville, in said County, Greeting. By authority of the State of Connecticut, you are hereby commanded to attach the Goods or Estate of Lorenzo Dow, of said Town of Montville, to the value of Two Thousand Dollars, and for want thereof, to attach the Body of the said Lorenzo Dow, if he may be found in your precincts, and him safely keep, so that he may be had to appear before the County Court to be holden at Norwich, within and for the county of New London, on the third Tuesday of November, A. D. 1827, then and there to answer unto Peter Richards, of the Town of New London, in said County, and Henry A. Richards, of said town of Montville.

No. 2. ¶ In a plea of Trespass on the case, whereupon the Plaintiffs declare and say, that on the 10th day of August, 1827, and for a long period before said 10th day of August, 1827, [1] *to wit*, to more than four years, they as Tenants in common,

owned and possessed, and were well seized in Fee, and as Tenants in common, now own and possess and are well seized in Fee of a certain Tract of Land, situate in said Town of Montville, bounded and described as follows, viz. Northerly, on Nathaniel Bradford's Land, and land formerly owned by Joseph Rogers; Easterly, on the old Road leading from New London to Norwich, Southerly, by land owned by Ebenezer Comstock, on Church and the middle of the Brook, commonly called Lester's Brook, which separates from David Congdon's Land, Westerly, by lands of David Congdon and Nathaniel Bradford. That the stream of Water, (commonly called Lester's Brook,) originating from Miner's Pond, so called, a natural Pond of Water, situate in the Town of Montville, passes by and bounds on said land of the Plaintiffs, for a long distance, until it comes within about one hundred rods of the east side of the Plaintiffs said Lands from Northwest to Southwest, where said Brook runs through said lands of the Plaintiff's.

No. 3. ¶ And the Plaintiff's say that for more than One Hundred years last past, on said Lands described as aforesaid, and near the turnpike road leading from New London to Norwich, there has been and is now kept up and maintained on and across said stream, by the Plaintiffs, and those under whom the Plaintiffs claim and derive their title to said Lands, a certain Dam, for the purpose of retaining the Water which runs in said stream, for the use of a certain Grist Mill and other Manufacturing Establishments, which the Plaintiffs and those under whom they claim, have constantly, during all the time aforesaid, kept, and maintained on said premises.

No. 4. ¶ "And the Plaintiffs say, that they and those under whom than they claim said Premises, have been used and accustomed, for more [2] one hundred years last past, and until within one year last past to have the Waters of said Miner's Pond, freely and without obstruction, to flow and run from said Miner's Pond to the Plaintiffs said Mill and other Manufacturing Establishments,^f situate on said stream on the Plaintiff's Premises described as aforesaid. [3]

No. 5. ¶ "And the Plaintiffs say, that relying upon it that they had good and lawful right to have said Waters flow from said Miner's Pond and run to the Plaintiff's Mill aforesaid, and premises in their usual course and accustomed quantity, without interruption or obstruction, they did, about five years since, erect a new and expensive Grist Mill and a large Cotton Manufactory on said stream, and on their said premises, and have laid out and expended on the same more than Fifty Thousand Dollars, and have successfully and uninterruptedly used and improved the same, and have had an abundant [4]

supply of Water from said stream, as it usually had and naturally would flow and run from said Pond and in said stream to carry all the Mills and Machinery on their said Premises. (until within six months last past) for all the space of time within thirty years last past.

No. 6. ¶ "And the Plaintiffs say that they were wholly dependant on said stream, and the waters flowing from said Miner's Pond for the supply of their said Grist Mill, Cotton Factory and other Manufacturing Establishments, and the Defendant well knows the same. Yet the Plaintiffs say that the Defendant without law or right, against the mind or will of the Plaintiffs, and with set design to injure them and break up their said Establishment, did, on or about the first day of November, A. D. 1826, erect and build on his own premises, at or near the outlet of Miner's Pond, so called, a large, substantial and permanent Dam, and raised the same at least six feet higher than any obstruction, Dam, or other stoppage at said outlet ever had existed or been maintained, for more than One Hundred years, or ever had existed since the memory of man.

No. 7. ¶ "And by means thereof hath wholly stopped and confined the waters of said Pond, within the same, [5] and wholly refuses to suffer and permit any of the waters of said Pond to flow and run in said stream, as they have been used and accustomed to do; and has wholly obstructed the same so as to prevent the said waters from flowing and running to the Plaintiffs said Mill, Cotton Factory, and their other Manufacturing Establishments on said stream; by means whereof, the same has been obliged and compelled to stop and suspend their operations, to the to the great damage and injury of the Plaintiffs.

No. 8. ¶ "And the Plaintiffs further say, that on or about the 6th day of Aug. A. D. 1827, they then had their said Grist Mill in full operation, their said Cotton Factory and other Manufacturing Establishments, also being in full operation, and there was in said Miner's Pond, so called, a great supply and sufficiency of water as usually flowed and run in said stream—but for the obstructions placed there by the Defendant, to have supplied and carried all the Plaintiffs' said Mill and Machinery on their said premises—and they then had on hand large supplies of Cotton, purchased at great price, viz. more than one thousand dollars, and workmen and hands engaged and paid by the Plaintiffs to attend said Mills and Machinery, therein carried by water, at an expense to the Plaintiffs of two hundred dollars per day—and also large quantities, to wit, one hundred bushels of grain on hand, to be ground in said Gristmill—all which facts were well known to the Defendant, [6] yet the Defendant, wantonly and wickedly, on said 6th day of August, 1827—wholly stopped said water and by his

dam aforesaid, obstructed the same, so as to prevent any water flowing from said Pond—to the Plaintiffs' said Mills—all which wrong doings of the Defendant have subjected the Plaintiffs to great and lasting injury in the loss of time, wages of Hands by them employed in said business, loss of Grain, Cotton, and injury to their Machinery employed in said Mills—all by means of the wrong and alleged acts of the Defendants. [7]

No. 9. ¶ “ And the Plaintiffs further declare and say, that on the 9th day of August, A. D. 1827—and for a long period before said 9th day of August, A. D. 1827, to wit, for more than four years, they as Tenants in common, owned and possessed and were well seized in fee and as Tenants in common, now own and possess and were well seized in fee of a certain tract of Land situate in said Town of Montville. Bounded and described as mentioned in the first Count of this declaration:—That a stream of water, originating from Miner's Pond, so called, in said Montville, passes through said Premises of the Plaintiffs. And the Plaintiffs, say, that for more than [8] one hundred years last past, on said Premises, there has been and now is a certain Dam kept up and maintained on and across said stream by the Plaintiffs and those under whom they claim, for the purpose of retaining the water of said stream for the use of a certain Grist Mill and other Milling establishments, which the Plaintiffs and those under whom they claim, have constantly, during the time aforesaid, kept and maintained on said Premises. And the said Plaintiffs say, that they and those under whom they claim said Premises, have been used and accustomed, for more than one hundred years, and until one year, to have the Water's of said Miner's Pond, run and flow, [9] *freely and without obstruction*, from said Pond through the course of said stream, to the Plaintiffs said Mill and other Milling Establishments, situate on said stream on said described Premises—and that they and those, whom they claim, have during all said time, had *right* to the use and benefit of the waters of said Pond, for the purpose of working said Mills.

No. 10. ¶ “ Yet the Defendant, well knowing the same, on the 6th day of July, 1827, and divers other days since, wrongfully and injuriously obstructed the waters of said Pond, and prevented and hindered them from running and flowing in their ancient course to said Mills of the Plaintiffs, and from supplying the same with water for the working thereof—in so ample and beneficial a manner as during all the time aforesaid it would and ought to have done, whereby the Plaintiffs have lost much of the use, profit and advantage of their said Mills, all which wrong doings of the Defendant, are and were contrary to law—again at the mind and will of the Plaintiffs and to their damage the sum of—two thousand dollars, which to recover with just cost this suit is

brought. Bond sufficient for prosecution being given. Hereof fail not, but of this writ with your doings thereon, lawful service and due return make. Thirty-four cents State Duty are received on this Writ and Peter Richards recognizied one hundred dollars for prosecution in due form of Law.

Dated at New London, this 11th day of Aug. A. D. 1827.

Certified and signed by

WM. P. CLEVELAND, Jr. *Justice of Peace.*

No. 11 ¶ "New London County, ss. Montville, August 11th. 1827. Then by virtue of this Writ and by direction of the Plaintiffs, I attached as the property of the within named Defendant, a certain tract or parcel of Land lying and situate in said town of Montville, containing about fifty acres more or less, with a Dwelling House, Barn, Mills and other Buildings thereon standing, being the same premises which formerly was owned and occupied by Henry Miner. Butted and bounded as follows, Northerly on Land of Nathaniel Comstock, Easterly and Southerly on Land of Joshua Baker, and Westerly on Lands of William Thompson, Parthenia Thompson, and Burrell Thompson, together with the privilege of the Pond and all other appurtenances thereto belonging. The within and above is a true Copy of the original Writ with my Indorsement thereon.

Attest,

NATHAN RAYMOND, *Deputy Sheriff.*"

No. 12. ¶ "At the Superior Court of Judicature holden at Norwich, in and for the County of New London, in the State of Connecticut on the fourth Tuesday of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine.

No. 13. ¶ "Peter Richards of New London in New London County, and Henry A. Richards of Montville, in said County, Plaintiffs, vs. Lorenzo Dow, of said Montville, Defendant, in an action or Plea of the case set forth at large in the writ and declaration of the Plaintiffs, demanding the sum of 2000 dollars damages, with cost of suit, as by writ on file, dated the 11th day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven.

No. 14. ¶ "This action was brought by appeal of the Plaintiffs, from the County Court, holden at Norwich, in and for the County of New London, on the third Tuesday of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven, to the January term of this Court, A. D. 1828, and by legal removes, comes to this Court, and now, the parties appear and join in an issue to the Jury, on the plea of the Defendant, that he is not guilty in manner, &c. as on file. The issue was committed to the Jury, who found the following verdict, viz :—

Jury were Elisha Waterman Asa Roath, Abial Roath Joshua Maples, Jr. Jacob McCall, Bishop Burnham, Ebenezer Hough, Julius S. Hammond, Thomas H. Wilson, Matthew Brown, and Henry Brown—the parties agreeing to eleven Jurors in the case.

"In this case the Jury find that the Defendant is guilty, in manner and form as the Plaintiffs in their declaration have alleged, and therefore find for the Plaintiffs to recover thirty dollars damages and their cost."

which this Court accepts and orders to be recorded—Whereupon, it is considered by this Court, that the Plaintiffs receive of the Defendant the sum of thirty dollars damages and their cost of suit, allowed to be the sum of \$60,94 and that Execution, &c. Execution granted January thirtieth, A. D. 1829.

A true copy of record, examined by

CHARLES LATHROP, *Clerk.*

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--|---------|
| Plaintiff's cost, | Writ, | | \$4,02 |
| | Officer, | | 6,27 |
| Co. Ct. Nov. 1827, | Travel, | | ,21 |
| | Attend, | | 1,50 |
| | Atto. fee, | | 1,34 |
| | Court fee, | | 2,22 |
| 1828, January, Sup. Ct. | Travel, | | ,21 |
| | Attend, | | 3,75 |
| | Clerk fee, | | ,75 |
| " October, | Travel, | | ,18 |
| | Attend, | | 2,50 |
| | Clerk, | | ,75 |
| 1829, January. | Travel, | | ,21 |
| | Attend, | | 1,00 |
| | Two Supœnas, | | ,50 |
| | Twenty-one Services, | | 1,89 |
| | Travel 28 miles, | | 1,40 |
| | Deposition, | | ,67 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | \$29,37 |

| | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|----|------|
| Witnesses. | R. Hurlbut, Travel, | 40 | |
| | Bridge and attend. | 68 | 1,16 |
| | H. Browning, Travel, | 35 | |
| | Attend. | 68 | 1,03 |
| | A. Otis, Travel, | 35 | |
| | Attend. | 68 | 1,03 |
| | N. Comstock, Travel, | 35 | |
| | Attend. | 68 | 1,03 |
| | J. Comstock, Travel, | 35 | |
| | Attend. | 68 | 1,03 |
| | A. Comstock, Travel, | 35 | |
| | Attend. | 68 | 1,02 |
| | B. Thomson, Travel, | 35 | |
| | Attend. | 68 | 1,03 |
| | J. Hartshorn, Travel, | 35 | |
| | Attend. | 68 | 1,03 |
| | J. C. Andrew, Travel, | 35 | |
| | Attend. | 68 | 1,03 |

| | | | |
|--------------------------|----|----|---------|
| J. Baker, Travel, | 35 | | |
| Attend. | | 68 | 1,03 |
| N. Comstock, Jr. Travel, | 35 | | |
| Attend. | | 68 | 1,03 |
| D. Lester, Travel, | 35 | | |
| Attend. | | 68 | 1,03 |
| E. Baker, Travel, | 35 | | |
| Attend. | | 68 | 1,03 |
| A'to. fee, | | | 2,68 |
| Clerk for copies, | | | 4,87 |
| Court and Jury fee, | | | 10,50 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | \$31,57 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | \$60,94 |

Taxed by

HOSMER, J.

A true copy of the bill of cost, in the case of Richards & Co. vs. Lorenzo Dow.

CHARLES LATHROP, *Clerk.*"

No. 15.

" *New London Feb. 10, 1829.*

Mr. Dow—

Sir—The execution for the amount of judgment, ninety dollars 94 cts. and execution 25 cents, making ninety-one dollars 19 cts. in the case of Richards vs. Dow, I have in my possession, I shall be pleased to have you call and settle it when you are next in town, if convenient.

Yours, &c.

W. P. CLEAVELAND, Jr."

No. 16. "To the Sheriff of the County of Lew London, or his Deputy, or either of the Constables of the Town of Montville, within said County; *Greeting.* Whereas, Peter Richards, of New London, in said County, and Henry A. Richards, of said Montville, recovered Judgment against Lorenzo Dow, of said Montville, before the Superior Court, holden at Norwich, within the county of New London, aforesaid, on the fourth Tuesday of January, Anno Domino one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine, for the sum of 30 dollars damages, and for the sum of 60 dollars 94 cents costs of suit, as appears of record, whereof execution remains to be done. These are therefore, by authority by the State of Connecticut, to command you, That of the goods, chattels, or lands of the said debtor within your precincts, you cause to be levied, and the same being disposed of or appraised as the law directs, paid and satisfied unto the said creditors, the aforesaid sums being 90 dollars 94 cents, in the whole; with 25 cents more for this writ, and thereof also to satisfy yourself for your own fees. And for want of such goods, chattels or lands of

the said debtor, to be by him shown unto you, or found within your precincts, to the acceptance of the said creditors for satisfying the aforesaid sums, you are hereby commanded to take the body of the said debtor and him commit unto the keeper of the goal in New London, in the county aforesaid, within the said prison; who is likewise hereby commanded to receive the said debtor and him safely keep until he pay unto the said creditors, the full sums above mentioned, and by them released, and also to satisfy your fees. Hereof fail not, and make due return of this writ, with your doings thereon, according to law, within sixty days next coming. Dated New London county, this 30th day of January, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine.

CHARLES LATHROP, *Clerk.*"

No. 17.

"*New London, Feb. 16th, 1829.*

Received the amount of the within Execution, the same being ninety-one dollars and 19 cents, for P. & H. A. Richards.

W. P. CLEAVELAND, Jr. *Attorney.*"

CLEAVELAND'S PLEA.

No. 18.

"1. If the Plaintiffs and those under whom they claim, have used the water flowing from the Minard's pond, for the purpose of machinery for 15 years or more previous to the time the Defendant raised his dam, at the only outlet of said pond, they have thereby acquired a right to have the water from Miner's pond flow to their mills in the same manner it had done previous to raising the dam.

4th. Day, 244—*Sherwood vs. Burr.*

2d. Con. Rep. 584—*Ingraham vs. Hutchinson.*

No. 19.

"II. Though the Plaintiffs may have changed the application of the water, and instead of using it for the purpose of propelling machinery of one kind, have used it for propelling machinery of a different description, and also for propelling a greater quantity of machinery, still the prescription is continued, and their rights as to propriety on the stream above them, remain the same, as though no alteration in the use of the water had been made.

4th, Coke, 87—*Luttrel's case.*

1st. Branwall and Alderson, Rep. 258—*Saunders vs. Newman.*

No. 20. "III. As to proprietor's rights to the use of a stream of water, see 1st, Wilson, 174.—1st, East, 208.—9, Mass. 316.—13, Mass. 420.—10, John. 241.—17, John. 306. 2, Con. 584."

CONFESSION.

According to the best of my knowledge and belief—I *confess* that I think OWANICO, principal *Sachem* of the Mohegan Tribe, to be the *same* as *Onecho* the son of *Uncas*—was a blood connection, of the great *Saccicus*, principal *Sachem* of the ancient *Pequot Indians*!

That *Uncas* was made a *Princely Sachem* by the *white men*. That OWANICO, on the 11th of December, 1698, gave a *deed* of Land to Thomas Stanton of Stonington;—that the said Stanton sold it to Lieut. *James Harris*, a noted land speculator—who sold it to Joseph Otis;—and the said *Otis* sold it to *William Mynard*, and the said *William* left it by heirship to his son, *Jonathan*—who conveyed it by *deed* to his son, Capt. Jonathan Mynard, jr. who conveyed it by deed to *his son Henry*;—and the said *Henry Mynard* conveyed it to *me*—with all the Cows and Hogs, &c. &c. by DEED—as recorded in *Montville*.

There were four mortgages on the premises; the last was mine; in my absence, there was a *decree of Court*—that if I did not *pay* the others, I must be cut off by a “*foreclosure*”—hence, I *confess*, I did not want the property—so I concluded to offer it to *Peter Richards*, for less than the *value* of my mortgage on the face! As the said *Peter* and son were preparing great Water Works below, on the same stream, near six miles off; as I thought that they would wish for a *fountain*, as a reservoir for a dry time; so, I *confess*, that in good friendship, I offered the same—as I saw no way for them to be supplied with *sure water*, otherwise.

But the said *Peter* differed from me in opinion—and declined the offer, as if he felt no interest; seemingly. So I was obliged to take the deed myself or lose my claim!

After this, with some hands, had the *trees* and *bushes* cut down, at the outlet of “*Oxoboxo*” Pond, on said premises—to see how the appearances were; and the location of the situation, also.

On the *east side*, there is a high pile of *Rocks*, from the summit of which may be seen, the Ocean, three Light Houses—several Islands, vessels sailing, &c. and retiring down, you have all the romance of the wilderness, bordering on the *solitude* of Monastic Hermitage!

On the the *west side* of the stream is another pile or ledge of *Rocks*, forming a *promontory*!

One pile of rocks is considered good for building stone of superb quality, that may be rolled down with ease and convenience;

and the other may be easily *split* into *flag* or flat stone, according to wish; and also some "*fire stone*"—enough for several hundred buildings, near at hand.

The *pond* in front, a *dale* in the rear, or down the stream south east, toward the *Thames*! with excellent springs of water, convenient to the establishment, and other things in appearance, as "*Chalk Clay*"—"Iron Ore," &c.

This place has about twenty feet press and fall of water—and according to computation, from *testimony in court*, "*a mile square*"—twelve feet deep. More than 300,000,000 "*cubic feet*," might be applied to the use of machinery.

There was a *mill* erected here, about one hundred and twenty years ago—kept in use for the neighborhood ever since; and *said* to have been the *first* erected in this part of the country; and of course must have been the **OLDEST** on the stream by occupancy.

There are eight *dams below mine*; the last but one, belongs to the *Richards*—laying on the road from Norwich to New London; and *six* betwixt theirs and mine!

From rocks on each side, at the outlet of the pond, a *wall* for a permanent support, might be connected with them at the ends—being about seventy-five feet asunder, from side to side!

This wall being raised sixteen feet high, connected with the two rocks at the ends, would admit of a *trench* in front, for *boards* to be set, perpendicularly, with two thicknesses, so as to *break joints*—that water, nor *eels* should find a way *through* the dam when completed—hence, the old dam being about *forty feet* above or *higher up the stream* than the wall—the **CONCAVE** was filled with *earth*—wet down, to make it permanent and solid around the boards; and from the old dam to the new *wall*; which wall was eight feet thick.

The rock on the west side might be so reduced, as to admit of a *sluice-way*, for the pond floods to escape from the *Pond* and so *Vent* itself, without danger, of being washed away by *ice* and *freshets*! And moreover double the quantity of water would be retained of the Spring freshets, and reserved for a dry season! without injury to any body; but beneficial to all parties concerned or any way connected or interested in the water privileges on the stream!

I went to Mr. *Richards*, and attempted to describe to him the advantage that might be taken of the situation by improvement—thinking that it would be for his interest as well as *mine*; and if he would *aid* therein, should share the benefit. I *confess* that I did go to him this second time, and made this *second* offer, whether *Right or Wrong*—it was **WELL MEANT** by me!

But the offer was declined by him; so I undertook the erection of the dam alone, with the intention of raising it higher than the

old dam, to detain more water. For I had no idea of giving offence to any one; nor did I think that such an act could injure any one; seeing all the water which I expected to detain, was *only* that which would *run off* in the spring of the year, without *doing* any body any good; and at a *season* too, when there would be *plenty* of water for all concerned!

But Mr. *Richards* wrote me a curious kind of *letter*; or at least it seemed so to me; of which the following is a copy.

New London, 11th Oct. 1829.

REV. LORENZO DOW,


SIR—Understanding that you are repairing or rebuilding the dam to your Miner Pond, without knowing or pretending to know your intentions as to the structure of it, we deem it a friendly duty to advise you, that you have no legal right to raise the dam in the least degree above what it has heretofore been, and that you have not the right to hold back the water or to let it off at your pleasure to the injury of those who improve Mill Seats below you. We would presume that you have no unfriendly intentions, nevertheless we consider it our duty in this friendly manner to advise you as above, what we have no doubt is law on this subject, and to add, that we shall endeavor to maintain our own rights, and should you raise your Dam above its former height, or hold back, or let off Water, otherwise than for your own necessary and fair purposes, and we are injured thereby, we shall hold you liable for all damages.

We are very respectfully, Your obedient Servants,

P. & H. A. RICHARDS.

So I called on him for an explanation—where, I *confess* I talked my Lorenzo talk, vere plain.

Among the rest, if I mistake not, I think I said, “If you *sue* me for damage; and the *Law* will give you *my* property, *without* an equivalent—if you can afford to receive it *so*—I can afford to let you have it for nothing;” or words to that point, this being the third time of my calling; and I think it was the last.

 In Nov. 1826—I went to the West and South, and was *gone* till about the 16th or 17th of Aug. 1827.

About Dec. 20th 1826 the *sluice-way* was blown out—the dam finished and the gates shut down, and pond filled and *run over*, without any harm to any body—the *mill* ground for the neighborhood, *one day* in the *week*, which supplied the neighborhood for the WINTER. But in the *spring* there was a *mill*er all the time, every day, until late in the fall, so that there should be the *usual* flow of water as heretofore—steadily grinding for customers as they came to mill.

Before this property fell into my hands, the *water* has been so *low*, that I have been under the necessity of sending out of the neighborhood, a distance, to *obtain grinding* for my family. For it appears almost from time immemorial, that there has been a

scarcity of water in a dry season; there being no stream that runs into the pond in a dry time, above ground—still the pond has been known before it came into my possession, to rise a *foot* in a few days from springs; when the gate has been kept shut—the water being, as is said, about fifty feet deep!

All those who are concerned in the water privileges below me, except the Mr. *Richards*, admit *my dam* is no injury to them or their water privileges; but most of them admit it rather of the two, to be a benefit than otherwise!

Mr. *Peter Richards* called in my absence, and requested EXTRA water to be let off, over and above the usual quantity, to keep his Factory with a *steady supply*, which is very different from a mill going *occasionally*, for customers—at *my mill*—and as it was at *Lester's mill*, before Mr. R. put up the Factory there, which mill was about “*thirty odd*” years standing, *only*.

But as there fell a torrent of rain, * * * concluded that Mr. R. was supplied with water, and hence things remained as they were, until *Elder Palmer*, wished to repair his *floom*; and hence, drawing his *Pond* low as possible, and then stopping all the water he could, by corking it with *moss*, &c. which dried Mr. R———’s big factory right up, and he had to stop!

Mr. R. then called on * * * a second time, and “*demande*d” the gate to be hoisted, as his “*Right*”—to have water over and above what the Miller let off by grinding!

I *confess*, that I *suppose* that * * * talked some of * * * * * TALK—as * * * instead of playing the *hypocrite*, is very apt to let off, and according to * * * statement, said that * * * was glad there was some men, viz. Thames Company, who had *honor* and *honesty* enough to procure a fountain of water at their own expense!

So he told * * * what he would do, and he did it, viz. commence *suit*—see the Copy of the Writ, the *dates* of it; also the *deliberate dates* of those who kept *Journals* of the weather, *water*, detention of the *factory*, &c. for only a few weeks, and *dropped* it, but NOT like the PERSEVERING PHILOSOPHERS.

The overseer of the *Factory*, in the fall of 1826, told me, that it yielded a profit of 28 dollars per day, after paying *every expense*, and allowing ten per cent interest on the whole capital of \$60,000, also!

Now after my return home about 16th of August, 1827, to find my property under attachment at \$2,000 was a thing that I little expected; and to find myself to be *so bad a man*, so mean, and wicked; was a thing that I little dreamt.

The Power of Fancy must have been very great; when some have believed the *say so* of the *Doctors* or of the *Priests* in OPPOSITION to their own SENSES!

So thought I—is it possible that I have *been* at home, and have given such instructions, as what some say? No! Where was I when I *wrote* those instructions, laid to my charge?

I was from home when the *dam* was *finished*, and wrote nothing about it, by way of *instruction*, when gone!

But I must *confess* that I am CONVICTED, and found “GUILTY” in the *Eye* of “THE LAW,” as stated in the title page—of what I there called “*villany detected*”—MATTER OF FACT to the contrary, notwithstanding!

For to come on the nicety of the case, it is my candid opinion, that the Dam, erected by me, was never any real injury to any one below me!

Neither do I think that *Peter* and *H. A. Richards*, ever had *one* hogshead of water detained by me, from having it when they wanted it, and that would have *benefitted* them, *had* my *dam* been out of the way.

Now I *confess*, that after my return from the West, that the *Mr. Richards* came to see me—and as they intimated, to settle with me!

But I replied, that I *had* got nothing to settle with them; for I *owed* them nothing, neither had I any *claim* against them, and of course I had nothing to settle. But if they wished to talk about *Water*, provided the *suit* was withdrawn and the cost paid, I was ready to *meet* them on FAIR GROUND; but while they had a *rod* shook over my head, I had nothing to say!

This, *Peter* said he was not disposed to do, for he supposed the *Law* was on *his side*!

What this *Law* was, I then *knew* not; for it was not to be found in the “STATUTE BOOK;” But I knew the *common* old custom; and the *privileges* I had bought; handed down through *seen hands*, betwixt the *Indians* and *me*!

But times turn! A “NEW LAW” must be brought in! a dawn of a *new era* begins to appear. One must be *favoured* and the other *depressed*!

The *privilege* of the water, according to custom, which had remained undisputed, not only for “FIFTEEN YEARS” *last past*; before *PETER* began the trouble to claim *more* water than heretofore; but for an hundred years anterior to that; was in peaceable possession by occupancy for about 116 years in all.

The *suit* was commenced three months sooner than was necessary for *swing*, timely for Court, whereas, had *they* wished to meet me on the principles of *reciprocity*, if they had waited only *one week* longer, I should have been at home!

But I suppose they wished to establish a principle; and see the same exemplified; to be the “*Law of the Land*,” and if they did not, no doubt *others* would!

So the case was appealed up from the county to the Superior Court; and in January term, was put over to October 1828; when there were so many Criminals, to be tried, that it was put off to January 1829; keeping me in suspense, by detention and cutting across all my other arrangements; cost, *vexation* and trouble enough.

For, when in New Orleans, I had to return back on a fool's errand, to attend court, for nothing; such was the nature of the case; for about 18 months.

But the struggle came on at last; strongest fend off; the *agony* is over; and brought forth both a MOUNTAIN and a MOUSE!

Now, *thoughts* being involuntary, I *confess*, what came into my head, like a *dream*, viz. That the OFFICE of the county court "BENCH" being somewhat *Vacant*; an appointment made for a gentleman of very high standing, as a COUNSELLOR AT LAW," to fill; but not accepted, till *after* the late *decision*; which, if it had been anterior, might have prevented HIS *assiduity* on the trial!

My friend, *Hungerford*; made a speech to the point; as I thought; considering circumstances, when I was called from court to attend meeting, which prevented my hearing the other two gentlemen, viz. Lyman Law, who was my other attorney; and Calvin Goddard, who was on the other side, Judge *Hosmer*, on the Bench; the "*Anties*" were all around whispering, that his *Honor* would give me the case, because I was a *Mason*; and were watching for *signs*, as they have since *confessed*! such is their delusion, and the fanaticism among *them*!

I applied to the Hon. Calvin Goddard, for his plea; but he gave me to understand that *he* could *not* help me to "*make a book*."

I applied to Mr. C. who only furnished me with a short *extract* which is annexed in the trial, with such official documents as I could procure.

An *H' Englishman*, from *Wales* emigrated to America with his wife, by the name of *John Dolbeare*, a brass founder, whose "*coat of arms*," according to "*Heraldry*," exhibits the *family* once, to have been the "*fourth family*" in the Kingdom of Great Britain.

The personal estate inventory was about 75,000 besides vast real worth! after his decease!

They had twenty-four children—22 sons and 2 daughters—the 24th Child, named George, was given to a *gentleman*, in appearance, for he had a *laced* hat and coat, with *gold*, from a place called "*Pogwunk*." This son George heired the estate of *Lands* in this part of the country.

In sixteen hundred and ninety-eight, one of the established ministers, preached an "*Election sermon*"—not CALVINISTIC, but *Political* election, for which he was to "have 200 acres of land," "bounded by *water*," "be the same more or less" i. e. 1500 acres; which *location* was made betwixt *Oxoboxo* Pond and Bozrah Lake; and being divided betwixt two clergymen, the *preacher* kept the south half, and sold it to one Livingston, whose widow sold it to *James Harris*, the land speculator, who sold it to *John Dolbeare* of Boston, whose 24th child, George, came into possession of it by heirship!

This George was considered a great man in his day, having four Saw Mills and much land!

And he sent to London for a *Gun*, with his name engraved thereon; and to make a *trial* with his gun, he shot down a fine beef, saying to the poor, dress and eat, so they took it away.

And hearing *decrees* of "*Predestination*" preached, concluded that it was of little account for us to go to meeting, if all our *destinies* were fixed, and hence made himself scarce from the pew!

Now *this* George had a son by the name of George, whose partner was named *Margaret*, and was called "*AUNT PEGGY*;" but she was of an unhappy turn of mind, it being impossible for any one to meet her mind—she, forever working by the rule of *contrary*.

George Jr. heired the gun, for the namesake, engraved, and so it descended to his son George. But Aunt Peggy *stole* the gun and sold it for two dollars, which was a grief to the Dolbeare Family, and the gun went the rounds while George was absent. But when he came home, at a shooting match, the gun being put into his hands, he kept it, and carried it off, which was construed a "*trespass*." So the said George was taken up and tried before *H. Browning*, Esq. and condemned for a *trespass*; but George went off, and carries off the gun to Indiana.

Now the 24th child had 6 children, three sons and three daughters, one of whom married Mr. Guy Richards, of New London, the father of Peter, and whose son, H. A. is mentioned in this "*Case*."

Now it must be mentioned that Aunt Peggy lived a widow, many years and then married again, to a Mr. W——, whom I shall call Mr. Wrong.

With *spite* she cheated her children—got married—went off—but the race of human career must have an end.

I remarked to my family, that it appeared to *me*, that they would ere long hear that Aunt Peggy was taken *sick*; went to Boston, returning home, told *Lucy* that I thought, Aunt Peggy would be willing to see her for the first time,

On our arrival, found she was sick, and then wished to see her children and to make them some remuneration for the injury done them.

I advised them to have nothing to do with any thing *she had*—remarking, there would only be a *curse* attending it; and feeling her time near, I quit home for about two weeks, till I *felt* she was dead, and then I returned home.

Judge T. wrote her *will*, without being candid enough to say it was of no account, but showed it to Mr. W——, and put him in train to possess the whole, as Mr. W. had been much in law, and never had been known to *lose* a case, because he could always *prove* what he undertook!

By going away escaped the SUNDAY *trap* BUSINESS, but now to get out of the clutches of Mr. W——, it came into my heart, to do with *him* as God dealt with the *Hebrews* in the wilderness, viz. give him all he would—I went—enquired—gave—let him dictate—and take *all* he wanted, and passed receipts, after which, I remarked, that I thought *his* race was short and swift, and his judgment sure; and if he died the common death of men, I was *mistaken*—he staid a few months only; * * *

* * * —under circumstances, solemnly and awfully impressive!

Aunt Peggy had her *will* while she lived, but was prevented *it* when she died.

M. Dow, of *Norfolk*, England, turned his thoughts to the Wilderness of America—his son T. came over, and his son Wm. Dow, the grand son was buried at *Ipswich*—had four sons, who spent one night in conversation, and dispersed to seek their fortunes—one was heard of no more—one came to Voluntown, and settled, one came to Plainfield, and the other *Ephraim*, settled in *Coventry*, on lands bought of the *Indian* SACHEM, *Joshua*!

Ephraim married the daughter of HUMPHREY CLARKE, of *Ipswich*; and from whom my father was named, and lays deposited by the side of my mother in my native place.

She was the daughter of James Parker, the son of Joseph Parker, whose parents came from England, and were murdered by the *Indians*—himself with the other children escaped the *Indians*, by hiding in the grass and brush, still in plain sight—one was an infant, which the sister had dropped from her arms and Joseph picked it up: and the child happened to be still and quiet, so they were not discovered.

Joseph died at the age of 94 years, having possessed the first house ever built, (by one Rust,) in *Coventry*, with “Port Holes,” through hewed logs, for fear of *Indians*, in that day; which house was standing since the days within my recollection.

Here then, according to tradition, were the descendants of "LORD PARKER" of Macclesfield, England, who is said to have descended from one of the natural children of King Charles 2d. who in circumlocution, is said to have descended from William the Conqueror, and pray, who was he? Why, the son of a W* * * *!

Thus we may all trace back our origin to the *ashes* from whence we "sprang—dust thou art—and unto dust thou shalt return!"

Whether my "COAT OF ARMS," be 'a star, a basket,' or a 'broom,' hereditary from my forefathers. What is that to me? If I *inherit* their *vices*, I am none the *better* for THAT, nor any the *worse*, if I imitate their *Virtues*!

Virtue nor Vice, can be hereditary, in a moral point of view. The effect of Vice or Virtue, may; but not the principle, personally, for 'NATURAL EVIL' is not a moral evil.

Moral Evil is *sin*! give loose to passion—evil in nature, by GOING beyond the bounds of rectitude, it becomes a sin—moral evil, it is YOUR OWN ACT—involving *motives*, which gives character to the *action*! Reason and judgment then should be called into the account, by proper exercise, and hence the doctrine of the Cross, and self-denial; following Christ in the REGENERATION, by the Spirit of his Grace! to escape condemnation for personal crime.

Some thought the water from me to R. would take but a few hours to run; but when the gate was hoisted a little extra, about 3 feet long, and about 4 inches high; (which in Court some said was 5 feet long, and one foot high; which judgment was not correct;) it took about 26 hours to reach them, which is the best evidence I have on the subject of its velocity. This letting off, was, first, to blow out the sluice-way rather more to my mind; the second time, to secure a plank that was sprung; third, to measure the land by survey, that was overflowed, so as to estimate the damage, and remunerate the owners.

There is another privilege on the premises, but it would be a trespass to improve it, as the Law now stands. What clashing of interest and trammelling of Property, by this something, called Law? But it is a poor wind which blows nobody any good. It makes better *fishing* for Lawyers.

Whilst we were standing by the family Vault of her great grandfather, which was one hundred years old, by the date there engraved; "John Dolbeare, 1725;" along came our friend La Fayette, following the Masonic and procession of citizens to "Bunker Hill," from Boston State House. "June 17th 1825."

Thus "all *flesh* is as grass, and all the glory of man, as the flower of the grass, the grass withereth, and the flower thereof fadeth away."

The Hebrews were forbidden to reap the corners of their fields, or to return after a sheaf when forgotten, or to glean their fields, for it was for the stranger, the fatherless and the widow; neither were they to glean their Vineyards, for what was left, should be for the needy; they might enter their neighbor's Vineyard and eat grapes, but not to carry any away.

The stranger, the fatherless and widow, with the poor was not to be oppressed, nor be unfeeling, or bowels of mercy shut up.—But were to remember that they were once *strangers*, and in bondage, in Egypt.

They were interdicted *oppressing* each other by trading, either in buying or selling.

And if a man be *unfortunate* in worldly affairs, or by age infirm, thou shalt relieve him, *humanity* and *mercy* was the Law of Moses as well as justice.

In my experience on the journey of life, I find that man by nature, is a *democrat*, as it relates to himself, but when taken in relation to his neighbor, he seems to be a *Tyrant*. As though *power* constituted *right*. And hence he will, too often, make them feel it.

Several times have I *known* the walls of the *Tight House*, called "prisons" in the old world, but have been released, because they found no cause for punishment. To be arrested in my own country, I have been no stranger to such treatment; for do as one may, they will have *those* who will oppose them.

At Charleston, S. C. the circumstances were painful and distressing; a few months passed over, and whilst *those* had me in *their* Power, are gone, having reduced me to a *level* with the world; "all but," yet I have been permitted to see good days, in the land of the living, since most of *them* have been *sleeping* under ground.

Was called to account in *Philadelphia*, but a *receipt* in full, produced my discharge; which anterior, had been attained. In New York, two claims, from the mismanagement of one, who had gone off and died; I was brought into trouble, by those who used *authority*, when I ought to have been discharged; but the *justice* of my case was made to appear in a way beyond my ability, and deliverance came to my relief.

At Troy, twenty years after a contract was made, and *paid* by me, and afterward paid a second time, then arrested, before a Congregation of 4 or 5,000 persons, to make me pay it a third time, which to avoid the vexation, after going to attend Court, in the dead of winter, on a *fool's* errand, more than a hundred miles,

the law having altered the time of court, a month sooner, hence I gave what would procure an exchange of *receipts*, "from the beginning of time, to the end of the world"—but an *Attorney*, whom I had never seen nor employed, stepped forward, as a "FRIEND," at the *time of Court*, and some years after, wrote me *his bill*, and also sent it to an *Attorney* in—to make me pay it, and there was no escape 20 years from the first payment, from my hands—see his bill of *items*.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 'Retaining fee Wat. Attorney and filing, | \$2,68 5 |
| Do. special bail for 2 and Copy and filing, | 43 |
| Notice of retaining 19 do. special bail 19, | 38 |
| Do. plea notice for 5 fair copy, copy to file and copy to serve, | 1,52 5 |
| Do. affidavit to put cause over Feb. term for 5 and fair copies, | 75 |
| Court fee, taking same 12 clerk reading and filing affidavit 12, | 25 |
| Writ of sub. 25, do. ticket for 3 and copy, | 80 |
| Brief for trial 75, trial for attending court on notice, 200, | 2,75 |
| Brief on M. to put one cause and me and rule to put over cause, | 2,37 5 |
| Aug. of M 100 copy, cost 25 notice of tax 29, tax 25, attend. 25. | 1,94 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$13,88 5 |
| Counsel retaining fee, | 5,00 |
| Counsel fee at Term, | 5,00 |
| | <hr/> |

October 31, 1828. Received the amount of the within,

\$23,88 5'

When in Europe, pursued by the *King's officers* both in England and in Ireland, set on by those who sought to do me harm, by misrepresenting me to the government, to appear *LOYAL*, and to remove one whom they thought was in *their way*; but when I went back 12 years after, where did I find the *calumniators*?

Twice have I commenced *suit* myself, not with the *design* ever to let it come to trial, but from *NECESSITY* of the case—of all *evils*, to avoid the *GREATEST*, hence they were withdrawn, and I paid the cost; yet perhaps it would have been *better*, if I had *not* commenced the suits at all.

I have had various suits commenced against me—much trouble and cost—I ever aim to pay all my *just* and *honest debts*, soon as I can; for it is ever, more satisfactory to me to pay a debt, than to make it; and people, sometimes by *suing*, are kept out of their money longer, than if they had used lenity. It is not a good thing to make debts, but sometimes, people are unfortunate, although they have every prospect at the time.

But to *oppress* the *POOR*, and the *UNFORTUNATE*, is not good; it is not doing as you would be done by, in the like circumstances, it is a violation of that golden rule or *practice*—Love thy neighbor *AS*———!!

Looking forward to the day of *RETRIBUTION*, I have felt much more *PEACE*—sweet *PEACE*! to *ERR*, if indeed it was an error, to show *lenity*, "forgive my debt," and lose it, than to at-

tempt to recover it by the tyranical hand of oppression. For I remember the saying of HIM who is ALL POWERFUL!—"That which ye measure to others, shall be measured to you again!"—I had rather attend to the *direction*—feel peace—leave it with Providence—meet *His* approbation, and thereby insure *His* protection, than run the risk of losing *His* favor, and the protecting *Hand* of Peace.

To injure another, because we can, is not good, either in his person, property or character. For POWER nor CONFIDENCE should never be ABUSED.

Whoever will reflect on the *Jewish* economy, not merely the ceremonies of Law, but the rule of practice, as it relates to the STRANGER, the Poor and the Unfortunate, will see a principle, which Jesus Christ enlarged upon, by the precepts and example, on which the "Law and the Prophets" were built.

For it is a plain case, throughout the general run and tenor of the good Book, that VIRTUE shall not go unrewarded, nor *vice* go unpunished.

This may appear enthusiastic. But it is my Creed in times of exigency; when no human power can relieve—all shut up and dark.

"Where REASON fails, there FAITH BEGINS!" "For man's extremity is GOD's opportunity!" Hence, "Cast thy Bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days."

"In all thy ways acknowledge thou HIM, and He shall sustain THEE." For He will keep those in *peace*, whose mind is *staid* on Him. Read, Psalm 91.

Had I been brought up behind a *Counter*, to buy and sell at my own *price*, and as an indulged child, to have "*my own way*," or in any other located, limited and *secluded sphere*, I should have had but little knowledge of the world, and of course but *illy* qualified to calculate, how to meet the *contradictions* and opposition of a crooked and perverse world, that may well be termed, "OMNIFARIOUS."

But my parents, by *example* and *precept*, taught me when young, to RESPECT *those* I stood in relation to, and hence to respect myself!

At about 15, Divine Grace was my *theme* of pursuit; at 18, went into a wide world; seeing as I started, while *viewing* the rocks and trees, my mother looking till I got out of sight.

But O, the *scenes*, the trying scenes, in the Vicissitudes of Life, till now in my 52d year! But IF I am the man, as stated in the WRIT; the several Paragraphs, and the *figures* interspersed; then it is time that I should "*Confess JUDGMENT*," and be "*Confined*," that I may trouble the world no more!

The term "*villain*," in these days, is perverted from the *sense* and mode, in which it was formerly used, in the days of the *Feu-*

dal System; when it meant a *Tenant in Servitude*, or "VASSAL," which was the Land Lord's property in that day.

And, if a man now, *owns land*, with a *Water Stream* on it; but must not improve it or alter the situation of it, but by the *will* and consent of *another*, then *he* becomes a "Vassal" or "VILLAIN" and "Tenant at will" for the other.

☞ He must not BUILD a new DAM great or small, but by the consent of the one below; if he has machinery, although miles off, and others intervene. Nor to stop a leak in his dam, nor make a leak, nor raise the dam, nor lower it. But must keep it stationary, for the convenience of the one below, at your own expense; though you do not wish to use it all; thus it is like "Cap in hand," "your humble servant," *virtually*, like the ancient "VILLAINS," in VASSALAGE, in its degree, according to the *Feudal* form, "MY MASTER," which principle is reviving, and travelling very fast in the country, to seize on the OUTLETS of streams, and thus to monopolize two *Elements*, "EARTH and WATER!!"

☞ P. S. Cost &c. in the aggregate, about \$200; but what the WHOLE cost was, on the other side, dont know!

How soon I may be sued again, dont know! But I acknowledge myself CONQUERED; and found GUILTY in the Eye of "THE LAW!" and although, I once thought myself a "FREE-MAN;" I find that I was mistaken! And only a "VILLAIN" "Vassal," "Tenant at will," a "GATE TENDER," for others at my own expense, and that is not all, *I cannot help myself!*—Farewell sweet freedom! My property I cannot call my own! Brother GATE TENDERS, LOOK OUT!!!!

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| PETER RICHARDS, &c. | } Action of the case for flowing
or rather obstructing
water. |
| vs.
LORENZO DOW. | |

ESTABLISHMENTS.

| | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Dow's, | 4. R. Palmer's, | 7. Giles Turner's, |
| 2. Baker's, | 5. Smith's fulling mill, | 8. Peter Richards'. |
| 3. Scholfield's, | 6. G. Palmer's, | |

PLAINTIFFS' WITNESSES.

Esq. Hurlbut.—Distances from Factory to Pond, 1711 rods to Pond—to Giles Turner 235—to G. Palmer 163—to Smith's

170—to R. Palmer's 130—to Scholfield's 526—to Baker's 280—to the Pond 207.

Baker's Pond, small; Scholfield's larger, dam small, perhaps from 8 to 10 feet high; considerable surface of Pond, perhaps 15 or 20 acres; R. Palmer's pond, long, narrow, dam not high; does not recollect how high; Smith's pond small—dam not high; G. Palmer's pond small, dam low; Turner's pond small, dam low; no large streams running into the principal ones; has noticed them on plan, first small, 2d, largest; it cannot differ much from 30 years since; Lester first built his grist mill; cotton factory being built within five or six years; oil mill never run—before the purchase of Lester's small dam; since enlarged; did not grind; formerly went there to mill; cannot say whether every year or not; mills above occasionally dry; the Fox mills; has been to Dow's dam 2 or 3 times since he built it; cannot say whether as much water in the stream as before; thinks more power necessary to move the present machinery than formerly; thinks in the course of the year as much as formerly run to Richard's mill; does not know whether more or less in the dry season; 1827–28, wet; more wet through the year of 27 than 26; Dow's dam accumulates much more water than formerly could have been; the surface in the basin much larger than formerly.

Hasard Browning.--Dow's dam raised considerably, thinks 4 feet; dam very tight when he saw it; has frequently been there; been acquainted about twenty-five years; cannot tell how much land flowed by the new dam, trees killed; large pond, say 1 mile or over, long; 1-2 or 3-4 of a mile wide, generally speaking; in August 27, 9th day, found water shut up; very little leak from the dam or flume; if any had been let out that day must have been early, water about 3 feet above old dam; never been there since to examine; had seen it when the dam was building, which thinks was 1826; was a waste way to the old dam, and when the pond was filled they would raise the gate and let it off in freshets; were some holes, thinks two, in the old dam; never saw the body of the water in the pond before; tight match whether he ever saw so little in the stream below; saw the dam while building, went there with Joshua Baker, and saw them wheeling the dirt; afterwards went and saw it after finished; went with Cleaveland; knew the old dam to be leaky; been there to mill; just above Dow's dam, apparently an old dam; never saw the time but that there was water in the ditch; behind the old dam in very dry time and water much drawn off to grind, thinks dry. R. Palmer's grist-mill pond long; has sometimes seen the water rather low, then he has been obliged to wait for grinding; in a very

extreme dry time guesses all the mills have been in want of water; as much runs down the stream as before only what is reserved; since Dow's dam is built; has not waited at R. Palmers, because very wet seasons.

Asahel Otis.—Former dam quite old; leaked some; Dow has raised dam, made a nice one, very durable; dam thinks finished in 1827, in the fall blowed away the Rocks; thinks the bottom of the sluiceway about 4 feet higher than the old dam; has been acquainted with the old dam ever since a school boy; old dam pretty much the same, leaky; thinks Pond would embrace a mile square; never formerly came up to the road into 20 rods; deep pond; an island in the middle; has seen half an acre dry; 1827-8 have been wet seasons; in 1826 till last of July very dry, then wet; no leak to this pond; dam very tight; old and new dam abut against a ledge, old sluiceway would let off when up to certain pitch; so it does now above four feet higher; thinks the dam about five feet higher than before, has been to Dow's mill formerly, frequently when he could get no grinding; used to clear out the ditch. Mr. Miner used to invite his neighbors to dig out, thinks a little spot of 2 or 3 rods lower than the ditch and where it stood; Palmer used to grind when Miner did not; there is another stream running into Palmer's pond; it has been so low that they ground very little; does not think that there is any more water discharged here in the dry season than formerly, has never known Dow's mill want for water since Dow owned it; frequently did before; does not as he thinks grind as much as was ground 7 years ago; does not know that in 1826 there was a want of water at this or any of these mills, did not think there was; has known the old dam more than forty years, pretty much the same as remained only it grew rather worse.

Nathan Comstock, Jr.—Commenced business in 1812 where he now lives, recollects the Lester mill about 31 years, and that before Scholfield came into these parts, grist mill did not take so much water as the Lester's does, when the water run over the factory dam came in too great quantities at a time, the water that was wasted at Lester's dam was equal to nearly as much as is necessary to operate the machinery, water might be a day or two coming from Miner's dam, said the cotton factory stopped year before last, cannot tell what time of the year, always been occupied since he has known it, when the Richards' factory stopt, thinks the other mills stopt on the stream, at Richards', thinks part of the same race way in part can't tell, race way about the same, thinks the side built a little higher than before, thinks the Richards' mill has occasionally stopt in a very dry time before Dow built his dam, not very certain.

James Comstock.—Has known Lester's mill about thirty years, situated very near Richards' mills, been accounted as permanent a stream as any they had among them, two last seasons been very wet, as near as he can recollect they have stopped at Richards' some days, thinks there would have been water enough the two last seasons, cannot tell whether the water wasted at Lester's would have been sufficient to carry the factory wheel, large, does not know as he ever knew Lester's mill stop for any length of time for want of water, 4 years since Richards' factory got a going can lay up more water much than formerly, thinks the old raceway nearly as formerly, Richards' grist mill, where Lester's was, thinks would not vary, thinks there would have been enough for the grist mill if had not used it for factory, thinks not enough to carry Lester's grist mill.

Amos Comstock.—Known Lester's mill say 25 years, some times wanted water, but considered very dry when stream lacked, occupied in W. Comstock's mill for the last two years, all that is retained has not come along, two last years has been present, has been a lack of water for several days, summer before this last, he stopped one whole day and two or three other days in part, dry time when stopped, frequently stop their mill, because not water to carry both, doubtful whether there would have been enough to carry Lester's mill, does not know whether he ever did know all the factories and mills stopped for want of water.

Burrell Thompson. —Dow's dam higher than the other, this very tight, the old one not very tight, plenty of water for grinding at Dow's, sometimes not constant millers there, believe they had set days, thinks one day in a week, was such a time but cannot tell how long it continued, cant tell whether Dow's pond generally ran over, cant tell how much more it flows than formerly, thinks does not flow 20 rods farther towards the road than formerly, has risen on his land, cant tell how far nor how deep, perhaps from two to three feet, thinks in the fall of the year, the set days for grinding cannot tell exactly, thinks one of Miner's sons tended, was a Latham tended, after crossed the stream did not particularly observe, has known the water very low, rare that grinding could not be had, should not think there was more water ran down this stream in the dry season in consequence of Dow's dam.

J. Hartshorn.—Mill stopped on the 24th of July, 1827, 1-4 of a day, 25th 1-4 of a day, 6th day of August 1-4th of a day, 7th whole day, 11th whole day, from 11th to 13th had a heavy rain and stopped, grist mill had no water, should say could not be considered a dry time, factory built in 1828, commenced operation 12th April 1824—1826 or 25 had a dry season, afterwards more wet, thinks there would have been enough water if it had come in

the natural stream, if it had come as formerly, thinks it would not have been as likely to stop, thinks stopped more this season for want of water than before, 45 persons employed, great inconvenience to be interrupted parts of days. Richards' dam completed in the spring of '27, old dam did not lay up as much water as this, unusual quantity of water came down at the time of the heavy rain, does not know whether owing to that cause or not, operations of factory suspended in '25 and '26. Flume 6 feet in width, depth 6 feet, quantity of water under the gate opens 1 1-2 or 2 inches, since the dam finished by Richards', more water than before, good deal of water ran by of which he had not the benefit, wasted, dont know how much water was required at the old mill, factory now takes more water than the grist mill. Peter Richards, understood went to Mrs. Dow, dont know any thing about application to purchase the water above, Mr. Richards sent him to request Mr. Miner to let the water down, purchased the right of Mr. Miner for 15 dollars. In the dry season of 1825-6 cant tell how long the water had been held back, had rather pay a little than keep it back, one of the dams below would retain the water more than three or four hours, great advantage to the mill owners below, if they could control the dam, cant say whether the entry on the book was made the same day or day after, dont recollect whether the notes at the bottom were made when the others were or not.

James C. Andrew.—Works in the factory, July 24th, 1-4 of a day, 25th same, Aug. 6th, 1-4 day, 7th, whole day, 11th whole day, between the 7th and 11th, 25 persons in the mill, stoppages inconvenient, does not recollect how much they have stopt in previous seasons.

Joshua Baker—Dow's dam raised in the fall of '26, dont know but that he worked on it, in January, 4 1-2 feet higher than the old dam, 2 1-2 or 3 feet head raised, retains one third more water, in the summer of '27 rather held back, had some considerable grinding, winter ground only one day in the week, last of July or August '27 thinks it did not run out of the sluice-way much, recollects once the water came out freely, soon after the suit was brought, ran 2 or three days, lowered it down to the old dam, thinks drew it down to nearly the level of the old dam. Dow not at home when the suit was brought, ran out of the waste-way before, ~~for~~ a fortnight previous thinks the water had run over the waste-gate, frequently went to Miner and got liberty to hoist the gate, water discharged only at the waste-gate and flume, no stream below Dow's and his mill which enters, Dow did not keep back from him, when they grind at Dow's he can saw, main flume plank had sprung and to repair it was the object, took off the board, 2 planks sprung, had miller very generally in the summer,

set days begun in the fall and continued in the winter, never know Dow stop the stream except when repairing, has known all the mills pretty much stop, did in dry times, has owned his mill 30 years, been the custom for each one to retain until he had occasion to use, often asked Miner to accommodate him, no more dry than formerly, no disadvantage to him, thinks very little difference as it regards Lester's Mill, cannot say, thinks sluice-way finished after suit was commenced.

Nathan Comstock, jr.—Went to Miner, understood he refused to grind, went up, asked Miner to grind, he refused, demanded the water. Miner said he had water in the pond, pay him he would let it come, asked him \$20. Richards said he would give him a five dollar bill, proposed to open the flume, finally gave 15 dollars.

Robert Comstock, Depo.—Occupied a mill below Uncasville Factory, went to Dow's pond and Richards', a day or two before the suit. In consequence of the dry weather and detention of the water in Dow's pond, Uncasville Factory stopped.

Daniel Lester—Son of the former owner, built a little over 30 years, tended part of the time, used to lack some for water, only in a dry time, has known it stop, present canal a little larger than formerly, does take more to carry this factory than old grist mill, what ordinarily run in the stream. Dont think at all times the water that run in the stream would carry the factory. His father used to collect the water in the nights, formerly let it come as they had occasion to use it.

Edwin Baker—Stoppage of the factory in the summer of 1827. —July 24th part of day, 25th same, August 6th a fourth, 7th a whole day, 11th whole. Kept a meteorological journal. 7th of August, Comstock and Richards were up to the Dow dam.

DEFENDANT'S WITNESSES.

Gideon Palmer.—Acquainted with the stream, knew Lester's situation, small dam, temporary, to turn water into the ditch, above could put down a plank and raise considerable water, could operate his mill with little water, 2 1-2 inches when he saw it, considerable quantity of grain in the mill, could grind but little. Just above this pond a little brook puts in, about a quarter of a mile another stream puts in. Giles Turner's mill in 27, from 12 to 14 feet high, into that pond a little stream from the east, on the west side one or two small streams, above his pond a consider-

able of a stream. Smith raises about 4 feet, above this a small stream which empties in, the Fox mill seat, Elder Palmer and Eels, head about 4 feet, 12 feet head and fall, pond a mile or more long, channel way running from the dam to the upper end, whole distance across the marshes thinks 50 rods when pond full, stream considerable, one empties into the pond, Scholfield's pond considerable large, raises 4 1-2 or 5 feet of water, does not recollect any year in which there has not been a complaint of want of water. At Dow's mill about the time of lowering his sluiceway, of great advantage as he thought. Has bought the water at the Fox mill seat, thinks the dam very beneficial, if properly used, much safer thinks in high freshets, if it should be shut down and kept tight would be of great advantage. Brother Reuben's pond large, oil mill necessary that the mill should be kept in operation. Fore part of Aug. '27, his brother wished to repair, went to help him on Tuesday, then turned the water into a particular channel, secured the bottom part Tuesday afternoon, repaired the dam up along, Thursday night put up another plank, held the water until Saturday afternoon, thought the water came down in the usual quantity, run faster than he expected, thinks July and 1st of August dry, has heard no complaint from the owners above, never knew that the lower proprietors had any claim upon the proprietors further up the stream, Mr. Lester's gristmill frequently stopped for want of water—the detention of water at Elder Palmer's pond, and not at Dow's, when put down first plank, rarely any running water below, as it rose leaked a little more. Fore part of the month of August, began to repair on Tuesday, on Wednesday supposed there would be a want of water, cannot tell how much higher this dam than the old one, droughts operated considerably on the springs.

Elder Palmer.—Should agree with the testimony of his brother generally—33 years has known the stream, excepting four years in the mean time, knew of Lester's building his mill, did not much business at it except in dry season, the one occupied by him has had an extensive custom, very durable, none more so than at Lester's, for 7 years past or more business managed differently, Rogers built a machine factory, that failed and then turned into a cotton mill, then run all day, prior to that time he used it for customers. When Richards' folks began, workmen went to Richards', his factory burnt in March 1825, knew the privilege twenty years before he was interested in it. All retained, supposed he was obliged to submit to it. Has been acquainted with the stream 30 years. Cannot say whether the present establishment requires more water than the gristmill. Lester's mill frequently had not water enough in the morning. Do not think the stream impaired. In the summer season has more water than formerly.

Cannot say whether the water was stopped at Dow's dam when he repaired. Monday or Tuesday after his repairs, saw Richards and Comstock returning. Privileges have not been injured. Have always considered themselves independent of Miner's pond. Thinks at present more water requisite to the factory than did the old mill. Thinks it would take twenty-four hours for the water to go from Dow's to Richards.' While his dam was repairing water continually flowing. Advantages detaining freshet water—reservoir—gave him to understand (i. e. Richards and Comstock did) that they had been to Dow's, all stopped below till he has started—thinks the time he was repairing his mill the usual quantity of water came down, and that the lack of water at Richards' factory in August 1827 was occasioned by the not using his dam.

Cushing Ee's.—Owned the property several years, never there but once, thinks the alterations beneficial. Should think it beneficial to the factory below.

H. Miner.—Owned the mill between 20 and 30 years. As soon as the pond is full, runs round. Gravelled the dam. If as much grinding as much water runs—tended the mill for Dow, and does now—Peter Richards wanted to get the water, none of the proprietors claimed a right to open his dam while he owned it, at his own dam once stopped could grind only about a bushel. Dam say about fifteen feet, pond is increased, covers 5 or 6 acres more than formerly, supposes. Ground one day in a week, in the fall or fore part of the winter or in the winter. When they ground but one day in the week, plenty of water. Richards wanted the water, talked of knocking down the flume. Gave him 15 dollars for letting the water go. Always practice to raise a pond and no one ever interfered with him till Richards' return a week or fortnight after the suit was brought.


John Vallet.—Acquainted with the water privilege (i. e. Dow and Baker's. Have always calculated upon a scarcity of water in the stream once a year. Used to go to Fox's mills pretty much in the last resort for grinding. Thinks Dow's improvements beneficial to all. Elder Dow has not to his knowledge withheld the stream. Dam before Dow had possession, sometimes leaky. Waste gates could sometimes be raised, then put down boards. Used to stop dam as had occasion, the stoppages in the dam to reserve the water.

Branch.—Came in May before last, in 1827. Mill required more water in '28 than now. No such lack of water as required him to stop his wheel. Never knew Dow withhold his water intentionally. Pond 50 rods, say 20 wide. Never stopped all his machinery.

Schoolfield.—Did not know about the stream, prior to April. Mill principally furnished by the Miner pond. A stream runs into his pond; operated one carding machine, sometimes not so fast as he could wish. One time was the week before the water came down. Suffered no inconvenience.

Abel Bissel.—Concerned in an oil mill. Did but little business except when the water was plenty. Improved Schoolfield's establishment 3 or 4 years. Lacked water thinks in the fall of 1825. Thinks if Dow operated his mill beneficial to all. Thinks the custom to the mill would cause this to discharge more water than Miner's could. In August, 1827, thinks there was a miller regularly employed and constantly attended in August.

Giles Turner.—Should agree substantially with the Palmers. The effects of Dow's improvements at the head of the stream. Something was said to him about paying Mr. Miner. Mills below have occasionally wanted water. Eells' establishment as far as he knows, could no more or less business every day, although there has been a lackage. Those on the lower part of the stream have smaller dams. Never claimed a right to control others. Had some acquaintance with the Lester mill. Often wanted water, although ground a little every day. Fore part of the season of '27, wet. July and fore part of August, not.

 By CHICANERY—in circumlocution, the property is now in the possession of hands on the OTHER SIDE—and they have raised the water several feet higher than I did.—What will not some people do to answer their own purposes!

A CRY FROM THE WILDERNESS.

"The LORD (Jehovah) of *Shem*"—Japheth shall dwell in the *tents of Shem*."

Abraham the contemporary and descendant of *Shem*, was called to quit his father's house, and to live in *tents*, with his family and descendants, until they went down into Egypt.

This call, which he obeyed by *faith*, came upon him while *uncircumcised*; hence a Heathen.

To him was the promise, *seed*, the singular, Christ—in whom the families of the earth were to be blessed.

This EXERCISE of FAITH by OBEDIENCE was "counted," "accounted," "reckoned," and "imputed to him for righteousness"

and he was justified *in and by* this exercise of *faith and obedience*.

The *faith* of Abraham shall "*heir the world*," the *re-action* of the soul on God, a kind of miraculous virtue, Christ revealed within, the hope of glory.

After 198 years in Egypt, they were called to the *tents of Shem*, being his descendants; and in the *wilderness* were they to encamp in this form, to leave a hollow oblong square in their *centre*, for the Ark of God, which contained the *stone* seals of the covenant; hence was called the Ark of the Covenant; which being made of wood, was overlaid with gold.

This *ark* was kept within veils or curtains, which were suspended within the **TABERNACLE**, which was within a **TENT**.

The three families of Levi, one on the north, one on the south, one on the west, but Moses and Aaron and the priests of the second order on the east, in the rear of the tribe of Judah.

Thus was the Tabernacle to be guarded on their march in the order of cantonment, three tribes east, three on the north, and three on the south, and three on the west; encircling the Levites as above, while in the *wilderness* in **TENTS**.

After their arrival at Canaan, they were called like Abraham to quit the house, and annually to hold a 'camp meeting,' then called the feast of tabernacles, which was to last seven days, or a week, by Divine appointment.

Over the Ark was a plate of pure gold, called the '*mercy seat*,' on the ends of which were *cherubs* with spread wings, and their faces inward, or towards each other, emblems of some of the order of the heavenly host, beings of the other world.

On the mercy seat, betwixt those cherubs, was a luminous glory emanating, probably in the form or shape of a man, and was called the '*Lord of Hosts*, which dwelleth betwixt the cherubims.'

In times of exigency people might assemble at the door of the tabernacle, and make enquiry, and that Divine glory would give directions by vocal sound, speaking like the *voice of a man*.

None were to enter the door of the tabernacle but the priests, and none might go within the *veils*, the sanctum sanctorum, or holy of holies, but the high priest alone, once a year, and not without blood.

The **SHINING** face of Moses, when he came down from the mount, and the *shining* raiment of *Jesus*, when Moses and Elijah appeared to him, and the *light* which Saul of Tarsus saw, which was greater than the light of the meridian sun, with many similar passages, as Holy Ghost, like cloven tongues of *fire*, &c. &c. Supernatural influences and glory and power, elucidate the manifestations of God in different ages and to different people.

A power supernatural attended the ark of the covenant.

Hence none were to see but the High Priest, he alone took down the *veils* and covered the holy things.

Then the Priests of the second order took down the tabernacle and tent, after which the Levites were to shoulder and march on.

When they stopped, the Priests of the second order would rear up the tabernacle and tent, then the High Priest would go in and suspend the *veils* in a proper attitude.

The sons of Eli brought the ark to the camp out of the holy of holies, without divine permission. It was taken, and they were slain, with 30,000 others—a retribution of justice. “The *glory* is departed, for the ark of God is taken,” cried the old man, and died as a consequence, and the daughter-in-law also. What an awful time in the Hebrew land! See book Samuel.

The *ark* was put into an idol temple, and the idol fell down and the head and hands came off. Also, the people were smote with such afflictions as they viewed as supernatural, and they sent the ark to a city of a second lord; where there was a similar visitation on them; hence it was sent to a third city, and the people cried out, and were determined to send off the ark!

Two milch cows, with a new cart (calves shut up at home) took the road up into the land of Israel, contrary to the very principles and law of nature.

The Israelites, in attempting to open the *ark*, more than 50,000 fell dead on the spot. What mighty power still attended the ark.

The ark was not carried back to the tabernacle of Moses, but put in a private house, until the time of David, when he attempted to carry it on a *cart*, to bring it to Jerusalem to a *tent*, which he had prepared for it; but *Uzzah*, upon touching it, dropped dead. This shows the power of the Lord of hosts, still there present, which was not to be trifled with.

The *ark* was then left in the house of *Obededom*; here blessing rested from that power.

The Hebrews had departed from first principles, the order of God, which was to bring and carry the ark on the *shoulders* of *Levites*, not on a cart; hence, when David had recourse to the proper order, the ark and all the things went well, and the proper worship of God was restored in ‘*due form*,’ in a social point of view; and the heart of David was glad, and he leaped for joy, and said, ‘my cup runneth over.’

The ‘BOOK OF THE LAW’ which Moses wrote and delivered to the Priest, to be ‘*kept in the side* of the *ARK*,’ was to be taken out by the High Priest, every *seventh year*, the sabattical year, or year of *release*; when it was to be read to the people at the ‘*Camp Meeting*,’ or ‘*Feast of Tabernacles*, while in booths

and tents convened. This book was delivered with the instruction by Moses just before he died.

Now if the book of the law was kept in the *side* of the ark, (i. e. a kind of pocket made for it,) and such a mighty power attended the ark, how would it be possible to obtain a *transcript copy*?

I can see no possible way, but by special permission from the original author, GOD!

The pentateuch, or five books of Moses, now in use among the Jews, is near seventy feet in length, and about two feet in breadth; written on parchment, attached to rollers at the ends, to roll and unroll, to prevent friction. Thus a copy has and may be preserved from a thousand to 1500 years.

It appears that David took a copy by transcribing; the *only* copy taken *before* the return of the Jews from Babylon.

Abiathar, who escaped the massacre in the time of Saul, became David's high priest, and had the *care* of the ARK and "Book of the Law" in David's tent at Jerusalem.

Moses told the people, when they should set a king over them, he should not be a *stranger*, but one of their own brethren, and 'HE should *write to himself* a copy of the law.'

David was the first God fearing king they had, and he is called 'the sweet psalmist of Israel.'

The matter contained in the *Psalms*, show, how that he was well acquainted with the law of Moses, and the history of creation down, and exhibits his familiarity with that blessed book.

This shows the *purity* of the book; as none can be mutilated by the fangling of man, for none were copied anterior or subsequent to David's time, before the return from the captivity of Babylon. A superintending providence.

What became of the king's copy, or where it was *deposited*, scripture is silent on that head. For we have no account after the *death* of Solomon.

In the time of Jehoshaphat some *travelling priests* took 'the book of the law,' the original copy, repugnant to the primary economy, to read to the people, but were hooted from the field, and they laid 'the book' in a place of *obscurity*, where it remained in a *dormant* state, about 294 years, viz. 18th year of king Josiah, and 16 years before the Babylonish captivity, which was the third year of Jehoiakin; and first year of Nebuchadnezzar, when Daniel and his companions were sent off to Babylon, which is the date of the captivity.

Jeremiah was in the prison when the city was taken, and had been there for some time, while Zedekiah was king in Jerusalem, having been constituted by giving his '*right hand*' upon '*oath*' the Gentile and Jewish mode, a twofold obligation violated.

The people were mostly slain, and the rest put in chains for slavery; the city and temple were burnt in the *nineteenth* year of Nebuchadnezzar, and about 50 years before the return of the captives by the proclamation of *Cyrus*.

Esdra of the Apochrypha, appears to be the same as *Ezra* of the Bible. He tells us the *law* was burnt.

And *reason*, from the concomitant circumstances, says it must be so.

For it is a plain case, if Jeremiah was *bound* with a *chain*, the others were also; for *he* was *loosed* from his *chain*; which implies he was *bound* with others; and it is a very clear, plain case, that a man in chains, doomed to slavery, could not take such a *roll* as 'the book of the law' under his arm at pleasure, and carry it several hundred miles.

Ezra tells us that he, while at *Babylon*, was a ready scribe, and that *he* was going to *Jerusalem* to 'SEEK the *law* of the Lord,' which implies he had it not while in *Babylon*.

After his arrival at *Jerusalem*, we find him with the 'book of the law' reading to the people, from the wooden pulpit.

Where did he find the *copy* of the book of the law? *Zerubabel*, *Haggai*, and *Jeshua*, or *Zechariah*, can only tell. Was not this the king's copy, written by *David*?

After those days, synagogues were built, and learning had become more common; hence *copies* were taken and dispersed into those places of worship. Moses and the prophets were read every sabbath day.

The world appears to be indebted to the 'MASONS,' for the purity and *preservation* and restoration of the book of the law: as means under God, for the benefit of mankind in after ages.

The book of the law—*original* copy was burnt—only one *transcript* copy in existence—and only a few individuals knew *where* that was. Hence how near the book of the law came of being lost out of the world! Then darkness would have remained on the subject of creation, with the origin and history of man!

But to prevent a similar occurrence from happening, synagogues were built, and each one was furnished with a copy, transcribed from the one preserved by the MASONS, and restored to Ezra the priest—which *must* have been the transcript copy written by David. For there is no evidence of there ever having been *any other*!

The JEWS have given us, GENTILES, 1. the law of Moses; 2. the Prophets; 3. a JESUS CHRIST; 4. Apostles—the Old and NEW TESTAMENTS.

Their "*Holy City*" is trodden down by the Gentiles; which *treading*, according to Wesley, will end about 1836, when the

"two witnesses will be slain." An earthquake, seven thousand perish, sixty-three thousand get converted, the beginning of the ingathering of Jews, who were scattered among *all nations*, and understanding all *living languages*; hence would be able in a short time to carry the gospel to every city and family throughout the world. The time of the Gentiles be come in, and all Israel shall be saved.

" Thus NAMES and SECTS and PARTIES FALL,
 " And JESUS CHRIST be ALL IN ALL "

SPIRITUAL SONGS.

SONG I.

ZION'S DESOLATION AND RECOVERY.

- 1 POOR Zion lies in sore distress,
 Her walls are broken down;
 The briars of the wilderness,
 Her walks have overgrown.
 Her palaces are desolate,
 Her courts a place of owls;
 The Satyr there doth meet his mate.
 And nest for other fowls.
- 2 A dreadful curse hath overspread
 The land both far and wide;
 The nations mourn for lack of bread,
 The springs of water dry'd.
 Go, go ye priests before the Lord,
 And at his altar mourn;
 That he may sheath his dreadful sword,
 And let his grace return.
- 3 Methinks the clouds begin to move,
 Sweet Spring is drawing near;
 The voice of the sweet Turtle Dove,
 The land begins to cheer.
 Methinks I hear the watchman cry,
 O Zion now be bold---
 With Eagles' wings you soon shall fly,
 The feathers ting'd with gold.

- 4 Your wall again shall be rebuilt,
Your palaces around;
The Lord who has remov'd your guilt,
Doth rich in grace abound.
He'll pave your streets with purest gold,
Your gates with Diamonds bright;
Your riches never can be told,
You are the Lord's delight.
- 5 Princes shall feed your flocks, and keep
With tender care the Lambs;
They'll safely lead the older sheep,
And number all their names.
The Lord's your everlasting light,
Your mourning days are past;
Your city is the Lord's delight,
And shall no more be waste.
- 6 Your mountains shall with honey flow,
The hills with milk and wine;
The valleys full of corn shall grow,
And pastures full of kine.
My glory shall your rereward be,
I will before you go,
Until you come, my face to see,
And all my goodness know.
- 7 My signs in heaven you shall see,
And hear my trumpets blow;
The sun and moon shall darken'd be,
By this you all may know
The year of my redeem'd is come,
To set poor Zion free:
Return, return ye exiles home,
It is the Jubilee.
- 8 My light'ning round the world shall fly,
While rumbling thunders roll;
But you shall mount the melting sky,
And gain the happy goal—
There in a bright and flow'ry plain,
Your blazing harps shall ring;
The Lamb that was on Calv'ry slain,
Shall sound from ev'ry string.

 SONG II.

- 1 YE happy souls whose peaceful minds,
Are free from pain and fear;

Ye objects which kind Heav'n designs,
 To make its constant care,
 To you I'll vent my mournful sighs,
 Press'd by my dismal fate,
 O can you with me sympathise
 While I my case relate ?

- 2 I once was happy in the Lord,
 My soul was in a flame ;
 I did delight to hear his word,
 And praise his holy name ;
 His children were my heart's delight,
 I lov'd their company---
 I liv'd by faith both day and night,
 In him who died for me.
- 3 But wo is me, those joys are past,
 Those blissful scenes are o'er ;
 I'm like a city quite laid waste,
 To be rebuilt no more.
 In vain I cry, in vain I mourn,
 In vain I seek for rest,
 I fear the dove will ne'er return.
 To my poor troubled breast.
- 4 Alas ! alas ! where shall I go,
 Jesus from me is gone ;
 A child of sorrow, grief, and woe,
 Forever more undone.
 The gospel too, is hid from me,
 Tho' often I do hear
 The law denounces death on me,
 And thunders out despair.
- 5 My hope is fled, and faith I've none,
 God's word I cannot bear :
 My sense and reason almost gone,
 Fill'd with tormenting fear ;
 What next to do, I cannot tell,
 So keen my sorrows are—
 Without relief I sink to hell,
 To howl in long despair.
- 6 The devils waiting me around,
 To make my soul a prey ;
 I wait to hear the trumpet sound,
 "Take, take the wretch away."
 I linger, pine, I groan and sigh,
 Sleep now has left mine eyes ;
 And ghastly death seems drawing nigh,
 And that without disguise.

- 7 O that I was some bird or beast,
 Was I a stork or owl,
 Some lofty tree should bear my nest,
 Or through the desert prowl.
 But I have an immortal soul,
 Within this house of clay,
 That either must with devils howl,
 Or dwell in endless day.
- 8 One ev'ning pensive as I lay,
 Alone upon the ground,
 As I to God began to pray,
 A light shone all around.
 These words with power went through my heart,
 I've come to set you free ;
 Death, hell, nor grave shall never part,
 My love (my Son) from thee.
- 9 My dungeon shook, my chains flew off,
 Glory to God I cry'd ;
 My soul was filled, I cry'd, enough,
 For me the Saviour dy'd !
 The winters past, the rain is gone,
 Sweet flowers doth appear ;
 The morning 's brought a glorious sun,
 That's banished ev'ry fear.
- 10 Hail brightest Prince, eternal Lord,
 That left the blazing throne ;
 Eternal truth attends thy word,
 Thou art the Father's Son.
 When on the brink of hell I lay,
 Enclos'd in blackest night ;
 Thou, Lord, didst hear the sinner pray,
 And brought my soul to light.
- 11 All you that's groaning in your chains,
 Without one spark of hope ;
 Tho' inexpressible your pains,
 O still be looking up.
 The winds may blow and storms arise,
 A dark and gloomy night ;
 The morning sun will clear the skies,
 With sweet prevailing light.

 SONG III.—ZION'S LIGHT.

- 1 ARISE, O Zion, rise and shine,
 Behold thy light is come,

EXEMPLIFIED EXPERIENCE,

Thy glorious conq'ring king is near,
 To take his exiles home.
 His trumpet sounding through the sky,
 To set poor captives free—
 The day of wonder now is come,
 The year of Jubilee.

- 2 Ye heralds blow your trumpets loud,
 The earth shall know her doom;
 Go spread the news from pole to pole,
 Behold the judge is come;
 Blow out the sun, burn up the earth,
 Consume the rolling flood;
 While ev'ry star shall disappear,
 Go turn the moon to blood.
- 3 Arise ye nations under ground,
 Before the judge appear;
 All tongues and languages shall come,
 Their final doom to hear.
 King Jesus on his dazzling throne,
 Ten thousand angels round;
 And Gabriel with a silver trump,
 Echoes an awful sound.
- 4 The glorious news of gospel grace,
 To sinners now is o'er;
 The trump in Zion now is still,
 And to be heard no more.
 The watchmen all have left their walls,
 And with their flocks above,
 On Canaan's happy shore they sing,
 And shout redeeming love.

 SONG IV.—SECOND PART.

- 1 Come all my brethren in the Lord,
 Whose hearts are joined in one;
 Hold up your heads with courage bold;
 Your race is almost run—
 Above the clouds behold him stand,
 And smiling bids you come;
 And angels whisp'ring you away,
 To your eternal home.
- 2 A pilgrim on his dying bed,
 With glory in his soul;
 Upwards he lifts his longing eyes,
 Towards the blissful goal;

While friends and children weep around,
And loth to let him go,
He shouts with his expiring breath,
And leaves them all below.

3 O Christians, are you ready now,
To cross the rolling flood :
On Canaan's happy shore, behold,
And see your smiling God.
The dazzling charms of those bright worlds,
Attracts my soul above ;
My tongue shall shout redeeming grace.
When perfected in love.

4 Go on, my brethren in the Lord,
I'm bound to meet you there ;
Altho' we tread enchanted ground,
Be bold and never fear.
Fight on, fight on, ye valiant souls,
The land appears in view,
I hope to gain sweet Canaan's shore,
And there to meet with you.

5 Salvation to our conqu'ring King,
Then let the echo rise ;
While the repeat is sung above,
By armies in the skies.
O Christians help me praise the Lamb,
Who died for you and me ;
We'll sing the praises as we go,
And shout eternally.

6 Farewell my brethren in the Lord,
Until we meet again ;
Perhaps in time, or as we rise,
Above the fiery main,
We'll join the royal armies bright,
In presence of the Lamb ;
We'll tune our harps, and sing free grace,
In love's eternal flame.

SONG V.

THE MORNING VISION, OR PHILOSOPHER CONVERTED.

1 I walked forth one morning fair,
Aurora gently fanned the air ;
And scatter'd odors in the breeze,
From dropping gums and blooming trees.

- 2 The hills and vallies did abound,
With feather'd songsters all around ;
Their various artless notes did ring,
To welcome in the cheerful spring.
- 3 The earth was cloth'd in vernal hue,
And flower's sprink'd with morning dew ;
All nature smiling to behold
The rising sun with beams of gold.
- 4 Surveying nature's drama round,
The scene with wonders did abound
Meanwhile my lab'ring eyes were charm'd,
An inward voice my soul alarm'd.
- 5 " Could you all nature comprehend,
" You'd better learn to know thy end ;
" Those beauties which you now survey,
" Shall, like thyself, soon fade away.
- 6 " But death alone is not your doom,
" You surely must to judgment come ;
" How will you stand before the Lord,
" When he unsheaths his flaming sword.
- 7 " When hills and mountains all are fled,
" Where will you hide your guilty head ;
" O wretched man where will you rove ?
" You've slighted a Redeemer's love."
- 8 Black horror seiz'd my guilty heart,
Through ev'ry vein I felt the smart :
I fell and almost lost my breath,
And thought I soon should sink in death.
- 9 The little birds from spray to spray,
Were hymning praises all the day,
In artless anthems to their God ;
But I despis'd a Saviour's blood.
- 10 If I had died when I was young,
I now should with mine infant tongue,
Be praising of my God on high,
But here in guilty chains I lie.
- 11 Thus trembling o'er the gulf I lay,
But dare not move my lips to pray ;
I thought I was for ever curs'd,
My guilty heart was fit to burst.

- 12 My scarlet crimes did now appear,
Which sunk my soul in black despair;
My dreadful pains no tongue can tell,
I thought I felt the flames of hell.
- 13 I thought I saw the burning lake;
My frightened soul began to quake;
I cried aloud, Lord must I go,
To languish in eternal woe.
- 14 I heard a noise like thunder roll,
Which did affright my guilty soul;
I thought the dreadful day was come,
That I should hear my final doom.
- 15 To my amazement and surprise,
I saw a cloud descend the skies,
And on the cloud appeared One,
Who fairer was than crystal stone.
- 16 His curling locks were snowy white,
His garments were exceeding bright;
The sun looked dim before his face,
His feet were like the burnish'd brass.
- 17 He spake and lightning stream'd around,
He says, "I have a ransom found;
"I bought your ransom on the tree,
"And came to set your spirit free."
- 18 My heart rebounded like a roe,
And glory through my soul did flow;
My sins were gone, and I was free,
And knew my Saviour died for me.
- 19 I leap'd and shouted out aloud,
And long'd for wings to reach the cloud;
To catch my Saviour in my arms,
And gaze forever on his charms.
- 20 Meanwhile I thus rejoicing stood,
He like a flaming cherub rode:
To heaven again he took his flight,
And quickly vanish'd out of sight.
- 21 But still I felt the heavenly flame,
And sung aloud in Jesus name.
I felt the all-atoning blood,
And knew that I was born of God.

SONG VI.

- 1 That glorious day is drawing nigh,
When Zion's light shall come :
She shall arise and shine on high,
Bright as the rising sun ;
The north and south their sons resign,
And earth's foundation bend,
Adorn'd as a bride Jerusalem,
All glorious shall descend.
- 2 The King who wears the glorious crown,
The azure flaming bow,
The holy city shall bring down,
To bless the Church below ;
When Zion's bleeding conquering King,
Shall sin and death destroy,
The morning stars shall t'gether sing,
And Zion shout for joy.
- 3 The holy bright musician band,
Who sing on harps of gold,
Just by the course along they stand,
Their gentle numbers roll.
Descending with 'such melting strains,
Jehovah they adore,
Such shouts thro' earth's extensive plains,
Were never heard before.
- 4 Let Satan rage and boast no more,
Nor think his reign is long ;
Tho' Saints are feeble, weak and poor,
Their great Redeemer's strong ;
In storms he is our hiding place,
A covert from the wind ;
A stream from the rock in the wilderness,
Runs thro' this weary land.
- 5 This chrystal stream runs down from heaven,
It issues from the throne :
The floods of strife away are driven,
The church becomes but one ;
That peaceful union she shall know,
And live upon his love ;
And shout and sing his name below,
As Angels do above.
- 6 A thousand years shall roll around—
The church shall be complete ;
Call'd by the glorious trumpet's sound,
Their Saviour for to meet :

They rise with joy and mount on high,
 They fly to Jesus' arms ;
 And gaze with wonder and delight,
 On their beloved's charms.

7 Like apples fair his beauties are,
 To feed and cheer the mind ;
 No earthly fruit doth so recruit,
 Nor flaggon's full of wine.
 Their troubles o'er, they'll grieve no more,
 But sing in streams of joy ;
 In raptures sweet and bliss complete,
 They'll feast and never cloy.

CONCLUSION.

COURTEOUS READER—

The foregoing Exemplified Experience in Miniature, exhibits the dealings of GOD and MAN, and the DEVIL, in the various and trying scenes of Life through which an individual hath been called to pass, while upon the Journey of Life, in a period of nearly fifty-six years.

The travels and incidents attendant, are but hints, comparative, to what might have been said or written ; but they serve as a specimen, a part for the whole, which admits of reflection to a contemplative mind !

Observations on Polemical Divinity and the subject of the inherent and unalienable Rights of Man, &c. &c. are given for the benefit of those who may come after me, in time to come, as well as for those now upon the stage !

We must soon part, therefore as I take leave of you, my request is, to lay aside prejudice, sacrifice SIN—sink into the will of God—take him for your protector and guide by attention to the sweet influence of his spirit on the mind, that you may be useful in your day to your fellow mortals here ; and as an inward and spiritual worshipper, ascend to God, thus it may be well with you here and hereafter. *Amen.* Adieu till we meet beyond this life !

FAREWELL.

LORENZO DOW.

End of the first volume of Lorenzo's works—the second volume which embraces Peggy Dow's Journal, &c. is designed as an appendix to this ; and the third volume of Miscellany is on the way.

MR. FLETCHER.

YE different sects, who all declare,
 Lo! here is *Christ*, and Christ is *there* ;
 Your stronger *proof*, divinely give,
 And shew me where the *Christians* LIVE :
 Your claim, *alas*, ye cannot prove,
 Ye want the genuine mark of LOVE.

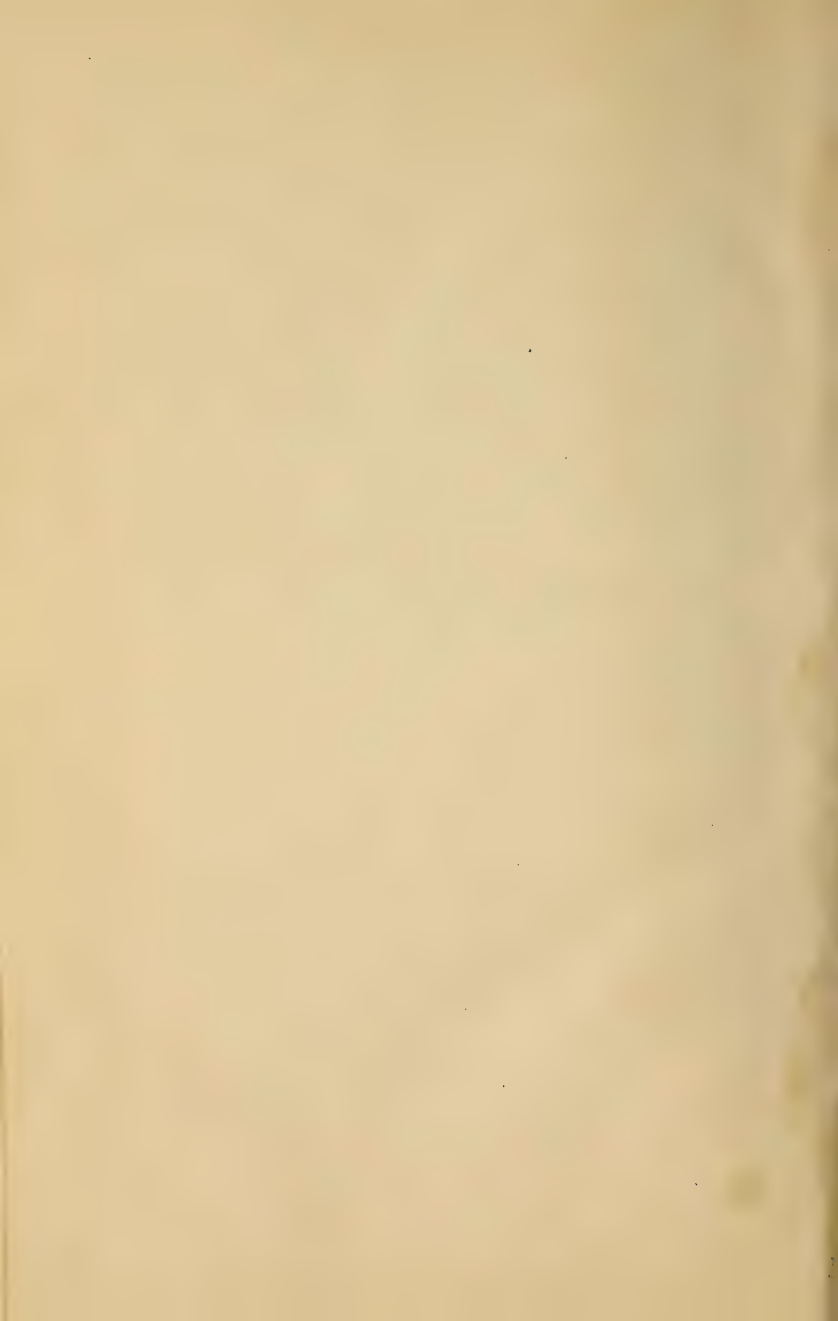
Reader—I—O—U—good will—

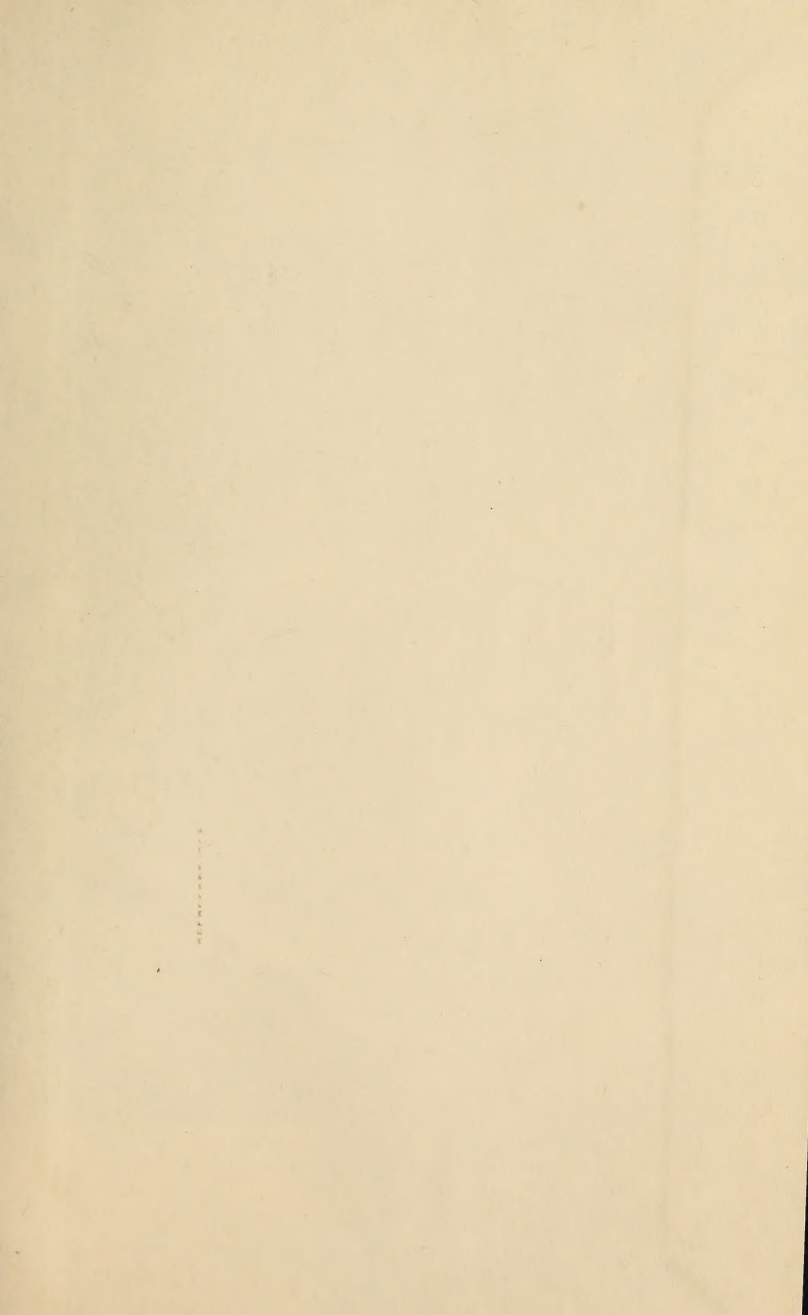
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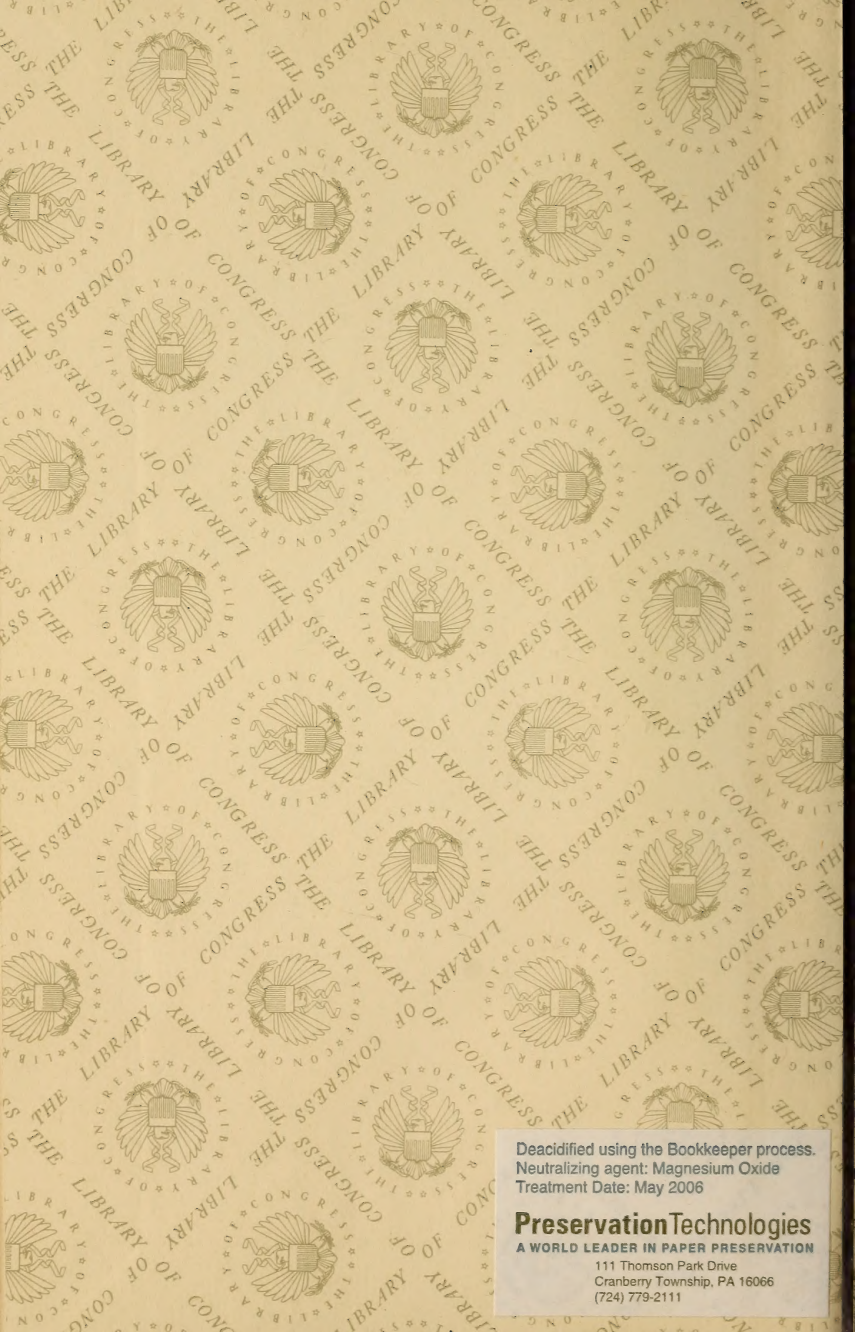
U at T—would B yy !—B not yy—nice—lest U c how
 A fool U B—when too late !











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